

# Albanian Etymological Dictionary

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BRILL

ALBANIAN ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY

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BY

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## PREFACE

The present Dictionary results from twenty years of my work in the field of Albanian etymology. A considerable number of my etymological studies were published as a series of articles on *Balkan etymologies*. Since 1985, I have been accumulating material for a comprehensive etymological dictionary of the Albanian language corresponding to contemporary standards applied to the works of this genre.

The present Dictionary is based on works of my predecessors GUSTAV MEYER and EQREM ÇABEJ, authors of earlier Albanian etymological dictionaries (ÇABEJ's work, unfortunately, remained unfinished), as well as on studies of other outstanding scholars such as NORBERT JOKL, MAX VASMER, and ERIC HAMP. At the same time, dozens of words in my Dictionary have received new explanations suggested here for the first time or already mentioned in one of my *Balkan etymologies* or other publications.

The Dictionary is based on a certain view of the prehistory of Albanian. It is a purely etymological work; hence, its lack of interest in early Albanian texts (unless their data are, occasionally, of crucial etymological importance). As far as the inherited vocabulary is concerned, the Dictionary deals with three main stages in the development of the Albanian lexicon: Indo-European, Proto-Albanian and (contemporary) Albanian. While Indo-European in the framework of this book is treated as reconstructed for the latest period of its existence immediately preceding its disintegration and the appearance of the ancient Indo-European languages, particularly, as far as the phonetic history is concerned (where I follow mainly BRUGMANN's reconstruction with certain minor changes such as laryngeals), Proto-Albanian language and reconstruction are relatively new concepts developed in my earlier publications. They denote a stage of development between Indo-European and (contemporary) Albanian *immediately preceding* the intensive linguistic contacts with Latin, i.e. before the I - II centuries C.E. Thus, Proto-Albanian may be functionally compared to the notion of Late Proto-Slavic in modern Slavic linguistics. The following period from II century to VII century remains unnamed in the present work (I used a rather clumsy term, *Early Albanian*, in my Russian articles), but its main developments can be described in terms of the Proto-Albanian situation changed by Romance and Slavic lexical and phonetic influences.

As to (contemporary) Albanian, this period starts with the language attested in the earliest written documents of the Albanian culture.

Proto-Albanian, as demonstrated by its vocabulary and isoglosses linking it to other Indo-European languages, is connected with a certain type of material and spiritual culture and with a certain territory. There are serious reasons to believe that this territory did *not* coincide with the contemporary Albania, i.e. with the ancient Illyrian coast of the Adriatic (see WEIGAND *BA* III 277-286; GEORGIEV *Trakite* 212-215). On the contrary, numerous proofs (the absence of indigenous sea-faring terminology in Albanian borrowing corresponding words from Romance and Greek or using transparent metaphors; the existence of Albanian-Rumanian bilateral isoglosses; the lack of Proto-Albanian toponymy in Illyria and so on) seem to corroborate the original settling of Proto-Albanians in Dacia Ripensis and farther North, in the foothills of the Carpathian Mountains and the Beskidy/Bieszczady (believed by some to come from Proto-Albanian definite plural \**beškāi tāi*, see *bjeshkë*). The Proto-Albanian migration to Illyria via the Eastern slopes of the Balkans must have taken place before (but not considerably earlier than) their contact with Romance speakers and the end of the Proto-Albanian period in the history of the Albanian language.

The Dictionary includes an *Introduction*, a short reference source where the reader will find basic information on the development of the phonetic system from Indo-European to Proto-Albanian to Albanian as well as the basic historical phonology of early loanwords in Albanian. A much more detailed description of Proto-Albanian will appear in my *Historical Grammar of Albanian* which I hope to publish soon. The Introduction also includes short notes on the Albanian phonetics and orthography. In the main body of the Dictionary, every item contains basic lexicological information (main word form, including the Geg variant *āfer* tilda if differing from Tosk, meaning, basic paradigmatic forms for nouns and verbs or characteristic of the part of speech and the like) and the suggested etymology with a reference (if this etymology has been given earlier). Other etymologies and references are adduced after the sign of  $\diamond$ . In this section, some references are adduced with their etymological versions briefly summarized, while other sources are just mentioned, for the convenience of the reader. A blank reference normally means that the source may be helpful but does not contain an etymological explanation of its own. Occasionally, Geg forms having no Tosk parallels are adduced as separate etymological entries, marked as (G). The Dictionary also contains indices of forms.

The alphabetic order used in the Dictionary as far as Albanian forms are concerned corresponds to the accepted standard of the Albanian lexicography: *ë* follows *e*; *gj* and *nj* are separate letters following *g* and *n* correspondingly; the same is true of *ll* and *rr* appearing after *l* and *r* as separate symbols and of *sh*, *zh*, *xh* and *th* after *s*, *z*, *x* and *t*.

It should be kept in mind that in Albanian there still exist certain problems of agreeing on a standard orthography. My orthography simply follows the main lexicographic sources I used and may well be not quite consecutive in some cases. The dictionaries on which the choice of words for the present work (as well as the orthography and meanings) was based, were KRISTOFORIDHI, LEOTTI, DRIZARI, *Fjalor*, BUCHHOLZ - FIEDLER - UHLISCH and MANN *HAED*. Other lexicographic sources mentioned in the List of references were also used occasionally.

The Dictionary includes the following layers of the contemporary Albanian vocabulary:

- (1) Inherited words of Indo-European origin;
- (2) Words of expressive origin, onomatopoeias and the like;
- (3) Loanwords from ancient Greek, Latin (and Romance), Slavic and other languages.

The approximate limit *post quem non* chosen in this Dictionary is X - XII century. Therefore, I did not include here most of the Italian, Rumanian, modern Greek and Turkish loanwords as well as many local and dialectal loans from Bulgarian, Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian. However, some difficult or interesting words of these groups were included, if they were of any specific etymological interest, particularly, if there was a discussion on their etymologies. The omitted lexical layers were successfully studied and described elsewhere (see HELBIG, BORETZKY, HARDY *Gk.* and other sources). In the case of Slavic loanwords, I was often unable to distinguish older borrowings from recent ones, and it seemed proper to keep Slavic material in case of any doubts.

Non-Latin scripts other than Greek have been transliterated. This applies in particular to Cyrillic for which a compromise system is used, preserving *Ѣ* and *ѣ* as signs for vowels in Bulgarian, Church Slavonic and Old Russian but presenting *ѣ* as a palatalization sign (') elsewhere. As already mentioned above, Indo-European reconstructions reflect a pragmatic compromise, too, and may be generally described as modified Brugmannian. Laryngeals (wherever necessary) are represented by a generalized symbol \**H* (also used in quotations of other scholars as a convenient label for various laryngeal phonemes). I did my best to

check and double-check cited forms and meanings using the basic and most authoritative reference sources. Thus, Greek words were normally controlled with LIDDELL-SCOTT, Sanskrit words - with MONIER-WILLIAMS, Old Irish - with *DIL* and so on.

Bibliographic references are abbreviated. References to books consist either of the author's name (DIEFENBACH, VASMER) or of the author's name and an italicized and abbreviated name of the book (JOKL *Stud.*, DESNICKAJA *Sravn.*). References to papers in journals and collections of articles consist of the author's name and an italicized and abbreviated name of the serial edition (PEDERSEN *Festskr. Thomsen*, DURIDANOV *IIBE*). In the list of references, only books and serial editions are listed. Roman numerals after the reference indicate the volume, Arabic figures are page numbers. In rare cases when the serial edition has no numbered volumes, I adduce the year of publication instead. Occasional combinations of the Roman and Arabic numbers stand for the volume and the fascicle.

\* \* \*

I owe a debt of gratitude to my late teacher of etymology Leonid A. Gindin (blessed be his memory) and my late teacher of Albanian Roza Koçi (blessed be her memory).

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In 1981-1990 I was greatly assisted by the librarians of the Institute for Slavic and Balkan Studies in Moscow. The whole work would not have been carried out without the everyday help and co-operation of the staff of the Greek and Slavonic Annexe of the Taylorian Library where I spent most of my time in Oxford in 1995-1996. In particular, I would like to thank David Howells and Richard Ramage. I am also grateful to the staff of the Slavic and East European Library of the University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign) and, in particular, to Helen Sullivan. Important material was collected in the National Library in Tirana and in the Celtic Library (Jesus College, Oxford), where I was admitted due to the courtesy of my respected friend D. Ellis Evans who was always generous in sharing his vast knowledge of Celtic with me. Invariable



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## INTRODUCTION

### ALBANIAN PHONETICS AND ORTHOGRAPHY

Modern Albanian (spoken in Albania as well as in large Albanian colonies in Italy, Balkan countries, Northern America and the Ukraine) exists in two basic forms based on two main groups of dialects, Tosk (Southern Albania) and Geg (Northern Albania). These two dialectal groups differ in a number of phonetic features as well as in certain morphological phenomena (mainly, in the analytical forms of the verb such as infinitive, future, imperfect, conditional and plusquamperfect). The main phonetic differences are as follows (according to ÇABEJ *St.* III 96-98):

1. In Geg there exist nasal vowels corresponding to non-nasal vowels in Tosk, cf. Geg *pêšë* ~ Tosk *pesë*, Geg *lî* ~ Tosk *li*.

2. In Tosk there exists (stressed) *ě*, an equivalent of Rum *â*, *î*, Bulg *ъ*. This Tosk vowel corresponds to various nasal vowels in Geg.

3. There is an opposition of short : long vowels in Geg (historically explained by contractions and positional lengthenings). In Tosk there is no such opposition.

4. Old Albanian *uo* and Tosk *ua* correspond to Geg *ue*. In most of Geg dialects, *ue*, *ie*, *ye* yielded long vowels *u:*, *i:*, *y:*.

5. In several words, initial Tosk *va-* corresponds to initial Geg *vo-*.

6. In Tosk, voiced consonants are unvoiced in the auslaut. In Geg they are not.

7. Tosk dialects preserve groups *mb*, *ngj* and *nd* assimilated to *m*, *nj* and *n* in Geg.

8. Old Albanian groups *kl* and *gl* (preserved today in Chameria as well as in Dardha and Italy) changed to *q*, *gj* in most of Albanian dialects. However, in the North one finds *k*, *g*, in the Catholic part of Shkodra - *kî*, *gî*.

9. Intervocalic *-n-* is preserved in Geg but underwent the process of rhotacism in Tosk; hence, Tosk *verë* as an equivalent of Geg *venë*.

The contemporary literary standard is based on the Tosk variant. There also exists a parallel Geg literary norm. In order to read in Albanian, it is essential to make a few notes of the orthography (for details see BUCHHOLZ - FIEDLER *Alb. Gr.* 27-42):

*c* stands for [ts].

*ç* is a sign for [tʃ].

*dh* denotes an apicodental [ð].

*ë* stands for [ə] or zero if unstressed. When stressed, it denotes a central unrounded vowel [ɚ] similar to Bulg. ъ.

*gj* denotes a palatalized velar [gʲ].

*j* stands for [j].

*l* stands for "clear" European [l]. It can also denote a palatal [lʲ] being a separate phoneme in certain local dialects.

*ll* is a "dark" [ɫ] similar to the non-palatalized [l] in Russian. It is opposed to *l* as an alveolar-dental to an alveolar.

*nj* denotes a palatalized [nʲ].

*q* stands for a palatalized velar [kʲ].

*rr* represents a long and/or intense [R].

*sh* is a palato-alveolar spirant [ʃ].

*th* denotes an apicodental [θ].

*x* stands for [dʒ].

*xh* is a sign for [dʒ̥].

*y* denotes a front rounded [y].

*zh* is a palato-alveolar spirant [ʒ].

Nasality of vowels in Geg is shown by the sign of circumflex  $\wedge$ : *â* stands for a nasal [ã], *ê* is [ẽ] and so on.

## ALBANIAN HISTORICAL PHONETICS

### *Vocalism*

1. Short IE *\*e* was preserved as *\*e* in Proto-Albanian but later, after or during the period of Albanian - Latin contacts, it yielded a diphthong *\*ie* while in certain positions it remained unchanged (a similar process took place in Rumanian). These positions have not been accurately defined. Short *\*e* remains unchanged before *n* and *nj* (*vend*, *ndenja*, *rend*), after *\*l* (*mbledh*, *lehtë*, *lend*), after clusters containing *\*r* (*kredh*, *shkrep*, *bredh*) but not after the initial *\*r* (*rjep*), after *\*j* (*ngjesh*). The diphthong *\*ie* was generally preserved as *ie* ~ *je* (*bie*, *pjek*, *djeg*, *diell*). In some cases, presumably, before a syllable containing PALb *\*i* and/or before some clusters, *\*ie* changed to *ia* ~ *ja* (*gjalmë*, *jam*, *mjaltë*, *jashtë*). The initial element of the diphthong was lost again after *ç*, *gj*, *nj* (*çel*, *gjerb*, *njeri*, *qengj*). The earliest Latin loanwords in Albanian reflect Lat *ē* as *je* ~ *ja* (*pjesë*, *vjersh*, *mjek*).

2. Short IE *\*o* changed to PALb *\*a* > Alb *a* (*natë, gardh, gjak, mardh*). Lat *ō* is reflected as *u* (*krushk, kundër, shpuzë*) or *o* (*popull, portë, korb*) in loanwords. Short IE *\*a* coincided with *\*o* in PALb *\*a* > Alb *a* (*kap, dal, bathë*). Lat *ā* appears as *a* in Albanian loanwords (*faqe, larg, shtat*). In some cases, Alb *a, ë* < PALb *\*a* reflects the old IE *\*ə* (*dhënë ~ dhanë* < *\*danti-*, part. of *jap, mëllënjë* < *\*melənĭā*). However, in other words (probably, before the old stress) *\*ə* disappears (*baltë*).

3. Narrow short vowels *\*i* and *\*u* were preserved in Albanian (*gdhij, ligë, vidh; dru, gjumë, ujë, butë*). The same applies to Lat *ī* and *ū* (*këmishë, këshill, iriq, luftë, popull, shumë*). At the same time, in some words (belonging to a later chronological layer?) Lat *ī* appears as Alb *e* (*shenjë, meshë, kreshpë*).

4. Before nasal consonants, Proto-Albanian short vowels *\*a, \*e, \*i, \*u* were nasalized and turned into *\*ā, \*ē, \*ī, \*ū*. Later they were preserved as such in Geg dialects (where they are marked as *â, ê, î, û* if not followed by a nasal consonant). In Tosk, *\*ī* and *\*ū* lost their rhimesm while *\*ā* changed to *ë* and *\*ē* - to *ë, e*; hence such pairs as Tosk *kërp ~ Geg kanp*, Tosk *hënë ~ Geg hanë*.

5. Long IE *\*ē* changed to PALb *\*ā* and then to Alb *o* (*mos, plotë, kohë, ngroh*). In one case (*mish*) *\*ē* is reflected as Alb *i* (this development clearly preceding the application of the "ruki" rule). In Latin loanwords, Lat *ē* is usually rendered as Alb *e* (*regj, femër, prëndverë*). Occasionally, however, it yields Alb *i* (*bishë, ligj, kishë*). Long IE *\*ā* merged with *\*ē* in PALb *\*ā* > Alb *o* (*motër, kollë, kopshtë*). As to Lat *ā*, it is always preserved in Alb *a* (*blatë, shkallë*) while Gk *ā* appears as *o* in loanwords (*mokër*).

6. Long IE *\*ō* yielded PALb *\*ō* later reflected as Alb *e* (*tetë, pelë, blerë*). The same result is found in earlier Latin loanwords with *ō* (*pemë, tërmet, tmerr*). Later, Latin loanwords display *u* (*kanushë, shullë*) or even *o* (*orë, kore*) as a reflex of *ō*. While IE *\*ō* was palatalized to *\*ō̃*, IE *\*ū* gave PALb *\*ū* usually appearing as *y* in the inlaut (*dyllë, gjysh*) and *i* in the auslaut (*mi, ti, thi*). Lat *ū* is normally rendered as *y* (*gjq, shqyt, fytyrë, vërtyt*) but, occasionally, also as *u* (*rrushkull*).

7. Long IE *\*ī* was preserved as PALb *\*ī* > Alb *i* (*pi, di, pidh*). In isolated cases, however, Alb *y* reflects *\*ī* (*ay*). In Latin loanwords, Lat *ī* yields Alb *i* (*fill, linjë*).

8. In unknown conditions (probably, in the originally non-final syllable) before *\*n, \*m, \*r* long PALb *\*ā* and *\*ō* merged into *\*ō̃* that was later reflected by diphthongs: Tosk *ua*, Geg (old) *uo*, (new) *ue* (*muaj, krua, duar* - pl. of *dorë*). In some cases, these diphthongs were further



umlauticized into Tosk *ye*, Geg *y* (*dye* - pl. of *derë*, *lyej*). In Latin loanwords, Lat *ō* gives the same results (*kapua*, *ftua*, *shërbetuar*, *arsye*).

9. IE *\*ei* was preserved as PALb *\*ei* but later coincided with *\*i* in Alb *i* (*dimër*, *mirë*). As to IE *\*ai* and *\*oi*, they yielded PALb *\*ai* reflected as Alb *e* (*verë*, *be*, *degë*).

10. Indo-European diphthongs in *u* lost their second element in Albanian. Thus, IE *\*eu* preserved as PALb *\*eu* appeared as Alb *e* (*dështa* - aor. of *dua*, *det*, *nëntë*). IE *\*au* and *\*ou* merged into PALb *\*au* further reflected as Alb *a* (*dashur* - part. of *dua*, *dash*, *agoj*, *thaj*). In Latin loanwords, Lat *au* is also rendered as *a* (*ar*, *gaz*, *lar*).

11. Syllabic liquida *\*r* and *\*l*, both long and short, changed to PALb *\*ri*, *\*il* and, less often and in uncertain conditions, to *\*ru*, *\*ul*. Those clusters were either preserved as Alb *ri*, *il*, *ru*, *ul* or metathesized before vowels (*krimb*, *trim*, *grurë*, *kulpër*, *ujk*, *birë*). Syllabic nasals *\*ŋ* and *\*m̥* changed to PALb *\*a* > Alb *a* (*shtatë*, *gjatë*, *mat*).

12. Under the influence of front vowels of the following syllable, Alb *a* of various origins was umlauticized and changed to *e*, as for example in plural of nouns or certain forms of verb (*eh*, *elb*, *end*, *gjem*, *ter*). Later this *e* was often generalized to the whole paradigm and, thus, appears in singular of nouns and present of verbs. A similar umlaut led to the transformation of *e* into *i*.

13. In Proto-Albanian, the vowels of the final syllable were preserved under the old stress but lost one mora when unstressed. Resulting new short vowels were reduced, mainly to *ë*. When a new system of stress came into being in Albanian, new unstressed vowels in all positions were reduced to *ë*, *u* or zero. If afterwards an inlaut consonant fell, the sequence of two vowels was contracted and colored according to the accented vowel (*pyll*, *kij*).

14. In the vocalic anlaut, a prothetic *h-* may well appear (*armë* ~ *harmë*, *yll* ~ *hyll*). In early loanwords, the initial *o* was substituted by *\*ō* > Tosk *va*, Geg *vo* (*varfër*, *vadhë*, *vatër*).

### Consonantism

15. Non-syllabic *liquida* were preserved as PALb *\*r*, *\*l*. PALb *\*r* is reflected as Alb *r* (*dru*, *tre*, *motër*) and occasionally as *rr* (*kërr*, *vjehërr*, *rrap*). For unknown reasons, the intervocalic *r* was altogether lost in *bie*. In Latin loanwords, initial *r* is usually rendered as *rr* (*rrallë*, *rregull*, *rrem*). In other positions it yields *r* (*prill*, *drejtë*, *kundër*). PALb *\*l* tends to yield *l* in the anlaut (*lehtë*, *lendë*, *lidh*) but gives both *l* and *ll*

in other positions (*pelë, mjaltë, hell, mjegull*). In Latin loanwords, intervocalic *l* appears as Alb *ll* (*popull, ulli, mënjollë*). Otherwise it gives *l* (*larg, lëti, plagë*). Geminated Lat *ll* is reflected as *l* (*pulë, gjel, bulë*).

16. IE *\*m* remained unchanged in PALb *\*m* > Alb *m* (*mjaltë, muaj, mjekër*). The same is true of Lat *m* in loanwords (*mik, mijë, mënd*). IE *\*n* yielded PALb *\*n* that also remained unchanged in the anlaut and in various consonantal clusters (*ne, nëntë, natë, nuk*). Initial Lat *n* is rendered as Alb *n* (*natyrë, nëmëroj, nyje*). In the intervocalic position PALb *\*n* remained unchanged in Geg but yielded *r* in Tosk (*verë ~ venë, emër ~ emën, llërë ~ llanë*). Latin loanwords reflect the same process of Tosk rhotacism (*kërp ~ kanp, rërë ~ ranë, femër ~ femën*).

17. The reflex of IE *\*y* is PALb *\*w* > Alb *v* (*ve, verë, vehte*). PALb *\*w* was lost before rounded vowels (*derë*). In a few words, the development of *\*-ŷwŷ-* to Alb *y* is attested (*grykë, hyll, qytet*). As to Lat *v*, it also yields *v* in Albanian (*vjershë, verdhë, gjuvengë*). As to IE *\*j*, it was preserved as PALb *\*j*. In the initial position, *\*j* remained unchanged before back vowels (*ju, josh*) but yielded *gj* otherwise (*gjesh, gjaj, gjem*). In the inlaut, PALb *\*j* disappeared after front vowels (*di, hi, fle, bie*) but changed to *\*x* > *h* after other vowels (*bahe, shtrohë, ngroh, ftoh*). The shift to *\*x* covers the earliest Slavic loanwords (*llohë, krahe, krahinë*). In Latin loanwords, the anlaut *j* is reflected as *gj* (*gjuvengë, gjyq, gjymtyrë*) and later as *j* (*janar*).

18. Initial IE *\*s* > PALb *\*s* yields Alb *gj-* (*gjashtë, gjalpë, gjallë, gjarpër*). In two cases where *\*s* > *th* (*thi, thaj*) the interdental results from the dissimilation of two sibilants. In the intervocalic position, *\*s* yields to *\*x* > *h* (*kohë, Geg nahe, acc. of ne*). However, after *\*i, \*ŷ* PALb *\*s* changed to *\*š* > *sh* (*breshër, push, gjysh, plish, kush*). In Latin loanwords, Lat *s* is always rendered as *sh* (*shekull, pëshoj, shelg*). The same is true of earlier borrowings from other languages (*shakë*).

19. IE *\*p* remains unchanged as PALb *\*p* > Alb *p* (*pelë, pesë, pjek*). IE *\*bh* yields PALb *\*h* > Alb *b* (*bie, bathë, dhëmb, baltë*). Labials in Latin loanwords are preserved as *p, b* (*popull, pjepër, bulë, bishë*).

20. IE *\*t* > PALb *\*t* is reflected as Alb *t* (*tre, tetë, ti, trap*). The voiced IE *\*d* is unchanged (*darkë, ditë, dritë*). IE *\*dh* coincides with *\*d* in PALb *\*d* > Alb *d* (*derë, djeg, dal*). Unless lost, PALb *\*d* in the intervocalic position or before *\*r* changed to *dh* (*bredh, ledh, pjerdh, gardh*). In the anlaut, *dh* < PALb *\*d* is explained either by apheresis (*dhunë, dhashë*) or by sandhi (*dhjetë*). In Latin loanwords, dentals yield *t* and *d* (*tmerr, troftë, dëm, drejtë*). Lat *d* changes to Alb *dh* in the same position as PALb *\*d* (*shurdh, urdhër*).

21. So called "pure" velars were preserved as such in Albanian. IE \**k* remained PALb \**k* > Alb *k* (*krua*, *karpë*, *kedh*). As to \**g* it appears as PALb \**g* > Alb *g* (*agoj*, *ligë*, *gungë*). The same reflex continues IE \**gh* > PALb \**g* > Alb \**g* (*shteg*, *gardh*, *mjegull*). Latin velars were not changed in Albanian borrowings: Lat *c* is rendered as Alb *k* (*këmişë*, *këngë*, *këshill*), Lat *g* - as Alb *g* (*gaz*, *grigj*, *plagë*). In contemporary Albanian initial *k* is sometimes voiced in Geg (*gëlbasë* ~ *këlbasë*, *gështenjë* ~ *kështenjë*).

22. Indo-European palatal stops were asibilated to affricates in Proto-Albanian. IE \**ĉ* changed to PALb \**ts* > Alb *th* (*thom*, *thëri*, *thep*, *djathë*) but occasionally PALb \**ts* appears as *c*. Both IE \**ĝ* and \**ǵh* yielded PALb \**dz* > Alb *dh* (*lidh*, *vjedh*, *herdhe*, *madh*, *rrjedh*). However, in the anlaut only IE \**ĝ* gave the same reflex (*dhëmb*, *dhëndër*, *dhalë*) while IE \**ǵh* reflected as PALb \**d* > Alb *d* (*dorë*, *dimër*, *dyllë*) with some irregularities. In many words where palatals were neighbors of sonants the process of asibilation did not take place (*grurë*, *quaj*, *mjekër*). The development of IE \**ĉ* in *vjuhërr* is explained by an assimilation \**swetsurā* > \**swesurā* > \**swexurā*.

23. The history of labiovelars was particularly complicated in Albanian. At first, IE \**kʷ*, \**gʷ* and \**gʷh* changed to biconsonantal clusters \**kʷ* and \**gʷ*. In front of non-palatal vowels, these clusters lost their labial element and merged with pure velars so that IE \**kʷ* yielded Alb *k* (*pjek*, *katër*, *ndjek*), \**gʷ* > Alb *g* (*gur*, *gak*, *gërshas*) and \**gʷh* > Alb *g* (*djeg*, *garbe*). Before front vowels, the clusters \**kʷ* and \**gʷ* changed to \**kʷ* and \**gʷ* with a palatalized first element and (together with groups IE \**ky*, \**gy* > PALb \**kʷ*, \**gʷ*) yielded \**tsw*, \**dzw* > \**tš*, \**dž* > Alb *s*, *z* (*sjell*, *sy*, *pesë*, *zorrë*, *zë*, *zulë*, *zjarr*, *ndez*).

24. In Proto-Albanian, some of the intervocalic voiced dentals and velars were lost (*ve*, *le*, *nge*, *dra*). The conditions of this process are unknown but may be of accentual origin. At the same time, a similar change (including also *b*) occurred in numerous Latin loanwords (*mjek*, *përrallë*, *pre*, *tra*).

23. In the auslaut, most consonants were lost already during the Proto-Albanian period (probably, before the vowel shortening in the last syllable). The only definite exception is *r* (*motër*).

24. Before the old \**j*, the following PALb \**t*, \**d* and \**s* changed to \**tš*, \**dž* and \**š* in a process that may be described as the *first palatalization* (*mas*, *nesër*, *tres*, *buzë*, *shosh*, *vesh*). Latin clusters *tj* and *dj* were also affected by this process (*pjesë*, *pus*, *rrezë*, *shpuzë*). Lat *sj* coincided with *s* in Alb *sh* (*këmişë*).

25. Before *j* (including the new *j* developed as the first part of the diphthong *ie/je* < PALb \**e*) as well as before *i*, PALb \**k* and \**g* yielded *q* and *gj* (*qoj*, *qerthull*, *gjemb*) and \**l*, \**n* changed to *j* ~ *l* and *nj* (*majë*, *běj*, *njeri*). This process may be called the *second palatalization*. It is also attested in Latin loanwords (*qetë*, *qëndër*, *regj*, *ligj*, *gështenjë*).

26. The cluster \**rj* changed to *rr* (*ënderr*, *derr*), also in early Slavic loanwords (*purrë*). However, there are difficult forms where \**rj* is reflected as *j* (*mbaj*).

27. Proto-Albanian clusters \**rw*, \**wr* as well as \**lw* changed to *rr* and *ll* (*arrë*, *rribë*, *gjallë*, *miell*). Later Latin loanwords follow this pattern (*rrylë*) but then, probably in words coming from Balkan Eastern Romance (proto-Rumanian) one also finds *-rb-* < Lat *-rv-* (*shërbej*). Also, as in proto-Rumanian, Latin groups *-br-* and *-bl-* change to *-ur-*, *-ul-*; then the labial forms a diphthong with the preceding vowel and (in Albanian) disappears (*farkë*, *shtallë*).

28. When combined with nasals, stops yield various results. Thus, \**pn* changes to *m* (*gjumë*), \**dm* to *m* (*bram*) while \**gn* (with *g* of any origin) is reflected as *nj* (*njoh*, *enjë*). In Latin loanwords *gn* is also changed to *nj* (*shenjë*) but in some words (of Eastern Balkan origin?) it appears as *ng* (*peng*).

29. In Proto-Albanian \**rn* and \**ln* were preserved. These clusters lived long into the pre-historic Albanian period until they yielded *rr* and *ll* (*verr*, *barrë*, *pjell*, *shtjell*). The same reflexes are found in Latin loanwords (*ferr*, *furrë*, *kërrutë*). In loanwords one can also trace the old cluster *mn* reflected as *m* or, with a secondary final *-b*, *mb* (*dëm*, *shkëmb*, *shtëmbë*). Geminate *nn* in borrowings was preserved as *n* or *nd* (similar to *-m* > *-mb*) and, apparently, was not affected by the Tosk rhotacism (*gunë*, *pendë*). The cluster \**nr* developed an epenthetic \**d* and changed to \**ndr* > *ndër* (*ëndërr*, *dhëndër*).

30. Before spirants and affricates of various origins, nasal sonorants disappeared (*pesë*, *mish*, *pëshoj*, *mëz*).

31. As noted above, auslaut *m* and *n* occasionally changed to *mb* and *nd* (*shkëmb*, *shtëmbë*, *pëllambë*, *pendë*). On the other hand, *mb*, *nd* and *ng* resulted from various clusters consisting of a nasal and a stop, both in Indo-European roots and in loanwords (*lëndë*, *pëndë*, *ndëj*, *nga*, *tembull*, *prind*, *këngë*). Some of these clusters tended to lose their second element (*anë*, *dhunë*).

32. In the anlaut, Alb \**kl*, \**gl* yielded *q*, *gj* in standard literary Albanian and some dialects (*qaj*, *qetë*, *qesh*, *gjatë*, *gjemb*) while other dialects have [tš], [dž] or [ki], [gi] or even depalatalized [k], [g]. The



same change was applied to loanwords (*gjëndër*) including those from Slavic (*gjobë*). In other positions *\*gl* changed to *gull* (*mjegull*). Proto-Albanian clusters *\*lk*, *\*lg* fluctuate between *lk*, *lg* (*shelg*, *balgë*) and *jk*, *lg* (*bujk*, *hajgë*).

33. Clusters *\*sw*, *\*sm* and *\*sn* lost their first element (*vjehërr*, *vjerr*, *mjekër*, *mug*, *thaj* < *\*sausnja*). Clusters *\*sr* and *\*sl* yielded *rr* and *ll* (*rrymë*, *korr*, *kollë*). Clusters *\*rs* and *\*ls* gave the same results (*djerr*, *kalli*) but the group *\*lst* changed to *\*st* > *sht* (*kashtë*).

34. PALb *\*sp* underwent a metathesis into *\*ps* and yielded *f* (*fâj*, *fal*, *farë*, *ferrë*, *fier*) while in loanwords *sp* is reflected as *shp* (*shpatull*, *shpuzë*). PALb *\*st* changed to *sht* both in Indo-European words and loanwords (*shteg*, *shtatë*, *shtyj*, *shtallue*, *shtat*). The voiced cluster *zd* was metathesized to *\*dz* and changed to *dh* (*pidh*) and, occasionally, to *th* (*drithë*).

35. PALb *\*sk* < IE *\*sk*, *\*skʰ* changed to *shk* (*shkak*, *shkal*, *shkas*, *shkep*) and, before front vowels, to *shq* (*shqarr*, *shqerr*, *shqyej*). In other cases, PALb *\*sk* (apparently, continuing also *\*sk̥*) underwent a metathesis into *\*ks* and yielded *h* (*halë*, *hap*, *harr*, *hedh*) thus coinciding with the original *\*ks* (*huaj*). No obvious distribution between *shk* and *h* as reflecting *\*sk* has been found. Moreover, in some words the initial *\*sk* (preceded by a prefix *\*eks*-?) yielded *ç* before a front vowel (*çaj*, *çalë*).

36. The rare but diagnostically important cluster *\*tt* gave PALb *\*tšt* > *\*tš* > *s* (*pasur*, part. of *kam*). Other clusters consisting of two stops lost their first element (*dritë*, *natë*, *dhe*, *dje*). In Latin loanwords clusters of two stops were represented mainly by *ct* and *cs* = *x*. Their development was twofold. When borrowed from East Balkan Romance of the Rumanian type, *ct* coincided with *pt* in *ft* (*prift*, *qift*, *ftua*, *luftë*, *troftë*) and *cs* gave *fsh* (*kofshue*, *lafshë*). When borrowed from Dalmatian (i.e. Western) Romance, *ct* yielded *jt* (*drejtë*, *trajtë*, *pajtoj*) while *cs* developed to *sh* (*frashër*, *ushunjëz*).

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- ZfOrt - *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung.* München - Berlin, 1925 -. [= ZONF]
- ZfPhonetik - *Zeitschrift für Phonetik und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft.* Berlin, 1947 -. [= *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung*].
- ZfromPh - *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie.* Halle - Tübingen, 1877 -.
- ZfslavPh - *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie.* Leipzig - Heidelberg, 1924 -.
- ZfSlaw - *Zeitschrift für Slawistik.* Berlin, 1956-.
- ZÖG - *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien.* Wien, 1850-1928.
- ZONF = ZfOrt.
- ŽA - *Živa antika.* Skopje. 1952 -.



## ABBREVIATIONS FOR LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

<b>Akk</b> - Akkadian	<b>Iran</b> - Iranian
<b>Alb</b> - Albanian	<b>Langob</b> - Langobardian (Lombard)
<b>Arag</b> - Aragon	<b>Latv</b> - Latvian
<b>Arm</b> - Armenian	<b>LGerm</b> - Low German
<b>Arum</b> - Arumanian	<b>Lith</b> - Lithuanian
<b>Av</b> - Avestan	<b>Lomb</b> - Lombard
<b>Balk</b> - Balkanic	<b>Lyc</b> - Lycian
<b>Balt</b> - Baltic	<b>Lyd</b> - Lydian
<b>Bret</b> - Breton	<b>M</b> - Middle (as a first component)
<b>Bulg</b> - Bulgarian	<b>Maced</b> - Macedonian
<b>Calabr</b> - Calabrian	<b>MBret</b> - Middle Breton
<b>Catal</b> - Catalan	<b>MDu</b> - Middle Dutch
<b>Celt</b> - Celtic	<b>ME</b> - Middle English
<b>Chag</b> - Chagatai	<b>Messap</b> - Messapic
<b>Class. Pers</b> - Classical Persian	<b>MFr</b> - Middle French
<b>Copt</b> - Coptic	<b>MGk</b> - Middle Greek
<b>CS</b> - Church Slavic	<b>MHG</b> - Middle High German
<b>Cyren</b> - Cyrenean	<b>Mingr</b> - Mingrelian
<b>Dac</b> - Dacian	<b>MLat</b> - Medieval Latin
<b>Dalm</b> - Dalmatian	<b>MLG</b> - Middle Low German
<b>Dor</b> - Doric	<b>MPers</b> - Middle Persian
<b>E</b> - English	<b>MW</b> - Middle Welsh
<b>Eg</b> - Egyptian	<b>N</b> - New (as a first component, = Modern)
<b>Engad</b> - Engadine	<b>Neapol</b> - Neapolitan
<b>Epidaur</b> - Epidaurian	<b>NGk</b> - Modern Greek
<b>Etr</b> - Etruscan	<b>NItal</b> - North Italian
<b>Fr</b> - French	<b>Norw</b> - Norwegian
<b>Friul</b> - Friulan	<b>NPers</b> - New Persian
<b>Gaul</b> - Gaulish	<b>O</b> - Old (as a first component)
<b>Georg</b> - Georgian	<b>OBavar</b> - Old Bavarian
<b>Germ</b> - German	<b>OBret</b> - Old Breton
<b>Gk</b> - Greek	<b>OCorn</b> - Old Cornish
<b>Gmc</b> - Germanic	<b>OCS</b> - Old Church Slavic
<b>Goth</b> - Gothic	<b>OE</b> - Old English
<b>Hbr</b> - Hebrew	<b>OFr</b> - Old French
<b>Hispcelt</b> - Hispano-Celtic	<b>OFris</b> - Old Frisian
<b>Hitt</b> - Hittite	<b>OHG</b> - Old High German
<b>Hung</b> - Hungarian	<b>OIr</b> - Irish
<b>IE</b> - Indo-European	<b>OItal</b> - Old Italian
<b>Illyr</b> - Illyrian	<b>OLith</b> - Old Lithuanian
<b>Ir</b> - Irish	<b>ON</b> - Old Norse

OPers - Old Persian	Sard - Sardinian
OPort - Old Portuguese	SCr - Serbo-Croatian
OPrus - Old Prussian	Sicil - Sicilian
ORuss - Old Russian	Skt - Sanskrit
OS - Old Saxon	Slav - Slavic
OSard - Old Sardinian	Sogd - Sogdian
Osc - Oscan	Sp - Spanish
Osset - Ossetic	Swed - Swedish
Pers - Persian	Thr - Thracian
Phryg - Phrygian	Tokh - Tokharian
Piem - Piemontan	Turk - Turkish
Pol - Polish	Ukr - Ukrainian
Port - Portuguese	Venet - Venetian
Prov - Provençal	W - Welsh
Rom - Romance	Yagn - Yagnob
Rum - Rumanian	Yazg - Yazgulam
Russ - Russian	

## A

**a** part. ‘whether’, conj ‘or’. The particle is etymologically identical with the conjunction (ÇABEJ *St.* I 27-28). From PAIb \**a* connected with Gk ἦ ‘indeed’ (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 322) or with the pronominal stem \**e-/o*. ◇ BOPP 498 (to Skt *a-*, demonstrative particle); CAMARDA I 313-314 (to Gk ἦ, interjection); MEYER *Wb.* 1 (borrowing from Lat *an* ‘whether’ but the nasal could not be lost without any traces; conjunction *a* continues Lat *aut* ‘or’); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1047, 1057; JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 19; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 67 (follows PEDERSEN); FRISK I 619; HAMP *HSyn.* 177; ÇABEJ *St.* I 27-28 (from an exclamation), *Etim.* II 5-6 (follows MEYER); HULD 36 (accepts MEYER’s view); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; DEMIRAJ *AE* 69 (to Lat *an*, Gk ἄν, from PAIb \**an* < IE \**Hen*).

**acar** m, pl. *ucare* ‘steel’. From PAIb \**atsara* ‘sharp’ with *c* preserving the old affricate. Further connected with OĪr *aicher* ‘sharp’, Gk ἄκρον ‘point, top’, Lith *aštrūs* ‘sharp’, Slav \**ostrъ* id. ◇ POKORNY I 21.

**acar** m ‘frost, strong cold’. Historically identical with *acar* ‘steel’, with a semantic development ‘strong cold’ < ‘sharp’. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 20 (explains the derivative *acëroj* ‘to fester [of a wound]’ as a borrowing from Slav \**čirъ*, \**čirъjъ* ‘wound, furuncle’); ÇABEJ *St.* I 28 (suggests a division *a-car* with prefix *a-* and the root identified with that of *cirris*), *Etim.* II 9 (to *ther*).

**adhuroj** aor. *adhurova* ‘to adore’. Borrowed from (learned) Lat *adorâre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 1). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 11 (from Italian); LANDI *Lat.* 79.

**afër** adv., prep. ‘near’. From PAIb \**apsera* representing a contamination of \**aps*, a variant of IE \**apo* reflected by Gk ἄψ ‘backwards’, and of \**apero*, a derivative of \**apo-*: Skt *âpara* ‘posterior, later’, Goth *afar* ‘after’ and the like. Thus, PAIb \**apsera* reflects IE \**apero* influenced by \**aps* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 257). Possible but less probable is the borrowing of *afër* from Germanic: Goth *afar*, OHG *avar* ‘again’ and the like. ◇ GIL’FERDING *Otn.* 20 (to Skt *âpara-*); MIKLOSICH *Rom.*

*Elemente* 26 (from Lat *finis*); MEYER *Wb.* 3 (borrowed from Rom \**affināre* ‘to approach’ ~ Lat *affinis* ‘near’ with Geg < Tosk); JOKL *Studien* 103-104 (preposition *a* followed by *-fēr* borrowed from Goth *fera* ‘side’); BARIĆ *Lingv. Studien* 87 (links *afēr* to Lat *spernō* ‘to sever, to separate, to remove’, Gk *σπαίρω* ‘to gasp, to pant, to quiver’), *Hymje* 71; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 87-88; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 67; FRISK I 204; POKORNY I 53-54; MAYRHOFER I 38; ÇABEJ *St.* I 28-29 (privative *a-* < \**ǵ-* and *-fēr* compared with E *far*), *Etim.* II 11-12; HULD 36; DEMIRAJ *AE* 70-71.

**afsh** m, pl. *afshe* ‘heat, hot breath, smell’. From PALb \**aweisa*, a suffixal derivative of IE \**aṷēi-* ‘to blow’ structurally close to MW *awyđ* ‘gust of wind’, OCorn *awit* ‘air’ < \**aweido-* (OREL *Fort.* 78). Another derivative of the same root is PALb \**aweita* > *aft* ‘blow of wind’ (DEMIRAJ *AE* 72). ∅ CAMARDA I 305, II 100, 150 (*aft* to Gk *ἄχνη* ‘chaff’); MEYER *Wb.* 3 (from Ital *afa* ‘heat coming from the ground’); JOKL *IF* XLIII 63 (to *ěnj*); POKORNY I 82; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 13 (to *avull*).

**aftë** adj. ‘capable, proper’. Borrowed from Lat *aptus* id. (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 13). ∅ MANN *Comp.* 29 (related to Lat *aptus*).

**ag** m, pl. *agje* ‘twilight, dusk’. From PALb \**auga* etymologically related to Gk *αὐγή* ‘ray of light’ and further based on IE \**aug-* ‘to increase’ (MEYER *Wb.* 4, *Alb. St.* III 37). The verb *agoj* ‘to dawn’ is derived from *ag*. ∅ CAMARDA I 94 (to Gk *ἠώς* ‘dawn’); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 60 (wavers between MEYER’s and CAMARDA’s etymologies); PERSSON *Beiträge* 369; GONDA *Anc.* 73-83; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; PISANI *Saggi* 99; CHANTRAINE 137; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 87 (to Basque *ego* ‘light’); TRUBAČEV *Ėtnogenez* 151 (identifies the first element of *Ἀγάθουρσοι* with *ag*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 30 (to Gk *ὄρφνη* ‘darkness, night’), *Etim.* II 16-17; DEMIRAJ *AE* 72.

**agjëroj** ~ **agjënoj** aor. *agjërova* ~ *agjënova* ‘to fast’. Borrowed from Rom \**adjünāre* id., cf. Rum *ajuna* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 4). ∅ CAMARDA I 80 (to Lat *jejūnium* ‘fast’); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1049; PUŞCARIU *EWB* 5; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 18-19 (from *jejünāre*).

**ah** m, pl. *ahe, aha* ‘beech-tree’. Goes back to PALb \**aksa* identical with IE \**osk-*: Gk *ὄξυά* ‘beech’, Arm *hači* ‘ash-tree’, ON *askr* id., Maced

ἄξος· ὕλη (MEYER *Wb.* 4; PEDERSEN *IF* V 44). ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 86; BOGA II 286; BARIÇ *Hymje* 24; AÇAREAN *HAB* III 65; PISANI *Saggi* 128; POKORNY I 782; FRISK II 400; CHANTRAINE 806; HAMP *Laryngeals* 132; HULD 36-37; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 19-20; DEMIRAJ *AE* 73.

**ai, ay** pron. 'he', f. **ajo** 'she; that'. Masc. *ai* goes back to PALb \**a-ei* consisting of a proclitic particle \**a* and a demonstrative \**ei*, identical with IE \**ei-* in Skt *ayám* 'he', Lat *is* (*eis* in early inscriptions) and the like. The feminine form is from PALb \**a-jā* continuing IE \**jā* id., fem. sg. of the demonstrative \**jō-* (BOPP 519; CAMARDA I 209; MEYER *Wb.* 5). ◊ MEYER *ZfromPh* XI 268-269 (*a-* from Lat *atque*); Alb. *St.* III 40, 63, 79, IV 24; JOKL *Studien* 4 (*a-* from Lat *ad*), LKUBA 271 (*a-* from IE \**ad* or \**ǵ*), *IF* XXXVI 98-100; PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 248-252, *KZ* XXXIV 288, XXXVI 309 (derives *-jo* from IE \**sā* treating *-j-* as a hiatus filler), *Pron.* 315 (*a-* from IE \**au-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 68; POKORNY I 282-283; CAMAJ 103 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* I 31, *Etim.* II 22-23; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 81 (on neut. *ata* in comparison with Mes-sapic); DEMIRAJ *Gr.* 467-468 (interaction of IE \**e-* and \**so-*); OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 43; HULD 38 (repeats PEDERSEN's version); KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 224-225 (*-jo* < IE \**ijā* or \**ejā*), XXIII 174; DEMIRAJ *AE* 70, 73.

**aj m** 'bite'. Borrowed from Lat *alium* (MEYER *Wb.* 6). ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 23-24 (to *anëzë*).

**ajkë** f 'cream, wool fat'. In dialects, a more phonetically archaic form *alkë* has been preserved. Goes back to PALb \**alkā* related to Lith *alkti* 'be hungry', *alka* 'hunger', Slav \**olkti* 'be hungry' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 257). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 5 (from Lat *alica* 'kind of grain, spelt' with an obvious discrepancy of meaning); OŠTIR *Anthropos* VIII 165-167 (to Lat *sēbum* 'lard'); FRAENKEL 8; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 57-58 (to *lule*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 31-32 (reconstructs \**olka* and compares *ajkë* with Lat *alga* 'sea-weed'), *Etim.* II 26-28 (to IE \**ol-* 'fat, dirt'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 74.

**akull** m, pl *akuj* 'ice'. Loanword from Gmc \**jakulaz* 'icicle, glacier', cf. ON *jokull* 'icicle', OE *gicel* id. (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 171). In Albanian, the source may be East Germanic (Balkan Gothic?). The loss of the anlaut \**j-*, probably, shows that the loan penetrated into Proto-Albanian at a stage when there was no *j*-like sound there. ◊ CAMARDA

161 (suffix *-ull-*); MEYER *Alb. Studien* I 66, *Wb.* 7 (comparison with Gk ἀχλὺς 'fog', Lat *aquilō* 'North wind' and the like; these forms, however, reflect IE \**aghlu-*, cf. FRISK I 55), *Alb. St.* III 5; JOKL *Studien* 112 (suffix *-ull*), LKUBA 268-269 (negative \**ŋ* added to *-kull* related to the semantically misinterpreted Slav \**kaliti* 'to make hot, to harden (of iron)' and not 'to be cold'); WALDE-HOFMANN I 60; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 68 (agrees with JOKL); CIMOCHOWSKI *ABS* 40-41 (< *a-* + \**kel-* 'to strike'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 53-54 (to *ehull*); HULD 38-39 (follows JOKL); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 355; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 31-32; DEMIRAJ *AE* 74.

**amë** f, pl. *ama* 'source, river-bed'. A metaphoric use of *amë* 'mother' (VASMER *ZfslavPh* XVI 337; TAGLIAVINI *Mélanges Pedersen* 162-163), in fact, a calque of SCr *matica* 'water-source' or Bulg *matka* 'water-bed' (to \**mati* 'mother'). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 64; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 90-91 (to Lat *amnis*); BARIĆ *A ArbSt* II 157; MANN *Language* XXVI 380 (follows JOKL); CHANTRAINE 70; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 39 (agrees with TAGLIAVINI); GAMKRELIDZE - IVANOV II 886 (to Gk ἀμάρη 'pit, canal'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 75-76.

**amë** f, pl. *ama* 'mother'. In Tosk where *amë* comes from Geg, there exists *ëmë* as well. A widespread *Lallname* (MEYER *Wb.* 5). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 111; SAINÉAN *ZfromPh* XXX 314 (borrowed from Lat *amma*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 170.

**amëz** f 'odour, aroma'. Derivative in *-ëz* from (G) *amë* < PAIb \**admā* connected with Gk ὄδμή id., Lat *odor* id., Lith *úosti* 'to smell' (JOKL *Studien* 3; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Mélanges Pedersen* 162; FRISK II 352-353; FRAENKEL 1167-1168; WALDE-HOFMANN II 203; POKORNY I 772-773; CHANTRAINE 777; DURIDANOV *BE* XVI 66 (reconstructs \**am-*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 40-41 (derived from *amë* 'mother', cf. Fr *mère de vinaigre*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 76.

**amull** adj. 'stagnant (of water)'. As to *amull* 'very hot', it is the same word (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 42) reflecting a specific way of iron tempering, first made hot and then cold by means of water or dirt. The same development is attested in Slav \**kaliti* 'to temper iron' based on \**kalъ* 'dirt'. Continues PAIb \**amulwa* with a prothetic *a-* etymologically related to Lith *muļvė* 'silt, marsh', *mūlti* 'to get dirty'. ◊ CAMARDA I 61 (comparison with *avull*); MEYER *Wb.* 21 (follows CAMARDA and translates

*amull* as 'burning'); WEIGAND 2 (*amull* 'very hot' borrowed from Turkish); JOKL *LKUBA* 270-272 (to *mbulim*); LA PIANA *Studi* 99 (to *avull*); FRAENKEL 471; NEVSKAJA *BGT* 53; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IX 124; ÇABEJ *St.* I 34; MANN *Comp.* 20 (to Arm *amul* 'barren', OIr *ambal* 'dark'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 75 (to *amë*).

**an** m 'uterus'. A metaphoric transformation of *enë*, singularized plural of dialectal *an*, *anë* 'vessel'. As to the latter, it is identical with *anë* 'side' (KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 223). ◊ CAMARDA II 31 (comparison of *enë* with Gk ἀγγεῖον 'vessel'), 71 (to Gk ἔντεα 'vessel'); MEYER *Wb.* 12 (identifies *enë* with *anë* 'side'), *Alb. St.* IV 9; JOKL *Studien* 3 (compares *anë*, *enë* with Skt *ukhá-* 'vessel, boiler' and/or Goth *auhns* 'oven', reconstructing *\*aug'nā*); BARIĆ I *ARSt* 86 (to Lat *auxilla*); MAYRHOFER I 98; ÇABEJ *St.* I 34 (links *anë*, *enë* to Gk ἄγγος 'vessel'); MANN *Comp.* 20 (*an* 'caul' related to Gk ἀμνίον 'vessel for sacrificial blood'); ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ (close to JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 76-77.

**andaj** conj. 'therefore'. A compound of *a* (as in *ai*) and *ndaj* (MEYER *Wb.* 11).

**anë** f, pl. *anë* 'side'. From PAIb *\*antā* related to Skt *ánta-* 'end', Goth *andeis* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 35, IV 56-57) with *\*-nt-* > *-n-*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 11 (reconstructs *\*ausnā* related to IE *\*ōus-* 'mouth'), *Alb. St.* III 12, 63, 90; JOKL *Studien* 12; FEIST *Goth.* 49; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (same as MEYER); MAYRHOFER I 90; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 211; POLÁK *Orbis* XVI 127 (to Georg *hana* 'field'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 47-49; JANSON *Unt.* 90-92; DEMIRAJ *AE* 77-78 (supports ÇABEJ).

**ang** m 'fear, nightmare'. From PAIb *\*anga* corresponding to Skt *ámhas-* 'fear', Lat *angor* 'unrest, fear', OIr *cumcae* gl. 'angor' < Celt *\*kom-ong-ġā* (OREL *Antič. balk.* 5 32; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/2 147) and further connected with IE *\*anġhu-* 'narrow', *\*anġhos* 'narrowness, oppression' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 36). ◊ JOKL *IF* XLIII 61 f. (links *ang*, *ankth* to Skt *ániti* 'to breathe' < IE *\*anā-*); OŠTIR *AArbSt* I 104 (fantastic comparisons with Slav *\*mora* '(mythic incarnation of) fear', Gk λάμια and the like); MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; POKORNY I 42-43; HAMP *Èriu* XXVIII 147-148, *LB* XXX 131-132; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350.

(G) **angërr** f, pl. *angrra* 'skin; intestines'. From PAIb *\*angarā* < IE

\**anǵhnrā* related to Arm *anjn* 'soul, person', ON *angi* 'smell, odor'.  
 ◇ JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 127-129 (zero-grade derivative of IE \**g<sup>h</sup>er-*  
 'to eat, to swallow'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 86; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP*  
 II 232 (follows JOKL); AČAREAN *HAB* I 202-203; POKORNY I 42; ÇABEJ  
*St.* I 35 (identifies *angërr* with the participle *hangër* 'eating'), *Etim.* II  
 50; LUKA *HD* XXIV 41-42; DEMIRAJ *AE* 78.

**angullij** aor. *angullita* 'to howl'. Deverbative of \**angull* < PAIb  
 \**ankula*, related to Gk *ὀκράομαι* 'to cry', Lat *uncō* 'to growl (of bears)'.  
 ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 304 (to *ankth*); POKORNY I 322; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 51 (follows  
 MEYER).

**(G) ankoj** aor. *ankova* 'to cry, to weep'. This verb also appears as *nëkoj*,  
*rëkoj* and *rënkoj*. A denominative verb that is probably based on PAIb  
 \**anaka* borrowed from Gk *ἀνάγκη* 'grief, distress'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 304  
 (to *angullij* and Slav \**ječati* 'to groan'); LUKA *HD* XXIV 44-46;  
 DEMIRAJ *AE* 78-79.

**ankth** m, pl. *ankthe* 'fear, nightmare, restlessness'. Derived from *ang*.  
 If *-th* may be treated as a continuation of \**-st-*, *ankth* goes back to PAIb  
 \**angasta* and is identical with IE \**anǵhosto-* ~ \**anǵhosti-*: Lat *angus-*  
*tus* 'narrow', OHG *angust* 'fear' (MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; ÇABEJ  
*St.* I 36). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 13, 304 (compares with *ankoj* and its variants);  
 BARIĆ *ARSt* I 16-17 (to *emakth* id., *ëmë* 'mother'); JOKL *IF* XLIII 61-  
 62 (to Lat *animus*, Skt *ániti*); OŠTIR *AArbSt* I 104 (to Basque *amets*  
 'dream'); POKORNY I 43; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350;  
 ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 53-54; BEEKES *CIEL* 263; DEMIRAJ *AE* 79.

**apë** m 'elder brother; dad'. A typical *Lallname*. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 39 n.1  
 (from Hung *apa* 'father'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 56 (to *abej* 'term of respect  
 to elder brother' borrowed from Turkish).

**aq** adj., adv. 'so, such'. Goes back to PAIb \**akja* opposed to *kaq* 'so' <  
 PAIb \**kakja* in the same way as Slav \**ako* 'as, if' is opposed to \**kako*  
 'how' (MEYER *Wb.* 7). Hence, the analysis of these forms as compounds  
 beginning with pronominal \**a-* and \**ka-* (as in *ai* vs. *ky*) and another  
 stem or a suffix \**-kja* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 36-37). ◇ PEDERSEN *Pron.* 315 (to  
 Gk *αὐ* 'again'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJA* I 64-65; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 58-59; HAMP  
*Numerals* 836 (*-q* identical with OPrus *quai*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 80.



**ar** m 'gold'. Borrowed from Lat *aurum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; MEYER *Wb.* 14). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047, 1056; MANN *Language* XXVI 381; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 59-60; LANDI *Lat.* 72.

**arbër ~ arbën** m, pl. *arbër ~ arbën* 'Albanian (particularly, of Italy and Greece)'. A Proto-Albanian loanword with the assimilation of liquids, from Rom \**albanus* rendering the West Balkan ethnonym attested as Illyr 'Ἀλβανοί (Ptol.). The form *arbëresh ~ arbënes* 'Italo- or Graeco-Albanian' reflects Rom \**albanensis* (JOKL *Arch. Rom.* XXIV 137). ◇ CAMARDA I 30; MEYER *Wb.* 14; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 299 (to Gk ὀρφανός 'orphan'); ΦΟΥΡΙΚΙΣ 'Αθηναί XLIII 3-7, XLVI 9-12 (to the name of the Alps and Illyr *Arbona*); SPITZER *MRW* I 334; TROMBETTI *AArbSt* III 1-6 (from proto-Indo-European); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 71-72 ("sicuramente indigeno"); MAYER *Illyrier* II 4 (to Gk ὀρφανός 'dark'); LANGE-KOWAL *ZfBalk* XVIII/2 134-136 (< \**arb-* parallel to \**alb-*); KACORI *EB* 1977/1 122-129; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 327; LUKA *KKF* 281-291; ÇABEJ *St.* I 37-38, V 62-67; *Etim.* II 61-68 (to Lat *arvum*); LUKA *HD* XXIV 47-51.

**ardhi** f 'vine, grapes'. The word is known in many phonetic variants: *hardhi, erdhi, rdhi, dhri, urdhi, orli*. It may go back to \**ardhē* and, further, to Palb \**ardz-* related to the aorist stem *erdha* (see *vij*), cf. CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 51; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 65-66. Semantically, 'vine' < 'climbing, going' as in Slav \**loza* 'vine' ~ \**loziti, \*lezti* 'to climb' (cf. BRÜCKNER *AfslPh* XXXIX 4; VASMER II 512). An alternative etymology (MEYER *Wb.* 147) is based on the variant *rdhi* and connects it with IE \**urēǵ-* 'to break, to cut'. ◇ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 161-162 (to Arm *ort* 'vine'); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231, *KZ* XXXVI 341 (follows BUGGE); JOKL *Sprache* IX 152; PISANI *Saggi* 120; BARIÇ *Hymje* 43, 57 (compares *ardhi* with Basque *ardao* 'wine'); POKORNY I 1181-1182; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 87 (to Basque *ardao* 'wine'); WEITENBERG *KZ* LXXXIX 68-70; ÇABEJ *St.* I 38 (a phonetically difficult comparison with *urth*), *Etim.* II 69-70; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 355; DEMIRAJ *AE* 195-196.

**arē** f, pl. *ara* 'field'. From Palb \**arā* etymologically connected with Latv *āra* id. (GÄTERS *KZ* LXXIII 108-109) and, probably, with Hitt *arḫa-* 'border, area', Lyd *aara-* 'farmstead, land', Mess *aran* (HAMP *KZ* LXXV 237-238). ◇ CAMARDA I 96 (to Gk ἄρουρα 'tilled land'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3 (from Lat *ārea* 'ground, space, thresh-

ing-floor'); MEYER *Wb.* 14 (from Lat *ārea* or from *arvum* 'plowed land' but *-rv-* would be rendered as *-rr-*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1041, 1048 (from Lat *ārea*); FRAENKEL 518; ÇABEJ *St.* I 39 (follows GĀTERS), ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 71-72; HAARMAN 111 (from Lat *ārea*); POLÁK *Orbis* XVI 128 (to Georg *are* 'field'); ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* 688-689 (to Gk *ἀρός* 'field, land'); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 77, *RRL* XXI 51 (same as ÖLBERG, reconstructs *arë* < \**ager* in view of the dialectal long *a*: in the anlaut); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; HULD 38; TISCHLER I/1 55-56; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44 (adds Arm *arawr* 'plow'); KARULIS *LEV* I 76; DEMIRAJ *AE* 80-81.

**arëz** ~ **anëz** *f.*, pl. *arëza* ~ *anza* 'wasp'. Continues PAIb \**aunā* derived from IE \**au(ə)-* 'to weave' similarly to Lith *vapsà*, Slav \**osa* and the like based on IE \**uebh-* 'to weave'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 14 (borrowing from Turk *ari* 'bee' with a suffix *-ëz* - but how to explain the rhotacism in Tosk?), *Alb. St.* V 68; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 83-84 (reconstructs \**aknā* compared with Lat *aculeus* 'sting'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 70; ÇABEJ *St.* 40-41 (agrees with BARIĆ); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 87-88 (from \**aĕ-* 'sharp').

**arëzë** *f.*, pl. *arëza* 'nape'. Note a more phonetically conservative variant *arrëzë*. Another derivative of the same stem is represented by *arrç* 'upper jugular vertebra'. Both words are based on *arrë* in its metaphoric sense of a round protuberance (CAMARDA I 181; MEYER *Wb.* 7). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 41, *Etim.* II 90.

**argësh** *m.* 'crude raft supported by skin bladders, crude bridge of cross-bars, harrow'. From PAIb \**argusa* related to Skt *argala-* 'bolt', OE *reced* 'building, house'. ◊ POKORNY I 65; ÇABEJ *St.* I 39 (comparison with IE \**uerĝ-* 'to work, to do').

**argjend** ~ **argjand** *m.* 'silver'. Borrowed from Lat *argentum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 15). ◊ CAMARDA I 55 (unspecified comparison with Lat *argentum*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237; MANN *Language* XVII 22; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 77; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 75-76; LANDI *Lat.* 54, 79, 116.

**ari** *m.*, pl. *arinj* 'bear'. From PAIb \**arina* (JOKL *LKUBA* 310) derived from \**ara* > OAlb *ar* (BOGDANI). The feminine forms are *arushë* and *arëshë*. A tabooistic transformation of IE \**rkso-* ~ \**rkto-* id.: Hitt *hartag-*

*ga-*, Skt *fkṣa-*, Gk ἄρκτος, Lat *ursus* and the like (CAMARDA I 86; MEYER *Wb.* 15, *Alb. St.* IV 20). The expected Alb \**arth* must have been treated as a diminutive in *-th*, from where the existing form *ar* was later derived (DEMIRAJ *AE* 82). ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 146; MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 232, 344; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 106, *Kelt. Gr.* I 89, *BB* XX 231; JOKL *LKUBA* 310; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 132-133; MANN *Language* XVII 16; POKORNY I 875; MAYRHOFFER I 118; HAMP *Laryngeals* 140-141; WATKINS *IESt* II 504-539; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 66 (erroneously connects *ari* with Gk ἄρῥομαι 'to obtain, to get, to receive' and the like); HULD 38; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 77; KÖDDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 66.

**ark** m, pl. *arqe* 'bow'. Borrowed from Lat *arcus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 15). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; LANDI *Lat.* 79, 148-149.

**arkë** f, pl. *arka* 'chest, box, coffin'. Borrowed from Lat *arca* id. (CAMARDA I 186; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 15). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; JOKL *LKUBA* 126; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 72; HAARMANN 111; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 78-79; LANDI *Lat.* 175.

**armë** f, pl. *armë* 'weapon'. Borrowed from Lat *arma* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 15). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 81; LANDI *Lat.* 79.

**armik** ~ **anëmik** m, pl. *armiq* ~ *anëmiq* 'enemy'. Borrowed from Lat *inimicus* id. (CAMARDA I 38; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 15). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25 (derived from *armë*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 131; JANSON *Unt.* 49; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 81.

**arnoj** aor. *arnova* 'to mend, to repair'. Note a more conservative form *arënoj* as well as a back formation *arnë* 'patch'. The source is Lat *renovare* 'to renew' (MEYER *Wb.* 16). ◇ CAMARDA I 140 (to Gk ἀρρρίσκω 'to produce, to make'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 73; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* I 40 (to *harr* 'to weed'), *Etim.* II 83-84; HAARMANN 145; MANN *Comp.* 34-35 (related to Gmc \**armiz* 'arm').

**arqitë** f. pl. *arqita* 'rod (for basket weaving)'. Borrowed from Slav \**orkyta* 'broom (plant), kind of willow' (cf. in particular SCr *rakita*, Bulg *rakita*) in its form preceding the metathesis in the \**TorT*- group (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 85). ◇ SVANE 128.

**arsye** f. pl. *arsye* 'reason, understanding'. From Lat *ratiōnem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54; MEYER *Wb.* 14). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1051; JOKL *Stud.* 10; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 37; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 85-86; HAARMANN 145.

**arrç** m. pl. *arrça* 'cricket'. Derived from *ar* 'bear', cf. *ari*. For the semantic development cf. Russ *medvedka* 'cricket' based on *medved* 'bear'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 41 (identifies *arrç* with *harç* 'uncastrated pig' and *arrç* 'thorny bush'), *Etim.* II 89.

**arrç** m. pl. *arrça* 'kind of thorny bush, Rhamnus'. Derived from *arrë*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 41 (identifies *arrç* with *harç* 'uncastrated pig'), *Etim.* II 89.

**arrë** f. pl. *arra*, *arrë* 'walnut-tree, walnut'. The rare Geg variant *harrë* is secondary. From PALb \**arwā*, a singularize pl. neut. etymologically identical with Gk ἄρῳα·τὰ Ἡρακλεωτικὰ κάρυα, Hes. (MEYER *Wb.* 17). Further links, including that with Gk κάρυον 'nut' (CAMARDA I 69), are dubious. ◇ JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 83 (reconstructs \**ar-n-ā*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 71; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRISK I 157; CHANTRAINE 118; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 87 (to Basque *hurr* 'small nut'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 89-90; DEMIRAJ *AE* 82.

**arrij** aor. *arriva*, *arrita*, *arrija* 'to come, to arrive'. Borrowed from Rom \**arrivāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 17). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1040 (from Ital *arrivare*); HAMP *Laryngeals* 137 (to *rri*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 91.

**as** adv. 'neither, nor, not (even)'. Compound of *a* and *s* (CAMARDA I 312). ◇ BOPP 497 (treats *a-* as a privative particle); MEYER *Wb.* 17 (mistaken explanation of *a* < Lat *aut*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 322 (to Arm *oç*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 73; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 204 (follows PEDERSEN); BORGEAUD *RRL* XVIII 529 (to Gk οὔτε); ÇABEJ *St.* 42, *Etim.* II 92-93 (agrees with CAMARDA I 312).

**ashkë** f. pl. *ashka* 'wood splinter'. From PALb \**a(k)škā*, a derivative of

IE \**áks-* 'axis': Skt *ákṣa-*, Gk ἄξων, Lat *axis* and the like (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34 (from Neapol *asca* for *aschia* 'splinter'); MEYER *Wb.* 17 (borrowed from Rom \**ascla*); JOKL *LKUBA* 104-105 (supports MEYER); FRISK I 116; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 114 (suffix *-kë*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 111; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 100; LANDI *Lat.* 79, 110.

**ashpër** adj. 'hard, sharp, rough'. Borrowed from Lat *asper* 'rough, uneven' (CAMARDA I 86; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 19). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 100-101; LANDI *Lat.* 79, 136.

**asht** m, pl. *eshtra* ~ *eshtëna* 'bone'. From PALb \**ašti* or \**ašta* further connected with IE \**ost(i)-* 'bone': Hitt *ḫaštai*, Skt *ásthī*, Gk ὀστέον and the like (XYLANDER 298; BOPP 461; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 36; MEYER *Wb.* 19). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 23, 62; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 85; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 86; POKORNY I 783; FRISK II 436-437; MAYRHOFER I 67; TISCHLER I/2 202-203; HAMP *Laryngeals* 133, *Ric. Ling.* VI 231; GINDIN *Onom.* 101; HULD 38-39; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 101; KLINGENSCHMITT apud DEMIRAJ (reconstructs \**ostŋ*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 82-83.

**ashtu** adv. 'so, thus'. As opposed to *kështu* (CAMARDA I 102), *ashtu* consists of the pronominal particle *a* in the form of locative in *-sh* < \**su* and of the adverb *tu* identical with Skt *tu* 'but' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 5-6). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 19 (compares *ashtu* with *tashiti*), *Alb. St.* I 45, IV 50; BARIĆ *AarbSt* I 199-200 (*-shtu* from IE \**so-to-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 73-74; ÇABEJ *St.* I 42-43 (compares *tu* with *tuke*), *Etim.* II 101-103.

**atë** m, pl. *etër* ~ *atën*, *etën* 'father'. From PALb \**ata* further connected with Hitt *atta-* id., Lat *atta* id., Slav \**otъcbъ* id. and similar *Lallwörter* (MEYER *Wb.* 20; HAMP *Laryngeals* 136). In Albanian, the replacement of the original \**pāter-* with \**ata* may be related to another shift affecting \**māter* > *motër*. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 99; PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 247; JOKL *LKUBA* 38-39; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 111; ERNOUT-MEILLET 54; POKORNY I 71; VASMER III 170; TISCHLER I/1 92-93; HULD 39; KLINGENSCHMITT *Lldg.* 102-103; DEMIRAJ *AE* 83.

**atje** adv. 'here'. Compound of *a-* (as in *ai*) and *-tje* (MEYER *Wb.* 20, *Alb.*

St. III 25), cf. *tutje*. ◊ PEDERSEN *Pzon.* 315 (-*tje* < -*teje*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 108.

**aty** adv. 'there'. A compound of *a* and *ty* < \**tū* with a lengthening, etymologically close to -*tu* of *ashtu*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 20 (-*ty* connected with the pronominal stem \**to-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 73 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 109.

**athët** adj. 'harsh, sour, rancid'. From PALb \**ats-eta* etymologically related to IE \**ak-* 'sharp', with some derivatives developing the meaning 'sour' as Lat *acidus* (MEYER *Wb.* 2, *Alb. St.* III 13). ◊ CAMARDA I 161 (compares *athët* with *uthull*); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 99; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89, *LKUBA* 49; OREL *Ētnogenez* 110-114 (*athët* as a source of Slav \**осѣтъ* 'vinegar'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 109-110; MANN *Comp.* 12 (identical with Gk ἀκτίς 'ray of light'); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; DEMIRAJ *AE* 83-84.

**avdos** m 'chaffinch'. Identical with *avdos* 'ice-floe' (see *avër*), for the semantic development cf. *bors*. ◊ POKORNY I 86; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 110 (related to *bors*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 84-85 (compound of two elements: *av-* related to Lat *avis* 'bird' and *dosë*).

**avër** f, pl. *avra* 'ice-floe'. Cf. also *avdos* id. Probably, connected with IE \**a<sub>w</sub>er-*, \**a<sub>w</sub>ed-* 'to make wet'. ◊ POKORNY I 78-79; ÇABEJ *St.* I 45 (to *varrë*), *Etim.* II 112-113 (*avdos* derived from *borë*); LUKA *HD* XXIV 60-61.

**avull** m, pl. *avuj* 'steam, vapor'. From PALb \**abula* continuing an earlier \**ǵbh(u)lo-* (HAMP *RRL* XX 499-500: reconstructs \**ǵbhlo-* but erroneously compares it with Skt *abhrá-* 'cloud' with a definite \*-*r-* > -*r-*). Thus, \**abula* is close to OHG *nebul* 'fog', OS *nifol* < Gmc \**nebulaz* < \**nebh<sup>h</sup>lo*. Etymologically, belongs to IE \**nebh-* 'wet, water; fog, cloud'. As to -*v-*, it reflects the unfinished process of spirantization and loss of intervocalic voiced stops; the expected change of -*v-* to zero did not occur as it preceded a back rounded vowel. Rum *abur* 'fog' was borrowed from Proto-Albanian. ◊ CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk ἀέλλα 'tempest'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 69 (from Lat *vapor* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 21 (comparison with Skt *abhrá-* 'cloud'; ultimately, to \**nebh-*), *Alb. St.* III 36, 81; JOHANSON *IF* IV 139; JOKL *LKUBA* 270-271 (particle *a-* and -*vull* connected with *valë*); WEIGAND *BA* III 210 (of Thra-

cian origin); HASDEU *EMR* I 106; PASCU *RE* 21 (reconstructs Rom \**vapulus*); PUȘCARIU *EW* I; BARIĆ *ARSt* 107-108, *Lingv. stud.* 39 (*avull* < \**o-gʷl-* compared with Germ *Qualm* 'fumes, smoke'); LA PIANA *Studi* 99; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 14 (comparison with Messap *atabulus* 'sirocco'); PISANI *REIE* IV 17 (from Rom \**nebla*, a variant of Lat *nebula* 'mist, fog'); ZALIZN'AK *Ėtimologija* 1964 175; PETROVICI *CL* X 357-358 (to Lat *Boreas* 'North wind'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 335; ROSETTI *ILR* I 271; ÇABEJ *St.* I 45-46 (follows JOKL); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 80-81 (same as SCHMIDT), *ŽA* XXIX 90; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; HULD 39-40; MANN *Comp.* 46 (follows CAMARDA); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 116-117; DEMIRAJ *AE* 85 (to *aft* and *afsh*).

## B

**babë** f 'old woman'. Borrowed from Slav \**baba* 'woman' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 15). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 183; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 111-112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 120; SVANE 189.

**bac** m, pl. *baca* 'elder brother, uncle'. From PAIb \**batja*, a *Lallwort* similar and, perhaps, related to Slav \**bat'a* ~ \**batja* 'elder brother, father' (OREL *Subst.* 4). The Albanian word is the source of Rum *baci* 'chief shepherd, cheese-maker', Megleno-Rum *batš* id. from where Slavic and Hungarian words for 'shepherd' were borrowed (MEYER *Wb.* 29). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 15; BARIĆ *ARSt* 2-3 (from \**bar-c*, to *hari*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 112; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 335; ROSETTI *ILR* I 272; TRUBAČEV *Term. rodstva* 21, 195-196, *ĖSSJa* I 163-164; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 122-124; SVANE 188.

**badër** f, pl. *badra* 'narcissus, daffodil'. More phonetically advanced variants are *badhër* and, especially, *bathër* (HAHN). The word is identical with Skt *bhāstrā* 'bellows', further based on \**bhes-* 'to blow'. Alb -*d(ë)r-* goes back to IE \**-str-* as in *thadër* (OREL *Fort.* 78-79). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 22 (borrowed from Turk *hadruk* 'basil'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 46-47 (with a metathesis, from *bardhë*), *Etim.* II 124-125; MURATI *Probleme* 63-66 (same as ÇABEJ).

**bagëm** m 'oil for anointment'. Borrowed from Gk βάπτισμα 'baptism' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* I 48, *Etim.* II 128). For the phonetic development of the inlaut cf. *pagëzoj*.

**bagēti ~ bakti** f, pl. 'domestic animal, (head of) cattle'. Based on an unattested adjective borrowed from Slav *\*bogatz* 'rich' (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 165) or going back to the otherwise unregistered Slav *\*bogatiŭe* 'richness' (OREL *ZfSlav* XXX/6 912, *Ėtimologija* 1983 137-138). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 20 (to Skt *paśu-* 'cattle'); MEYER *Wb.* 22 (compares with OFr *bage* 'bundle' and the like); JOKL *Studien* 5-6 (links *bagēti* with Skt *bhāga-* 'prosperity, happiness', Slav *\*sъbožьje* 'property, cattle'), *Slavia* XIII 310; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 77, *Stratificazione* 147; HOLUB-KOPEČNÝ 261 (to OHG *packe* 'pack' and the like); SKOK I 179; ÇABEJ *St.* I 48, *Ėtim.* II 129-130.

**bahe** f, pl. *bahe* 'sling'. A singularized plural based on a more archaic form *bahē* < PALb *\*bajā* etymologically close to Slav *\*bojь* 'fight'. Both forms are further related to IE *\*bhei-* 'to strike, to beat' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 22-23 (to ON *baugr* 'ring', IE *\*bheugh-* 'to bend'), *Alb. St.* III 35; ÇABEJ *St.* I 47 (compares with Gmc *\*bautan* 'to beat', Lat *fustis* 'knobbed stick, cudgel'), *Ėtim.* II 126-127; POKORNY I 117-118.

**bajgë** f, pl. *bajga* 'dung'. A more archaic form is *balëg(ë)*, *balgë*. The word is also attested in a metathesized form *bagël*. Goes back to PALb *\*balgā* probably related to Gk βόλβιτον 'cow dung' if the latter is based on *\*bolg<sup>o</sup>*. (OŠTIR *AArbSt* II 370). It is the source of Rum *halegā* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 23, *IF* VI 116 (from NItal *bagola*, *bagula*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 77 (from SCr *balega* id.); LA PIANA *Studi* I 77; CAPIDAN *DR* II 467-470 (borrowed from substratum); BARIĆ *IF* II 297-298 (reconstructs *\*bəlno-g<sup>o</sup>ā*, cf. Slav *\*govьno* 'dung' < IE *\*g<sup>o</sup>ou-* 'cattle'), *AArbSt* II 80-81, *Hymje* 22; IL'INSKIJ *JF* V 183-185 (*bajgë* borrowed from Slavic); HASDEU *EMR* III 124; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 335; ROSETTI *ILR* I 272; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* X/2 68-72 (from NGk γ(κ)άβαλα < Lat *caballus* 'horse (dung)'); ROHR *ZfBalk* XVII/1 80; ÇABEJ *St.* I 49 (agrees with OŠTIR), *Ėtim.* II 132-133; DEMIRAJ *AE* 86-87.

**bajzë** f, pl. *bajza* 'coot, kind of water-fowl'. The same word is attested as *balzë* and may be interpreted as a derivative of *\*bal-* 'white' (DODBIBA *St. Leks.* 256). ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 125; ÇABEJ *St.* I 50, *Ėtim.* II 134-135 (to Lat *fulica*).

**bakull** adj. 'robust, vigorous'. Derived from *bakë* 'belly', a variant of



*bark* (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 137). ◊ MANN *Comp.* 62 (to Gk φάκελος 'bunch').

**bal** m, p. *bala* 'dog with a white spot on its forehead', adj. 'white-haired'. Also *balë* 'white spot'. From PALb \**bala* etymologically close to Lith *bālas* 'white', Latv *bāls* 'pale', Gk φαλός·λευκός (Hes.) and the like. As to *balash*, *balosh* 'horse or ox with a white spot on its forehead', it was borrowed from Slav \**bělašь*, \**bělošь* 'white animal' (MEYER *Wb.* 25; OREL *Ētimologija* 1983 133-134) with \*-ě- rendered as -a- under the influence of *bal*. ◊ MEYER *NGriech. St.* II 69 (treats *balash*, *balosh* as cognates of Lith *bālas* and the like); MANN *Language* XXVI 380 (to Bret *bal* id.), XXVIII 36; FRAENKEL 32; FRISK II 988-989; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 328; KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 65; HAMP *Anc. IE* 112; ÇABEJ *St.* I 50-51, *Etim.* II 138-140; KALUŽSKAJA *Slavjanovedenie* 1992/2 80-86; DEMIRAJ *AE* 87.

**balçem** m 'balm'. Attested in a more archaic form *balshëm* in Old Albanian (BUZUKU). Borrowed from Lat *balsamum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 5; MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 25; JOKL *LKUBA* 115 n.1). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 24-25 (together with *balsam* id. treated as a Turkish loanword); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *St.* I 51, *Etim.* II 143-144; LANDI *Lat.* 111.

**balë** f, pl. 'badger'. Related to *bal* taking into account the light-colored spots on the badger's snout.

**baltë** f, pl. *haltë* 'swamp, marsh, dirt, earth'. Goes back to PALb \**baltā* (singularized pl. neut.) closely related to Slav \**bolto* with which it continues IE \**bholatom* (MEYER *Wb.* 25). This form belongs to the paradigm of the adjective \**bholato-* 'white' represented in Lith *bāltas* further derived from IE \**bhela-* 'shining, white'. Rum *baltă* 'swamp', NGk βάλτος id. seem to be borrowed from Albanian. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 20 (to Skt *pṛthvī* 'earth'); BRÜCH *Glotta* VII 83 f. (*baltë* as an autochthonous Illyrian word in Albanian); MEYER *BB* XIX 154; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 242 (from Lomb *palta*); TREIMER *ZfromPhil.* XXXVIII 392 (borrowed from Slav \**bolto*); SKOK *A ArbSt.* II 114, *Slavia* III 115 (accepts the Slavic origin of *baltë*); BARIĆ *A ArbSt.* II 386; TROMBETTI *A ArbSt.* III 21-22; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 78, *Origini* 309; HASDEU *EMR* III 135; MANN *Language* XXVI 385 (from Slavic); PORZIG *Gliederung* 159, 175; FRAENKEL 32, *KZ* LIV

294-295; VASMER I 190; PISANI *Saggi* 123 (isogloss uniting Albanian with Balto-Slavic); POKORNY I 118-120; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 328; ROSETTI *ILR* I 272, *Ist. limb. rom.* II 97 (Slavic \**bolto* in Balkan languages); HUBSCHMID *RRL* XXIV/4 343-352; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 14, *Anc. IE* 109; TOPOROV *PJa* I 189 (reconstructs OPrus \**balt-*); SOLTA *Balkanlinguistik* 47, 100; ÇABEJ *St.* I 51-52, *Etim.* II 144-147; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; MURATI *Probleme* 127; DEMIRAJ *AE* 87-88.

**ballë** m/n, pl. *ballë* 'forehead'. Singularized pl. neut. \**balā* related to Skt *bhāla-* id., OPrus *ballo* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 24, *Alb. St.* III 33). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544; JOKL *ZONF* X 194, *Sprache* IX 128; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 78, *Stratificazione* 86; MANN *Language* XXVI 380 (reconstructs an *i*-stem); MAYRHOFER II 496-497; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 77; POKORNY I 118-119; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; ÇABEJ *St.* I 53, *Etim.* II 148-150; HULD 40; DEMIRAJ *AE* 88-89.

**ballungë** f, pl. *ballunga* 'bump, swelling'. With a secondary assimilation of vowels, also *bullungë*. A derivative in *-ungë* based on *ballë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 53 (borrowed from Rom \**bulluca* and related to *bulë* and/or to *mëllë*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (to *bulë* < \**bhulnā* in connection with Gk φύλλον 'leaf'); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* I 144-145 (follows MEYER's comparison with *mëllë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 82 (agrees with BARIĆ).

**banë** f, pl. *bana* 'dwelling'. From PAIb \**banti*, a *nti*-derivative of *běj* 'to make, to do' (for semantic parallels see ÇABEJ I 52). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 6-8 (from IE \**bhoṃono-*, cf. Skt *bhavana-* 'dwelling, home' despite the irregularity of Tosk *-n-* < \**-n-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 382; ÇABEJ I 51-52 (explains *banë* as a Geg participle of *běj* identical with Tosk *bërë* but *banë* is well attested in both dialects of Albanian), *Etim.* II 151-153; MAYRHOFER II 485-486; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 148 (explains *banë* as a phonetic variant of adv. *mbanë* 'near, nearby'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 89.

**banjë** f, pl. *banja* 'bath'. Borrowed from Slav \**banja* id.: OCS *banja*, Bulg *ban'a*, ScR *banja* and the like (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 24; WEIGAND 4). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; (from Latin); HELBIG 90 (from Italian); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 155 (from Rom \**banea* or Ital *bagno*).

**bar** m, pl. *barëra* ~ *barëna* 'grass'. From PAIb \**bara* etymologically

related to Lat *far* 'sort of grain, spelt' < \**bhars-*, ON *barr* 'spelt' and the like (CAMARDA I 336; MEYER *Wb.* 26, *Alb. St.* III 71). ◇ POTT *KZ* VI 321 (to Lat *herba* id.); MEYER *Alb. St.* III 33 (to Gk φόρος '(agricultural) yield'); KRETSCHMER *Glotta* III 338-339, VI 96 (to Gk φάρμακον 'drug, healing remedy'); JOKL *Vox Rom.* VIII 192 (Alpine Romance parallels); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 30 (to NPers *bar* 'fruit'); MANN *Language* XVII 16; CHANTRAINE 1179; HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 90 (close to KRETSCHMER); ÇABEJ *St.* I 54 (agrees with KRETSCHMER), *Etim.* II 156-158; DEMIRAJ *AE* 89-90 (from IE \**bheu-* 'to grow').

**bardhë** adj. 'white'. From PALb \**bardza* continuing \**bhorāgo-*, a derivative of IE \**bherāg-* 'to shine; white', cf. Skt *bhrājate* '(he) shines, beams, glitters', Goth *bairhts* 'light, shining' and also the word for 'birch': Lith *bėržas*, Slav \**berza* (MEYER *Wb.* 29, *Alb. St.* III 17, 33, 72). PALb \**bardza* is particularly close to Skt *bhārga-* 'shining' with an irregular development of \*-g̃-. The Albanian word is the source of Rum *barză* 'stork'. ◇ HASDEU *EMR* III 216; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 79; LA PIANA *Studi* I 41; FRAENKEL 40-41; MAYRHOFER II 479-480, 529-530; POKORNY I 139-140; KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 68-69; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 336; ROSETTI *ILR* I 272-273; ÖLBERG *Beitr. Idg.* 57; GREPPIN *JIES* V/2-3 203-207 (Dac \**barđo-* 'stork' related to Arm *brdoṛ* 'lammergeyer'); HULD 40; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 161-164 (to Gk φορκόν·λευκόν); DEMIRAJ *AE* 90-91.

**bares** aor. *barita* 'to go for a walk, to stroll'. From PALb \**bar-ōtja* derived from \**bar* 'shepherd' preserved in *bari* (WEIGAND *Balkan-Archiv* I 252-253). ◇ JOKL *Die Sprache* IX 144 (to *mbaj*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 164 (denominative of *bar* 'grass').

**bari** m, pl. *barinj* 'shepherd'. Based on an unattested \**bar* < PALb \**bara* (the derivation is similar to that of *ari*, *njeri*, cf. DEMIRAJ *AE* 91) related to OHG *baro* '(free) man'. As to OAlb *bēruo* 'shepherd' (BUZUKU, BUDI), it is not connected with *bari* and should be rather analyzed as a loanword from Lat *bārōnem* 'simpleton'. ◇ CAMARDA I 341 (mistaken translation of *bari* as 'bestiame'; comparison with Gk βάρτιχου·ἄρνεϋς, Hes.); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 69, *Wb.* 27, 33 (to *berr*); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 156 (follows MEYER); WEIGAND *Balkan-Archiv* I 252-253 (compares *bari* with *bares* 'to go for a walk, to stroll'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 147; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 191 (to *bar*); HAMP

*ZfceltPh* XXXIX 212 (same as CIMOCHOWSKI); ÇABEJ *St.* I 55-56 (suggests an etymological link to *bie*, *mbar*), 64 (compares *bari* with *bëruo*), *Etim.* II 165-167; DEMIRAJ *AE* 92 (both *bari* and *bëruo* borrowed from Lat *barō*, *barōnis*).

**bark** m, pl. *barqe* 'belly, womb, abdomen'. From PAIb *\*haruka* identical with βαρ(υ)κα· αἰδοῖον παρὰ Ταραντίνοις (DURANTE *Ric. Ling.* III 158; KRAHE *Spr. Illyr.* 41) and, further, continuing *\*bhor-uko-*, a derivative of IE *\*bher-* 'to carry' (MEYER *Wb.* 27). The loss of the inlaut *-u-* points to the stress on the first syllable in PAIb *\*báruka*, cf. *barukë* < *\*barúka*. ◊ CAMARDA I 58 (correctly compares *bark* and *barrë*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 327 (follows MEYER), *BB* XX 238, *Pron.* 344 (to Gk φάρυγξ); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVIII 231 (to Lat *farciō* 'to cram, to stuff'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 22; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 79, *Stratificazione* 86; MANN *Language* XVII 7 (comparison with W *brych* 'afterbirth', W *bru* 'belly'); FRISK I 221; CAMAJ 29, 114 (accepts MEYER's view); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; ÇABEJ *St.* I 56-57, *Etim.* II 167-169; HULD 41; DEMIRAJ *AE* 92.

**barkë** f, pl. *harka* 'boat'. Borrowed from Lat *barca* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 5; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042); LANDI *Lat.* 93.

**barmë** f 'bast'. A parallel form is masculine *barm*. From PAIb *\*bardzmā* ~ *\*hardzma* derived from *\*bardza* > *bardhë* 'white', with a typical semantic pattern for the nomination of bark and bast (ÇABEJ *St.* I 57, *Etim.* II 170), cf. Slav *\*lyko* 'bast' from IE *\*leuk-* 'to shine; shining, white'. ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 19 (to Gk φορμός); TRUBAČEV *Rem. term.* 164-166; OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 172; DEMIRAJ *AE* 90.

**barukë** f 'fleece'. From PAIb *\*barukā* derived from *\*barwa* > *berr* 'sheep, goat' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 172-173). ◊ DEMIRAJ *AE* 92 (to *barrë*).

**barrë** f, pl. *barrë* 'load, burden'. From PAIb *\*harā* further related to *bie* and *mbar* (BOPP 471; MEYER *Wb.* 28, *Alb. St.* III 73) and particularly close to Gk φορά 'load' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 174). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; BUGGE *KZ* XXXII 4; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 78-79; PISANI *Saggi* 103, 121; BARIĆ *Lingv. stud.* 34 (stresses the similarity with Gk φέρνη 'dowry'); MANN *Language* XVII 19; FRISK II 1003-1005; POKORNY

I 128-132; HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 210 (from \**bhornā*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 57; MANN *Comp.* 94 (from IE \**bhormā*); HULD 41; DEMIRAJ *AE* 92-93 (agrees with ÇABEJ).

**barrë** f. pl. *barrë* 'fetus'. From PALb \**barnā*, a singularized plural cognate with Gmc \**barnan* 'child'. The word must be strictly differentiated from *barrë* 'load, burden'. ◊ ZALIZN'AK *Ëtimologija* 139; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 173-174.

**bashkë** f 'fleece'. From PALb \**bar(u)škā* etymologically connected with *barukë* id. and derived from *berr* 'sheep, goat' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 172-173). For a similar semantic development cf. Skt *ajīna-* 'skin, hide' ~ *ajā-* 'goat'. The Albanian word was borrowed to Rum *bască* id. ◊ BARTHOLOMAE *IF* IX 252 (to Av *varāsa-* 'hair'); MEYER *Wb.* 28 (from \**vars-kë* connected with Cyren βασσάρα 'fox'); JOKL *LKUBA* 170; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3236; ROSETTI *ILR* I 273; RESTELLI *RIL* XCI 467 (to Germ *Bürste*); ÖLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 566; MANN *Language* XVII 13, *Comp.* 67 (identical with *bashkë* 'together'; was borrowed from Thracian or ancient Macedonian); VRACIU *LB* VIII 20 (from substratum); ÇABEJ I 58 (to Gk φάρσος 'piece, part' and its cognates), *Etim.* II 178-180; DEMIRAJ *AE* 93 (identical with *bashkë* 'together').

**bashkë** adv. 'together'. Goes back to PALb \**haskkā* related to Lat *fascis* 'bundle', *fascia* 'band, bandage' (MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 80, *IF* VI 106). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (to Skt *paścā-* 'back, posterior'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 95, *AarbSt* III 215 (follows MEYER); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 77; JOKL *LKUBA* 170 (to Skt *bādhatē*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 80 (agrees with JOKL); MANN *Language* XVII 13; WALDE-HOFMANN I 459-460; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282; ÇABEJ I 58-59 (follows MEYER), *Etim.* II 180-181; DEMIRAJ *AE* 93-94.

**batis** aor. *batisa* 'to press together'. Borrowed from Slav \**batiti* 'to beat', presently preserved in South Slavic only as SCR *batiti* 'to rebound, to jump away'.

**bathë** f, pl. *bathë* 'broad bean'. Continues PALb \**batsā* < IE \**bhakā* also preserved in Gk φακῆ 'dish of lentils', φακός 'lentil' (MEYER *Wb.* 22, *Alb. St.* III 13, 33). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 80; MANN *Language* XXVI 380; PISANI *Saggi* 118; JUCQUOIS *Muséon* LXXVIII 445; POKORNY I 106; FRISK II 985; CHANTRAINE 1173, 1180;

CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 18; HULD 41-42 (finds a parallel in Burushaski *bu:kak* 'beans'); OREL *Ëtimologija* 1985 181; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 356; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 184-185; DEMIRAJ *AE* 94.

**be** f, pl. *be* 'oath'. From PALb \**haidā* connected with Slav \**běda* 'disaster', Lat *foedus* 'league, treaty' and other nominal derivatives of IE \**bheidh-* 'to persuade, to force' (MEYER *Wb.* 30, *Alb. St.* III 33). ◊ ERNOUT-MEILLET 233; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 81-82; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 26; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; TRUBAČEV *ËSSJa* II 54-56; POKORNY I 117; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 252-253; HULD 42; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 186-187 (to Gk πίστις, Lat *fidēs* 'belief'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 94-95.

**begatë** adj. 'rich'. Other variants are *bëgatë* and *hugatë*. Borrowed from Slav \**bogatъ* id., cf., in particular, South Slavic: OCS *bogatъ*, Bulg *bogat*, SCr *bogat* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 50). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 326; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 190-191; SVANE 267.

**bejkë** f 'white sheep'. Borrowed from Slav \**bělъka* 'white animal, white sheep' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 192).

**bekoj** aor. *bekova* 'to bless'. A more phonetically conservative variant is *bënkoj*. Borrowed from Lat *benedicere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 6; MEYER *Wb.* 31). ◊ CAMARDA I 141 (to *be* and *besë*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 81; KÖDDERITZSCH *Asp. Alb.* 121-130; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 193.

**belbë** adj. 'stammering, dumb'. Borrowed from Lat *balbus* 'stammering, stuttering' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; MEYER *Wb.* 31). From *belbë* such synonymous forms as *belbër* and *belbët* were derived. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 194-195 (onomatopoeia).

**belbičë** f, pl. *belbica* 'kind of trout'. Another variant is *helvice*. Borrowed from Bulg *belvica* id. (WEIGAND 6, JOKL *Slavia* XIII 311). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 32 (from Lat *barbus* 'barbel'); KRISTOFORIDHI 43; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 7; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 195, *St.* IV 97-98; SVANE 150.

**belcě** f 'wool cover'. Borrowed from Slav \**hělica* 'white object' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 195).

**beng** m, pl. *bengje*, *bengë* 'oriole, finch'. Borrowed from one of the continuants of (West) Gmc \**finkan* 'finch', cf. especially Bavarian *pienk* (MEYER *Wb.* 32). ◇ HAHN 13 (to *zbehem*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 198 (agrees with MEYER).

**ber** m 'bow, arrow, spear'. From PALb \**bōra*, derivative of *bie* < \**bera* 'to strike, to fall' (JOKL *LKUBA* 244). ◇ ÇABEJ I 61, *Etim.* II 199-200 (to Gk φάρος 'plow'); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 67; DEMIRAJ *AE* 95 (to *bri*).

**berk** m 'bast'. From PALb \**bardz(i)ka* derived from PALb \**bardza* > *hardhë* 'white' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 172). For the semantic evolution cf. *barmë*. ◇ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (suffix -k); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 201 (from Slav \**ob(ъ)вѣтка* > Russ *obertka*).

**beronjë** f, pl. *beronja* 'barren woman; holly; kind of serpent'. Another phonetic variant is *buronjë*. A derivative with a feminine suffix *-onjë* of an unattested \**ber* < PALb \**bara* 'naked, barren', borrowed from Gmc \**bazaz*: OHG *bar* 'bare', ON *berr* id. (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 33 (comparison with *berr* and Slav \**baranъ* 'ram'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 174 (from Romance, cf. OFr *baraigne* 'barren'); TAGLI-AVINI *Stratificazione* 147; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 201-202; DEMIRAJ *AE* 95 (derived, as two separate words for 'barren woman' and 'holly', from *ber* and *berr*).

**berr** m, pl. *berra* 'sheep, goat'. From PALb \**harwa* etymologically connected with ON *borgr* 'hog', OHG *barug*, *baruh* id., Slav \**borvъ* 'boar' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 173; MANN *Comp.* 95). Note a deminutive *berk* 'goat' only in *era berk* 'stench of a goat' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 201). ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 208 (to Gk βάρητοι ἄρνες, Hes.); MEYER *Wb.* 33 (an Alpine *Wanderwort*); JOKL *LKUBA* 242 (from an interjection used to address the sheep); HASDEU *EMR* III 637; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253 (to Engad *bar* and other Alpine words); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 81, *Stratificazione* 132-133; HUBSCHMID *Vox Romanica* XIV 195; TRAUTMANN 27 (\**bhoru-* as an areal word for 'sheep and goats'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3237; ROSETTI *ILR* I 273 (to Rum *bîr*, cry with which the shep-

herd calls the sheep); ÇABEJ *Glotta* XXXVI 50, *St.* I 61, *Etim.* II 202-204; DEMIRAJ *AE* 95-96.

**besë** f, pl. *besa* 'pledge, truce, trust'. From PALb *\*baitšā* traced back to IE *\*bhoidh-tā* (HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 252-253 follows STIER *KZ* VII 160 and CAMARDA I 43 in reconstructing *\*bhidh-tā* as an exact equivalent of Gk πιστός 'faithful, trustworthy') or *\*bhoidh-tjā* (PISANI *Saggi* 129) further connected with IE *\*bheidh-* 'to persuade, to force' and Alb *be*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 33 (compares with Alb *bind* and reconstructs *\*bhendhtjā*), *Alb. St.* II 50, III 25, IV 97; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 308 (thinks of *\*bhendhtā*); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 201; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 163; JOKL *LKUBA* 262 n. 2; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 26 (derivative of *\*bheidh-* in *\*-ātjā*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 110; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 81-82; PISANI *Saggi* 129; FRISK II 487-488; POKORNY I 117; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; ÇABEJ *St.* I 61-62, *Etim.* II 204-206; HULD 42; WATKINS *Dragon* 83; DEMIRAJ *AE* 96-97.

**běj** ~ **bâj** aor. *bëra* ~ *bana* 'to do, to make'. From PALb *\*banja* compared with Gk φαίνω 'to appear' (MEYER *Wb.* 23-24, *Alb. St.* III 33), a zero grade further connected with IE *\*bhā-*. For the semantic development cf. OÍr *bann* 'deed' of the same root (BUGGE *BB* XVIII 162). ◇ CAMARDA I 48 (to IE *\*bhā-* 'to grow'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 84-85; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 113; HULD 43; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 207-208; DEMIRAJ *AE* 97-98.

**bërçel** m 'kind of wheat, *Triticum monococcum*'. Derived from an unattested *\*bërcë* ~ *\*bricë* borrowed from Slav *\*bъrica* > Bulg *brica* 'kind of white wheat' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). ◇ JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 62 (related to *bardhë*); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 125; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 209-210 (from Maced *pčenica* 'wheat' < Slav *\*pъšenica*).

**bërçik** m *bërçikë* 'span (between thumb and index)'. Borrowed from Slav *\*bъrčikъ*, cf. Bulg *brъčka* 'fold, wrinkle'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 34 (to an unattested Bulg *prъža*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 7 (borrowed from SCr *\*brčik* related to Pol *bark* 'arm'); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 125; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 210; SVANE 89.

**bërkoq** m 'little pig'. Another variant is *bërkuq*. Derived from *berk*, see *berr*. ◇ JOKL *IF* XLIV 56 (borrowed from Lat *porcus*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 211 (to *koqe*).



**bĕrsi** f, pl. *bĕrsi* ‘husks of grapes, marc’. Borrowed from Rom \**brūtea* reflecting Thracian βρούτεια. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 34 (from Lat *brīsa*); BRÜCH *IF* XL 241-244 (from “Illyrian”, cf. Thr βρῦτον ‘beer’); HAARMAN 113; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 212 (reconstructs \**bris-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 98 (borrowed from Thracian).

(G) **bĕrshĕ** m ‘juniper’. Continues \**eburusa*, a form somehow connected with OIr *ibar* id., Gaulish *eburo-* (JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 235-237). ◇ BERTOLD *WuS* XI 155 (follows JOKL); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 212-213; DEMIRAJ *AE* 98-99 (critical of the Celtic parallels).

**bĕrtas** aor. *brita* ‘to shout, to cry’. Borrowed from Slav \**bĕrtvati* ~ \**bĕrtviti* ‘to babble’, cf. Bulg *brĕtv*’a. ◇ CAMARDA I 68 (compares *bĕrtas* with Gk βρυχάομαι ‘to bellow’); MEYER *Wb.* 470 (to *vĕrras*), *Alb. St.* III 38; MACHEK *LP* V 59-60 (follows CAMARDA); TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* III 132; ÇABEJ *St.* I 63 (to Latv *brĕkt* ‘to cry’, OIr *bressim* id.), *Etim.* II 213.

**bĕrthamĕ** f, pl. *bĕrthama* ‘(fruit) stone’. A compound consisting of *bĕrth* < *birth* (with a vocalic shift in the unstressed position) and *amĕ*; thus, *bĕrth-amĕ* is something like ‘mother of the fruit’. Its synonym, *bĕrthokĕl* is to be analyzed as a formation with two suffixes *-ok-* and *-ĕl* of the same root. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 34 (from Rom \**petramen* derived from *petra* ‘stone’); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 30 (divides *bĕrthamĕ* into *bĕr* and *tha(l)mĕ*, the latter to be compared with *thelb*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 63-64 (a derivative of *hathĕ* > \**barthĕ*), *Etim.* II 213-214; MURATI *Probleme* 66-67 (root *bĕr-*).

**bĕrrakĕ** f, pl. *bĕrraka* ‘muddy pool, pond, swamp’. Derivative of *birĕ*. Note a similar change of *-r-* > *-rr-* in *bĕrryl*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 33 (to Slav \**bara* ‘pool, rivulet’; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 84-87 (identifies the root of *bĕrrakĕ* with the ancient Balkan stem *bar-* in river-names); MLADENOV *IORJaS* XVII/4 228-230 (to Skt *barburá-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 64 (to βράγος· ἔλος, Hes.), *Etim.* II 215-217.

**bĕrryl** m, pl. *bĕrryla*, *bĕrryle* ‘elbow, forearm’. Other variants reflect an original *-ll* in the auslaut. From Palb \**bōrei ul(e)nā* ‘turn of the bow’ > ‘elbow’ (for the first element - ÇABEJ I 65, *Etim.* II 217-219). Thus, the structure of the word is close to that of Gmc \**alinobogon* ‘elbow’: OHG *elinbogo*, ON *olnbogi* and the like (OREL *ZfBalk*

XXIII/1 67). The first component (in gen.-dat. sg.) is identical with *ber* 'bow'. The second appears, in different accentual conditions, as *llëřë ~ llanë*. In hiatus, the resulting group *\*-ei u-* develops exactly as *\*-iwi- > -y-*, cf. *grykë*.  $\diamond$  MEYER *Wb.* 49 (from Rom *\*brāchiūle*); BARIĆ *A ArbSt* I 159 (from Lat *brāchiullus*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 89; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 5 (to *bri*, *brinjë*).

**bic** m, pl. *bica* 'piglet'. Onomatopoeia (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 222-223) similar to that in E *pig*.  $\diamond$  MEYER *Alb. St.* I 39 (from SCR *biče*), *Wb.* 38 (adduces, with doubt, Germ *Betze* 'young castrated boar'); DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13 (borrowed from SCR *bica* 'dwarf'); SVANE 138 (from Slavic).

**bie** aor. *pruva*, *prura* ~ *pruna* 'to bring'. From PALb *\*berja* continuing IE *\*bher-* 'to bring, to carry': Skt *bhārati*, Gk φέρω and the like (BOPP 471-472, 491; MEYER *Wb.* 35, *Alb. St.* III 33, 73). The aorist (in its more archaic form *pruva*) appears to go back to PALb *\*pruwa* < *\*pruom*, a form based on IE *\*per-* 'to lead': Skt *pīparti* 'to bring over', Gk πείρω 'to penetrate' and the like (BOPP 481, MEYER *Wb.* 35).  $\diamond$  PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* II 475; BRUGMANN 117, 150; JOKL *Stud.* 82-83; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 187, 230; PISANI *Saggi* 116; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 63, 71 (derives the participle *prura* from *\*p-run-a*); FRISK II 491-492, 1003-1004; CHANTRAINE 1191; POKORNY I 130-131; MAYRHOFER II 284, 473-476; HAMP *BSL* LXVI 222-223; HULD 43 (reconstructs *\*bherjō*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 225; DEMIRAJ *AE* 99-100, 334.

**bie** aor. *rashë* 'to fall, to hit, to strike, to beat'. From PALb *\*be(r)ja* derived from IE *\*bher-* 'to strike': Lat *feriō* id., OHG *herjan* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 35, *Alb. St.* III 33, 73). As to *rashë*, it goes back to PALb *\*rauša*, a sigmatic aorist of IE *\*reu-* 'to tear': Skt *rāvate* 'to smash', Lat *ruō* 'to tear, to dig out' and the like (JOKL *IF* XLIII 49-50).  $\diamond$  BOPP 471; CAMARDA I 240 (*rashë* related to Gk ράσσω 'to strike, to dash'); MEYER *BB* VIII 183, 189 (connected with IE *\*bhei-* 'to strike, to beat'), *Wb.* 35 (*rashë* compared with Slav *\*raziti* 'to strike'); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 111; BARIĆ I 77 (*rashë* < *\*e-nāk-s-om* to Gk ἐνεγκεῖν 'to bring', Slav *\*nesti* 'to carry'); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 103-105, *LKUBA* 166; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 240; LA PIANA *Varia* 20; WALDE-HOFMANN I 481-482; MAYRHOFER III 63; VASMER III 452; CAMAJ 29 (reconstructs *\*bhorejō*); HAMP *Anc. IE* 115, *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 210-211; ÇABEJ *St.* II 69 (follows JOKL), *Etim.* II 224-225; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *FLH*

VIII/1-2 47 (follows MEYER *BB* VIII 183); HULD 43-44; KÖDDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 66; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 97 (to ON *rasa* 'to overthrow'); DEMIRAJ *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 72, AE 100, 343-344.

**bigĕ** f, pl. 'forked stick, branch; double-crested mountain'. A metaphorical usage of the borrowed Lat *bīga* 'pair of animals; team for plowing'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 35 (compares *bigĕ* with Romance words for 'beam'); BARIĆ *AArbSt I/1-2* 141 (< \**bhi-ghā* to Goth *bai* 'both', structurally similar to \**duoighā*); OREL *Antič. balk.* III 37-39 (from PALb \**dweigā* related to Slav \**dvigъ* 'branch'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 228.

**bijĕ** f, pl. *bija* 'daughter'. In South Tosk and Italo-Albanian there exists a more archaic form - *bilĕ*. From PALb \**birilā* (JOKL *IF* XXXVII 109) derived from \**bira* > *bir* (CAMARDA I 79). The phonetic development of \**-rj-* > *-j-* (PEDERSEN XXXIII 541) is in this case confirmed by the paradigm *bir* ~ pl. *bij*. ◇ STIER *KZ* VI 148 (to Messap *bilīa* 'daughter'); MEYER *Wb.* 37 (feminine of *bir*), *Alb. St.* III 33; JOKL *LKUBA* 194; ÖLBERG *Beitr. Idg.* 66; RIBEZZO *Riv. Alb.* I 136 (follows STIER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 83, *Stratificazione* 112-113; LXVII 213-217; MANN *Language* XXVIII 36; DE SIMONE *IF* LXIII 265 (against comparison with Messap *bilīa*); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 78 (follows RIBEZZO), *BSL* LXVII 213-217 (together with Lat *filia* id. < \**bhuljā*); HULD 44 (supports HAMP); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 230-231; DEMIRAJ AE 101 -102.

**bilonjĕ** f 'twig, branch; pretty girl or young woman'. From PALb \**būlānjā*, a derivative of unattested \**būla* etymologically identical with Gk φύλον 'leaf'. ◇ ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 233 (*bilonjĕ* compared with South Slavic reflexes of Slav \**bylŭje* 'grass'); OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 173 (to *bijĕ*).

**bimĕ** f, pl. *bimĕ* 'plant'. From PALb \**būmā*, a singularized pl. neut., related to *mbij* (MEYER *Wb.* 36) and particularly close to Gk φῶμα 'plant' (MANN *Comp.* 123). ◇ MANN *Language* XXVI 387, XXVIII 37; CHANTRAINE 1235; ÇABEJ *St.* I 66 (adds *bim* 'piglet', *bimĕ* 'young sow' that are otherwise considered to be Romance loanwords), *Etim.* II 234.

**bind** aor. *binda* 'to convince, to persuade'. From PALb \**binda*, a nasal present based on an unattested \**beida* related to *be* (BOPP 514; CAMARDA I 59). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 36 (to Goth *bindan* 'to tie' and its cognates), *Alb. St.* III 29, 33; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 163 (follows BOPP); JOKL

apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 495 (to Skt *bādhate* 'to push, to press'); PISANI *Saggi* 129; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 26; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 253 (agrees with BOPP); ÇABEJ *St.* I 66-67, *Etim.* II 235-236 (from IE *\*bhedh-nō*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 101.

**bir** m, pl. *bij* 'son'. From PALb *\*bira* compared with Goth *baur* 'son' < IE *\*bh<sup>er</sup>o-* (PEDERSEN *BB* XIX 295; *KZ* XXXIII 541), with further link to IE *\*bher-* 'to give birth'. ◊ CAMARDA I 79 (to Gk *ὕιός* 'son'); MEYER *Wb.* 37 (from IE *\*bhū-l-*, cf. Gk *φῶλον* 'race, tribe'), *Alb. St.* III 33; SOLMSEN *KZ* XXXIV 4; WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 220; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 109, *LKUBA* 194 (to Lat *filius* 'son'); RIBEZZO *Riv. Alb.* I 136 (*bir* as a secondary formation based on *bijë*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 112-113; PISANI *Saggi* 226; BARIÇ *Hymje* 57; HAMP *BSL* LXVII 213-217 follows PEDERSEN); HULD 44-45; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 239-240; KLINGENSCHMITT *Lldg.* 103 (to *bij*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 102 (agrees with KLINGENSCHMITT).

**birë** f, pl. *bira* 'hole'. From PALb *\*birā*, a zero-grade derivative of IE *\*bher-*: Lat *forō* 'to bore, to pierce', OHG *borōn* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 37). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 541; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 94; LA PIANA *Studi* I 91; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 83; ERNOUT-MEILLET 249; WALDE-HOFMANN I 481-482; HAMP *RRL* XXI 51 (from IE *\*bhid-rā*), *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 211 (from IE *\*bherHuā*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 241-242; DEMIRAJ *AE* 102-103 (to *brej*).

**birko** adv. 'good, fine, excellent'. Related to *birq* (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 174). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 37 (compares with *mirë*); BARIÇ *ARSt* 3 (compound of *\*bher-* as in *mbarë* and *ko-* < *kohë*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 242 (derived from *bir*).

**birq** m 'heap, heap of sand, sand-dune'. In Tosk also *berq*. Diminutive *birth* 'pimple' is derived from *birq*. A singularized plural of PALb *\*birka* formally identical with an isolated Slav *\*bъrkъ* 'moustache, hair, trunk'. Thus, the original meaning of the Albanian word could be 'upright, vertical (heap)'. ◊ CAMARDA 59 (identical with *pirg* 'tower' < NGk *πύργος* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 98 (follows CAMARDA); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 128-129; OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 173-174 (to IE *\*bher-* 'to bring', cf. Russ *borona* 'many, a great amount' going back to the same root according to VARBOT *Praslav.* 170-171); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 242.

**bisedë** f, pl. *biseda* 'talk, conversation, speech'. Borrowing from Slav \**besěda* id., cf., in particular, South Slavic forms: OCS *besěda*, Bulg *beseđa*, SCr *beseđa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 33). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 143, 192; MANN *Language* XXVIII 35; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 243; SVANE 1220, 230.

**bisk** m, pl. *bisq, bisqe* 'branch, twig'. Borrowed from a diminutive Slav \**bičьkъ* derived from \**bičь* 'whip' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). As to *bisk* 'rivulet', it may also belong here. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 37 (from NGk βίτσα 'switch, rod' borrowed from Bulg *vica* id.); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 243-245 (borrowed from Slav \**bičь* or derived from *mbij*); MANN *Comp.* 78 (to Lith *biskis, biškis* 'bit, fragment' - a German [East Prussian] loanword); PAGLIARO *Shêjzat* X 315-317; DEMIRAJ *AE* 101 (derived from *mbij*).

**bistër** adj. 'agile, nimble, sour'. Borrowed from Slav \**bystrъ* 'agile, quick', cf. South Slavic forms: OCS *bystrъ*, Bulg *bistър*, SCr *bistar* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13). ◇ ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 246; SVANE 150.

**bishë** f, pl. *bisha* 'beast, wild animal'. Borrowed from Lat *hēstia* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 38). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 246-247; LANDI *Lat.* 119.

**bisht** m, pl. *bishta, bishtra ~ bishtna* 'tail'. From PALb \**būšta*, derivative of IE \**bhū-* 'to grow'. The metaphor views the tail as a bodily outgrowth. ◇ XYLANDER 287 (to Basque *bustan* id.); CAMARDA I 58 (to Gk ὀπισθεν 'back, behind'); MEYER *Wb.* 38; JOHANNSON *IF* XIV 268 (from \**bhid-to-* and, further, to Lat *findere* 'to cleave'); JOKL *LKUBA* 261 n. 2; OŠTIR *AArbSt.* I 127; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 109 (follows JOHANNSON); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIX 429; TAGLIAVINI *RIEB* I 165 n. 1, *Dalmazia* 83-84 (against JOHANNSON), *Stratificazione* 143; BARIÇ *Hymje* 57; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 102; ÇABEJ *St.* I 67-68 (from \**mb-ith-sht*, to *ith*), *Etim.* II 248-250; HULD 45 (disagrees with ÇABEJ); DEMIRAJ *AE* 103 (to *bij*).

**bishtajë** f, pl. *bishtaja* 'pod, hull, pea, green bean'. Borrowed from Rom \**pistălia* > Rum *păstaie* 'pod, hull', cf. Lat *pistāre* 'to pound' (CANDREA - DENSUȘIANU I 204). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 68 (to *bisht*), *Etim.* II 250.

**bjerr** aor. *borra* 'to lose'. Numerous phonetic variants of the anlaut are attested in dialects: *djerr*, *dëbjerr*, *vdjerr*, *dzjerr*. They seem to go back to PALB \**diš-bera* or \**diš-berna* further related to *bie* 'to fall' (PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 325). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 70 (to Gk δέρω 'to skin', Slav \**dьrati* 'to tear' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 73; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 83; LA PIANA *Varia* 21 (related to *djerr*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to Gk φθείρω 'to destroy' or Lat *feriō* 'to strike'); HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 210 (to Lith *heřti* 'to disperse'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 253-255; DEMIRAJ *AE* 104 (follows HAMP).

**bjeshkë** f, pl. *bjeshkë* 'mountain pasture'. Borrowed from Rom \**pastica* based on Lat *pastus* 'pasture'. Note that this word belongs to a compact group of Latin loans with *p-* rendered as *b-*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 58 (identifies *bjeshkë* with *byshkë* and connects it with Romance words for 'splinter', cf. Ital *busca*); SKOK *ZfslavPhil* II 396-397 (from Lat *basilica* 'church' despite the differences in meaning); JOKL *LKUBA* 165-167 (from \**bjershkë* as a derivative of *bie* 'to fall'); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 114; TRUBAČEV *Nazv.* 281 (against the connection with the name of the Beskidy); ÇABEJ *St.* I 68 (follows JOKL and derives the name of the Beskidy Mountains from *bjeshkë*), *Etim.* II 255-256; OREL *Antič. balk.* 5 32 (from \**bheug-iskā*).

**blanë** f, pl. *blana* 'heart of tree; sapwood; scar, mark, pockmark'. Borrowed from Slav \**holna*, cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *blana* 'turf, piece of dried dung', SCR *blana* 'coopers instrument' (OREL *Ėtimologija* 1983 134-135). Closer meanings have been preserved in East Slavic: Russ *holona* 'young wood between the bark and the trunk; lump or scar on the bark'. ◇ TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* II 175-177; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 257; SVANE 120.

**blatë** f, pl. *blatë* 'wafer'. Borrowed from Lat *oblāta* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 38). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1040, 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMAN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 87, 109, 158.

**blegërij** ~ **blegërij** aor. *blegëriua* 'to bleat'. Onomatopoeia (MEYER *Wb.* 38-39, cf. Gk βληχάομαι id.). ◇ POKORNY I 102; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 258 (same as MEYER); DEMIRAJ *AE* 104.

**blehurě** adj. 'pale'. From PALb *\*blaid-ura* related to Slav *\*blědzь* id., OE *blát* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 38). ◇ POKORNY I 160; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* II 111-112; DEMIRAJ *AE* 105.

**blej** aor. *bleva* 'to buy'. Borrowed from Rom *\*ablevāre* 'to lift up, to relieve (from)' (MEYER *Wb.* 39). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 44 (divides *blej* into a prefix *b-* < *mb-* and a root identical with that of *laj* in its meaning 'to pay'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 84; BORGEAUD *RRL* 4 (1973) 327-331; HAMP *St. albanica* X/2 83-85; ÇABEJ *St.* I 71 (to Latv *blēnst* 'to see badly; to look' and its other Baltic cognates), *Etim.* II 259-260.

**blertě** adj. 'green'. There exists a derivationally more archaic variant Italo-Alb *blerě*. The word goes back to PALb *\*blōra* related to Lat *flōrus* 'shining, bright', OIr *blár* 'gray', W *blawr* id. < IE *\*bhlōros* (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 260-261). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 38 (compares with Slav *\*blědzь* 'pale'); WALDE-HOFMANN I 513-514; HULD 45 (from *\*bhlēudhro-*, to IE *\*bhlēyo-* 'light-colored'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 104-105.

**bletě** f, pl. *bletě* 'bee, swarm, hive'. Goes back to *\*mbletě* borrowed from Rom *\*melettum*, cf. *mellārium* 'beehive, apiary' (JOKL *LKUBA* 284-296). ◇ POTT *KZ* VI 321 (comparison with Gk μέλιττα 'bee'); CAMARDA I 44 (the same); MEYER *Alb. St.* II 79 (from Rom *\*albietus*, cf. Rum *albină* 'bee'), *Wb.* 39 (from Rom *\*apetta* ~ *\*abetta* 'bee'); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 235 (follows CAMARDA in deriving *bletě* from *\*melit*); SKOK *AARbSt* I 225 (from Rom *\*albeāta*), *Arch. Roman.* VIII 148-150; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 84 (agrees with JOKL); PISANI *Saggi* 120 (from Gk *\*μέλιτjα*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (follows POTT); ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 38 (borrowed from Gk μελίσσειον 'beehive'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 69-70 (borrowed from Gk μέλιττα with a shift of accent), *Etim.* II 261-263; DEMIRAJ *AE* 105 (from PALb *\*m(e)litā*).

**blënděs** ~ **blanděs** m, pl. *blënděsa* ~ *blanděsa* 'paunch, stomach'. Another form is *blěnxě* ~ *blanxě*. Variants of *plěnděs* ~ *planděs*.

**bli** ~ **blĭ** m, pl. *blirě*, *blinj* 'linden'. From PALb *\*blina* further connected with Lith *blindis*, *blendis* 'Salix caprea' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 70-71, *Etim.* II 264) and derived from *\*bhlen-* 'to shine', semantically motivated by the color of the bast and bark typical of linden (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 174). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 40 (treats *bli* as a loanword from Rom *\*(li)brinum*); FRAENKEL 49.

**bli** ~ **blĭ** m, pl. *blij, blinj* 'sturgeon'. From PALb \**blina* connected with Gk βλέννος id. (MEYER *Wb.* 40; ÇABEJ *St.* I 71). Further related to the same IE \**bhlen-* 'to shine' as *bli* 'linden'; in this case, the motivation is based on the color of the fish (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 174). ◇ CIMOCHOWSKI *LPI* 165-182 (further connections of *bli* with Gk φάλλη 'whale' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 133; FRISK I 242-243; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (borrowed from Gk βλίνοϛ); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 264-265 (identical with *bli* 'linden').

**bligë** f 'forked piece of wood'. From PALb \**bligā*, a zero ablaut variant related to Gk φάλαγξ 'stem', ON *bialki* 'log'. ◇ LA PIANA *Prefisso* 14 (from \**le-bigë*); POKORNY I 122; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 265 (identical with *bigë*).

**blokër** f 'rubbish, trash'. Continues PALb \**blaukā* derived from IE \**bhlēyos* 'blue, yellow', cf. Lat *flāvus* 'yellow' and the like. ◇ LA PIANA *Prefisso* 15 (prefixal form related to Lat *bāca*); POKORNY I 160; ÇABEJ *Etim.* 267 (to *bluaj*).

**blorë** f 'sling'. Continues PALb \**hlāgrā*, a form reflecting a long grade variant comparable with Lat *flagrum* 'whip', cf. further ON *blekkja* 'to beat, to strike'. ◇ LA PIANA *Prefisso* 15 (from \**le-borë*); POKORNY I 154; ÇABEJ *Etim.* 268 (derivative of *bahe*).

**blozë** f, pl. *blozë, bloza* 'soot'. Derivative of *bluaj* (CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 124). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 40; JOKL *Studien* 8-9 (to Skt *malinā-* 'black', Gk μέλας id.); LA PIANA *Prefisso* 13-14 (from \**le-hozë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 71, *Etim.* II 269-270 (agrees with CAMAJ); MANN *Comp.* 80 (to Lat *flamma* 'flame').

**bluaj** ~ **bluej** aor. *blova* 'to grind'. Borrowed from Lat *molere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 42; MEYER *Wb.* 40). Among various derivatives note *bluashkë, blloshkë* 'splinter' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 71). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1054; JOKL *IF* XLIX 291; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 84; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 146; HAMP *IF* LXVII 147 (from IE \**mel-*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 270-271.

**blude** f, pl. *blude* 'wooden bowl'. Singularized plural of the form *bludë* attested in dialects. Borrowed from Slav \**bl'udo* 'dish, plate', cf. South Slavic forms: OCS *bljudo*, Bulg *bl'udo*, SCr *bljudo* (MIKLOSICH



*Slav. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 40). It is interesting that in South Slavic the word stands for a clay vessel rather than for a wooden one. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 154; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 271; SVANE 73.

**bludě** f ' (film of) mould, scum on wine, skin on milk'. Borrowed from an unattested South Slavic continuant of Slav \**blōda* reflected in Bulg dial. *blъda* 'unclean pimples' and Slovene *blōda* 'mistake'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 40 (from SCr *bluta* 'mould'); MEYER-LÜBKE *REW* 32 (from Rom \**abluta* 'rinse water'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 72, *Etim.* II 271; SVANE 117; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* II 125.

**boj** aor. *hova* 'to mate'. Usually, attested in passive as *bohet*. Metaphoric use of *boj* 'to drive' attested in North Geg. From PALb \**bāgnja* related to Lith *bēgti* 'to run', Latv *bēgt* id., OPrus *begeyte* id., Slav \**bēgti* id., Gk φέβομαι id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 119). For the semantic development in Albanian cf. Russ *gon* 'heat (of animals)' < *gnat* 'to drive'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 41-42 (to NGk μπάινω); TREIMER *MRIW* I 373-375 (to Germ *Bahn* 'road'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 174 (from Rom \**disbinō*); BARIĆ *ARSt* 68-69 (from \**bhōrejō*); JOKL *IF* XXXVII 103, 118 (related to *mbaj*, *bie*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 23-24 (from \**dēboj* further connected with Lith *výti* 'to drive (away)' and the like); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Gk πτοέω 'to frighten'); FRAENKEL 38; FRISK II 998-999; ÇABEJ *St.* I 73 (follows LA PIANA); DEMIRAJ *AE* 105-106.

**bolbë** f 'accident, disaster, sorrow'. Borrowed from the otherwise unattested Slav \**bolьba*, derivative of \**bolь* 'pain' (KRISTOFORIDHI 487; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193). ◊ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 8 (against Slavic etymology); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 322 (from Rom \**volva* or from IE \**bhēl-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 73, IV 98, *Etim.* II 281-282 (to Lat *bullā*, OIr *holach*).

**bolle** pl. 'testicles'. From PALb \**bālnai* connected with IE \**bh̥lano-*: Gk φαλλός 'phallus', Lat *follis* 'bellows', OIr *ball* 'limb, member' (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 67-68). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 41 (from Ital *bolla* 'lump, knob' or *balla* 'testicle'); ROHR *ZfBalk* XVII/1 80; FRISK II 987-988; WALDE-HOFMANN I 524-525; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 23; VENDRYES B-12; POKORNY I 120; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 282 ("elementary creation"); MANN *Comp.* 63-64 (to Skt *bhāla-* 'forehead').

**bolle** f, pl. *bolla* 'kind of harmless snake'. Borrowed from Rom \**bola*,

cf. Lat *bolea* 'salamander' (JOKL *ZRomPh* XLI 228-230). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 41 (borrowed from Lat *bēlua* 'beast, monster'); SPITZER *MRIW* I 295 n. 1 (to Skt *bhāla-* 'with shining skin'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 85, *Stratificazione* 133; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 328; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 283-285 (from IE *\*bhul-* 'to swell'); LANDI *Lat.* 126.

**borë** f, pl. *borë, borëra ~ borna* 'snow'. Dialectal variants *dëbor, vdor, zborë, xborë* and the like reflect Palb *\*diš-bārā* with a borrowed suffix (JOKL *IF* XXXVII 193) or, rather, *\*iš-bārā* with a Proto-Albanian suffix. The semantic structure of the word is similar to Rum *zapadā* 'snow' < Slav *\*zapada* 'falling down (snow)' and, therefore, *\*-bārā* is linked to *bie* 'to fall' (ibid.; CIORANESCU *DER* II 910). In fact, *borë* may be a calque of the Slavic word (TRUBAČEV *Slav. jaz.* XI 19). Its verbal correlate is *zhjerr* 'to lose' < *\*-ber-na*. ◇ CAMARDA I 100 (to Gk βορέας 'North wind'); MEYER *Wb.* 42 (to Rum *bora* 'North wind' and - at the same time! - Slav *\*bur'a* 'storm'); THUMB *IF* XXVI 5 (from Gk βορέας 'North wind'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 85; HASDEU *EMR* I 106; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 24-25 (to *var*); KRAHE *IF* LVII 113-114 (to Maced *Bora*); CAMAJ 38; HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 210; ÇABEJ *St.* I 73-74 (follows JOKL), *Etim.* II 287-289; HULD 45-46; DEMIRAJ *AE* 106-107.

**borigë** f, pl. *boriga* 'kind of pine; splinter'. Another variant is *borikë*. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *borika* 'fir-tree', SCr *borika* 'pine' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 42). ◇ JOKL *IF* XXXVII 94-95 (related to Gk φάρυγξ 'throat' and IE *\*bher-* 'to cut'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 206 (follows JOKL); GAMKRELIDZE - IVANOV II 707 (follow ÖLBERG); ÇABEJ *St.* I 74 (supports MEYER), *Etim.* II 289; SVANE 125; DEMIRAJ *AE* 107.

**bors** m, pl. *borsa* 'chaffinch, Fringilla'. Derived from *borë* as shown by names of chaffinch in other languages, cf. Fr *pinson de neige*, Germ *Schneefink* and the like (ÇABEJ *St.* I 75, *Etim.* II 290-291). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 482 (borrowed from Slav *\*skvorьсь* 'starling').

**bosht** m, pl. *boshte, boshtinj* 'spindle, axis, axle'. From Palb *\*bāsta* close to Gmc *\*bōsta* > OHG *buost* 'rope made of bast'. Further related to Gmc *\*bastaz* 'bast' as well as Lat *fascis*, Alb *bashkë* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). The spindle is, thus, described as 'junc-

ture'. Note that *boshtër* 'Forsythia' is derived from *bosht* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 75). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 42 (derived from Ital *hosso* 'box-tree'); GUYON *St. Glott. Ital.* V 11 (borrowed from Slav *\*hodьць* 'thorn, sharp stick'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 86; KLUGE 55; ZALIZN'AK *Ètimologija* 1964 166; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 102 (prefixal *b-*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 292-293 (to *bie* 'to carry' or to Skt *bhr̥ṣti-*).

**botë** f, pl. *bota* 'earth; world'. From PAIb *\*bwātā* based on IE *\*bheu-* ~ *\*bhū-* 'to be, to grow' (JOKL *Studien* 7). Among derivatives of *hotë* note *botëm* 'pale'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 43 (comparison with Lat *bētere*, *baetere* 'to go'); MANN *Language* XXVI 380 (to Skt *bhāta-* 'shining', cf. Rum *lume*), *Comp.* 67; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 294-296; DEMIRAJ *AE* 107.

**bram** m 'residue, scoria, rust, ear-wax'. From PAIb *\*bradma* connected with Skt *bradhná-* 'reddish, yellow', Slav *\*bronъ* 'colored' < *\*brodnъ* (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 300; OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 174). For the semantic development cf. OHG *rost* 'rust' based on IE *\*reudh-* 'red'. ◇ MAYRHOFER II 451; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* III 41-42; MANN *Comp.* 98 (to Lat *fragmen* 'scrap, fragment').

**branë** f, pl. *brana* 'harrow'. Continues a South Slavic reflex of Slav *\*borna* id.: Bulg *brana*, SCr *brana* (MEYER *Wb.* 44-45, mistakenly claims the Bulgarian form non-existent). The verb *branis* 'to harrow' is borrowed from Slav *\*borniti*. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 15, 156; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 301; SVANE 31, 253.

**bravë** f 'herd'. Borrowed from Slav *\*borvъ* ~ *\*borva* 'cattle', cf. in particular Bulg *brava*, SCr pl. *bravi* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 45). ◇ SKOK I 203; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 301-302; SVANE 134.

**bravë** f, pl. *brava* 'door-lock'. A relatively late borrowing from SCr *brava* id. (SKOK I 203) which might be connected with Rom *\*barra* 'bar' (MEYER *Wb.* 45). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 150, 306; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 302; SVANE 83.

**brazë** f, pl. *braza* 'furrow'. Another (and more conservative) variant is *brazdë*. Borrowed from Slav *\*borzda* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *brazda*, SCr *brazda* (WEIGAND 9; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 158, 322) ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 158; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 302.; SVANE 37.

**brazim** m 'hoar-frost'. Derivative based on *brazë* and semantically motivated by the form of hoar-frost looking like wrinkles or furrows. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 45 (from Venet *brosa* id., Friul *brose* id.); HUBSCHMID *Vox Rom.* III 133 (from Venet *bro:zima* id.); ÇABEJ *St.* I 75 (derived from *mraz*), *Etim.* II 302; SVANE 173.

**bređh** m, pl. *bređha* 'fir-tree'. From PAIb *\*brada* etymologically connected with Slav *\*bredъ* 'willow' and, further, with *\*brodъ* 'ford', Lith *brādas* id., all these forms based on IE *\*bhredh-*, cf. *bređh* 'to jump, to spring' (OREL *Ētimologija* 1985 29-30). For the semantic motivation, similar to that of Slav *\*bredъ* (a tree growing or "walking" along the rivers or hill-slopes), cf. VASMER I 210 and TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 11-12. Rum *brad* 'fir-tree' is a Proto-Albanian loanword reflecting the original root vowel of PAIb *\*brada*. Note a derivative *breshtë* 'fir-tree forest'. ◊ CAMARDA II 62 (to Lat *bratus*); DIEFENBACH I 50 (to Latv *priēdē* 'pine'); JOKL *IF* XXX 208-210 (from IE *\*bhrozdh-*); MEYER *Wb.* 45-46 (compares *bređh* with the IE *\*bherəǵ-* 'birch'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 231 (to ON *barr* 'pine needle'); FRAENKEL 58-59; CAMAJ 121, 123 (reconstructs suffix *\*-dh-*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3237; ROSETTI *ILR* I 273; PISANI *Saggi* 126 (reconstructs *\*bhreǵ-* and links *bređh* to the IE name of birch, following MEYER); HULD *KZ* XCIX 247 (borrowed from Gk βράθυ); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 13, 36-37; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 303-305 (follows CAMARDA); DEMIRAJ *AE* 107-108.

**bređh** aor. *brođha* 'to jump, to spring'. From PAIb *\*breda* identical with Slav *\*bredq̃*, *\*brestī* 'to wade, to ford', Lith *brendù*, *brīsti* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 46, *Alb. St.* III 28, 35, 71). ◊ FRAENKEL 58; PISANI *Saggi* 125; HAMP *ZfBalk* XXV 43; ÇABEJ *St.* I 75-76 (to OE *bregdan* 'to stir'), *Etim.* II 305; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 113 (prefix *b-*); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 14-15; DEMIRAJ *AE* 108.

**breg** m, pl. *brigje*, *bregje* 'hill, bank'. Borrowed from Slav *\*bergъ* 'bank, coast, hill', cf. South Slavic forms: OCS *brěgъ*, Bulg *br'ag*, SCR *brijeg*, *breg* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 46). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 188; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 305-306; SVANE 161.

**brej** ~ **brêj** aor. *brejta* ~ *brêjta* 'to gnaw'. From PAIb *\*brainja* further connected with IE *\*bhrei-* 'to cut': Skt *bhrīṅāti* '(he) injures', Lat *friō* 'to rub', Slav *\*briti* 'to shave' and the like (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 306-307). For similar semantic development see

JËGERS KZ LXXX 109. ◊ MEYER *Alb.St.* V 70-71 (to Lat *frendō*); JOKL *Studien* 9; LA PIANA *Studi* I 73 (from \**bhorejō*); MAYRHOFER II 532-533; WALDE-HOFMANN I 549; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* (reconstructs \**bhr̥-n-H-elo-*); SVANE *GjA* II 39 (*brij* < *brej* influenced by aorist); DEMIRAJ *AE* 108-109.

**brekë** pl. 'pants'. Borrowed from Lat *brācae* 'trousers, breeches' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7; MEYER *Wb.* 46). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1043; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 112; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 307-308; LANDI *Lat.* 27, 38.

**brenda** adv. 'inside'. Together with other phonetic and morphological variants, *brënda* and *mbrënda* ~ *mbrenda*, continues a sequence of prepositions and adverbs PALb \*(*en*) *per enta* (CAMARDA I 318). For the last component cf. *nde*. The derivative *brëndës* 'intestines', is the source of the Balkan word for goat- and sheep-cheese prepared in sheep's stomach, cf. Rum *brînză*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 33 (from Lat *intra*); MEYER *Wb.* 47-48; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (from \**en-pren-do*); PASCU *RE* 27 (Rum *brînză* related to *berr*); RUSSU *Etnogeneza* 270-273; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 308-310; HAARMANN 141 (from Lat *per intu*).

**brengë** f, pl. *brenga* 'grief, sorrow'. From PALb \**brain(i)kâ* connected with \**brainja* > *brej* 'to gnaw'. For the semantic development cf. E *remorse* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68). Rum *brîncă* denoting a contagious disease was borrowed from the intermediate Albanian form \**brenka* < \**brain(i)kâ* and, quite probably, preserves its earlier meaning; thus, 'illness' > 'grief' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 76, *Etim.* II 311-312). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 46; PHILIPPIDE *Viața romanească* XVII 39; DICULESCU *DR* IV 477 (to Rum *brîncă* < Gk βράγχος); MANN *Comp.* 53-54 (to Goth *ana-praggan* 'to oppress').

**breshër** ~ **breshën** m 'hail'. Singularized plural of \**brash* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 76-77, *Etim.* 312-314) going back to PALb \**brauša* and, further, to IE \**bhreus-* 'to break': OIr *brúu* id., MW *breu* 'fragile', OHG *brosma* 'crumb' (MEYER *Wb.* 47, *Alb. Studien* III 35, 61, 72). ◊ CAMARDA I 78 (to Gk βρέχω 'to wet'); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 245-247; PEDERSEN *IF* V 38 (argues against the above etymology), *Kelt. Gr.* I 55; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 87; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 17; POKORNY I 171; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 53 (< *b-resħ-ën* 'falling'); ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 217; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 69 (reconstructs \**bhroisino-* and connects *breshër* ~ *breshën*

with *brej*); KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 221; JANSON *Unt.* 19-21; DEMIRAJ *AE* 109.

**breshkë** f, pl. *breshka* 'tortoise'. Another variant is *brečkë*. Together with Rum *broască* 'toad, frog' this word continues a Balkan Romance form *\*brotascus* or *\*brosacus*, eventually going back to Gk βρόθακος ~ βρόταχος 'frog', cf. *bretk* (CAMARDA I 104). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 47 (borrowed from Rom *\*brōsca* 'frog'); PUȘCARIU *EWB* 18; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253 (from MLat *bruscus*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 113 (suffix *-kë*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 314-315.

**breshtë** adj. 'wild, rough, rugged, rude'. From PALb *\*braišta* or *\*brainšta* derived from *brej* < IE *\*bhrei-* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68-69). For the semantic development cf. Slav *\*grǫbъ* ~ *\*grubъ* 'rough, rude' and Gmc *\*grauta-* 'big, great' (OHG *grōz* and the like) in their connection to Slav *\*gruditi* 'to gnaw'. ◇ MANN *Comp.* 101 (to ON *bresta* 'to burst').

**bretk** m, pl. *bretq* 'frog'. Borrowed from Rom *\*brotacus* or directly from Gk βρόθακος ~ βρόταχος 'frog', a phonetic transformation of βάτραχος (CAMARDA I 104; MEYER *Wb.* 47). ◇ FRISK I 226-227; HAARMAN 113.

**brez** m, pl. *breza* 'belt'. Comparison with Rum *brîu* 'strap, belt' borrowed from Proto-Albanian (MEYER *Wb.* 46-47) leads to the reconstruction of PALb *\*breuna* from which *brez* was derived with suffix *-(ë)z*. As to PALb *\*breuna*, it may be identified with Lith *briaunà* 'edge'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 46-47 (to Goth *brunjo* 'breastplate' and the like); SKOK *Arch. Roman.* VIII 150; TREIMER *ZfromPhil* XXXVIII 391; SKOK *ZONF* I 89, *ArRom* VIII 150 (diminutive); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 87; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 33 (to Gk βρόχος); PISANI *Saggi* 121; FRAENKEL 57; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 124; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 337; ROSETTI *ILR* I 273; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 317-320 (derived from *mbrej* 'to put on yoke' < *\*m-ber-enj*).

**bri** ~ **brî** m, pl. *bri*, *brinj*, *brirë* ~ *brinë* 'horn'. From PALb *\*brina* related to Messap βρένδον· ἔλαφον; βρέντιον· ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ ἐλάφου (Hes., Et. Magn.), Swed *brind* 'deer', Latv *brīēdis* 'elk', OPrus *braydis* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 48). ◇ STIER *KZ* VII 160 (to *breth* 'to jump'); PETERSSON apud DEMIRAJ *AE* 110 (semantic reconstruction: 'deer'); BERTOLD *IF*

LII 211; SKOK *ZONF* I 89 (singularized plural of \**bhren-*); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86; LOEWENTHAL *WuS* XI 60; CHARPENTIER *KZ* XL 432; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 87-88 (reconstructs \**bhrendh-no-*), *Stratificazione* 87; KRAHE *Spr. Vorz.* 104; MAYER *KZ* LXVI 75-76 (from \**bhyno-*); PORZIG *Gliederung* 210; PISANI *Saggi* 124; FRISK I 265; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 78; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; SCHICK *AAT* LXXXVII 89-118; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 321-323; DEMIRAJ *AE* 110-111 (related to Skt *bhrū-* 'eyebrow').

**brie** f 'carries'. Singularized plural based on \**breja* further connected with IE \**bhrei-* 'to cut, to shave' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 323).

**brimě** f, pl. *brima* 'hole'. From PALb \**brima*, an adjective in \*-*mo-* related to *birě* (MEYER *Wb.* 37, *Alb. St.* III 35). ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 15; CHANTRAINE 1179; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 324-325 (to *brej*).

**brinjě** f, pl. *brinjě* 'rib, side'. From PALb \**brinjā* derived from *bri* (LAMBERTZ *KZ* LIII 284; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 5) with the semantic development 'horn' > 'side' similar to that of Slav \**rogъ* 'horn' > 'corner'. The meaning 'rib' in *brinjě* was derived from 'side'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 48 (related to Skt *pārsū-* 'rib', Slav \**pъrsi* 'breast' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 31-32; WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 236-238 (to Goth *brunjo* 'armor'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 87; ÇABEJ *St.* I 77-78 (related to Lith *briaunà* 'edge' and the like), *Etim.* II 325-327.

**brisk** m, pl *brisqe* 'razor, penknife'. Early loanword in a form of \**britši-ka* from South Slav \**bričьkъ*, diminutive of \**bričь* id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 17; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68). Another (and more rare) form *briskě* goes back to South Slav \**bričьka* preserved in Bulg *brička* 'razor with a handle', SCr *brička* 'razor' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 88). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 22 (correctly compares with Slav \**bričь*), *Wb.* 49, *Alb. St.* IV 90 (borrowing from Slav \**brъsnqti* 'to shave', particularly, from Bulg *brъсна* id., *brъснаč* > *brъснич* 'razor' - phonetically impossible); PISANI *Saggi* 126; ÇABEJ *St.* I 78 (prefers derivation from IE \**bhrei-* 'to cut, to shave' with suffix -*sk-*), *Etim.* II 327-328; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 355-356.

**britmě** m 'autumn month'. Appearing with an ordinal number, stands for September, October or November. Analogical transformation of

*brymēs* id. (derivative of *brymē*) under the influence of *brej* (DEMIRAJ AE 111). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 50 (derived from *brej*).

**brukĕ** f 'tamarind'. From PALb *\*brukā* identical with Slav *\*bъrkъ* 'twig, stalk, sharp end'. ◇ HAMP *Anc. IE* 102; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 128-129; ĆABEJ *Etim.* II 332 (borrowed from Gk μυρίκη via Dor \*βρύκη).

**brumĕ** m, pl. *brumĕ* 'dough'. Derived from *mbruaj* ~ *mbruej*, *mbryj* 'to knead' (ĆABEJ *Etim.* II 333-334). From PALb *\*bruma* related to Gmc *\*barma* 'yeast' (OE *beorma*) and Lat *fermentum* 'leaven, yeast' (MEYER *Wb.* 49). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 11, LKUBA 263; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 89; ERNOUT-MEILLET 230; PISANI *Saggi* 126; MANN *Language* XVII 15 (reconstructs *\*bhreumo-*); KLUGE 52; DEMIRAJ AE 111.

**brushtull** f, pl. *brushtulla* 'heather'. From PALb *\*brust-ula* related to Slav *\*brъstъ* 'sprout, bud' and OS *brustian* 'to shoot, to sprout'. ◇ VAN WIJK *IF* XXIV 235; PUDIĆ *IX ICL* 862-864 (from EGmc *\*brustilō*, cf. E *bristle*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 329 (to Dac *riborasta*, plant name); NEROZNAK *Paleob.* 197 (follows POGHIRC); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* III 58; GINDIN - KALUŽSKAJA - OREL *Blssl.* 249; ĆABEJ *Etim.* II 335-336 (borrowed from Slav *\*bl'uščъ*).

**bruz** adj. 'blue, indigo'. From PALb *\*brudja* comparable with Slav *\*brudъ* 'dirt', *\*brudъnъ* 'dirty' < IE *\*bhrou-dh-*, cf. *\*bhrou-t-* in Thrac βροῦτος 'barley beer' (OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 175). ◇ DETSCHEW *Thr. Sprachreste* 93; ĆABEJ *Etim.* II 336 (to *barrĕ*); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* II 44.

**brydh** adj. 'weak, pliant, mild'. From PALb *\*brūdza* related to Lat *frūx* 'fruit', Goth *brukjan* 'to use' (where IE *\*ĝ* should be reconstructed) The meaning in Albanian is based on the original notion of 'used, worn out'. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Slav *\*bъrъzъ*), *Comp.* 54, 111 (to W *brydd* 'feeble, ailing'); POKORNY I 173; OREL *Linguistica* XXVI 175 (to Slav *\*brydъkъ* 'disgusting, sharp'); ĆABEJ *Etim.* II 337-338 (to *breth* 'to jump').

**brymĕ** f. 'frost'. Borrowed from Lat *brūma* 'cold, frost' (CAMARDA I 53; MEYER *Wb.* 49). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53 (from Lat *pruīna* id.); CAMAJ 47 (to IE *\*bher-*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 113; HULD 46; ĆABEJ *Etim.* II 338; LANDI *Lat.* 68-69.



**buall** ~ **buell** m, pl. *buaj* ~ *buej* 'buffalo'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*byvolъ* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 16; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 243) with the diphthongization of the group *\*-yvo-* similar to that in *patkua*. The feminine form *huallicē* ~ *huellicē* goes back to Slav *\*byvolica*. ◊ STIER *KZ XI* 150 (borrowed from Lat *būbalus* id.); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7 (from Lat *būbalus* or Gk βούβαλος); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 64, *Wb.* 50 (same etymology); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048 (agrees with MEYER); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 535, 541; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 13; HAARMAN 113; ÇABEJ *St.* I 79 (questions the phonetic validity of MEYER's etymology), *Etim.* II 339-340 (identical with Thracian βόλιθος 'bull'); TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa III* 158-159; LANDI *Lat.* 107, 137.

**buças** aor. *buçita* 'to roar, to thunder'. Borrowed from Slav *\*bučati* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *buča*, SCr *bučati* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 345 (from SCr *bučati*); SVANE 260.

**buj** ~ **bûj** aor. *bujta* ~ *bûjta* 'to accommodate (a guest); to stay overnight'. From PAIb *\*bunja* related to Goth *bauan* 'to stay' and other derivatives of IE *\*bheu-* ~ *\*bhû-* 'to be, to grow' (CAMARDA I 59; MEYER *Wb.* 51, *Alb. St.* III 33). As to *buně* 'alpine hut', it continues *\*buntā* derived from *buj*, cf. Lith *būtas* 'dwelling' and OIr *both* 'hut' derived from IE *\*bhû-*. ◊ BUGGE *BB XVIII* 163; MEYER *Alb. St.* V 71 (from IE *\*bheug(h)-* 'to bend'); FEIST *Goth.* 83-84; HASDEU *EMR* I 101; JOKL *Studien* 7-8, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87; PORZIG *Gliederung* 150; PISANI *Saggi* 117, 121; GEORGIEV *Issledovanija* 119 (*buně* to Thrac *-βουνον*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 80-81 (reconstructs *\*budnja* and connects it with Slav *\*buditi* 'to wake up' and its cognates), *Etim.* II 351-353; DEMIRAJ *AE* 111-112.

**bujk** m, pl. *bujq* 'peasant'. Also attested as *bulk*. Borrowed from Lat *bubulcus* 'ploughman, herdsman' (CAMARDA I 180; MEYER *Wb.* 53). From this stem, *bulk*, *bulkth*, *burkth* 'cricket' is derived. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 55 (*burkth* to *\*murk-* 'black'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1050; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 133; POGHIRC *LB VI* 99-100 (to *murk*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 30-31; HAARMAN 113; MANN *Comp.* 112 (*burkth* related to OE *beorcan* 'to bark'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 356; LANDI *Lat.* 89, 135-136.

**bukě** f, pl. *bukě* 'bread; meal, meal-time'. Borrowed from Lat *bucca* 'mouth' which in Balkan Romance means 'food' as in Rum *bucă*, cf.

also Rom *\*buccella* 'bread', Ital *buccella* 'mouthful' (CAMARDA I 132; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7; MEYER *Wb.* 51). This semantic shift is typical of all the Carpatho-Balkan area (HAMP *RRL* XXIV 315). ◊ XYLANDER 277 (to Phryg βέκος 'bread'); PUȘCARIU *EWB* 19; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 46, *Stratificazione* 133; OŠTIR *A ArbSt* I 84; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 90, *Origini* 190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMAN 113; HAMP *RomPh* XXXIV/4 434; HULD 46; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 357-358; DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 317-323; LANDI *Lat.* 66, 134.

**bukĕl** f, pl. *bukla* 'weasel'. From PAIb *\*buklā* connected with *bukur* (MEYER *Wb.* 51-52). The variant *bungĕl* seems to be secondary (influenced by *bung?*). Taking into account the lust as a specific feature of weasel (cf. *bukur*), to be further connected with IE *\*bheu-* 'to swell', with its characteristic semantic development in Slavic (OCS *bui* μωρός, ἄφρων, Slav *\*bujьnъ* 'violent, wild, lusty, fertile'), and in particular with Germanic formations in *\*-k-*: OHG *buhil* 'hill' < *\*bhukl-*, ON *bóla* 'lump, knob' < *\*bhukl-ōn-* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 69-70). ◊ BARIĆ *A ArbSt.* II 79-80 (to Mİr *bocc*, Skt *bhugna-*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 133 (thinks of a Romance loanword); SCHUCHARDT *ZfromPh* XXXIV 215 (to MFr *bacoule* id.); POKORNY I 98 f.; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 119; MANN *Comp.* 124; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 358.

**bukur** adj. 'beautiful, fine, nice, pretty; good, noble; dim'. From PAIb *\*bukura* etymologically connected with *bukĕl*, cf. Slav *\*laska* 'weasel' ~ 'caress', Lith *lokšnùs* 'tender' (SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 254; MEYER *Wb.* 51; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 69-70). The semantic *tertium comparationis* is the weasel's remarkable lust occasionally related to the notion of beauty and good (TRUBAČEV in VASMER II 462; TOPOROV *PJa* III 279-280: on OPrus *caune* 'marten'). From (Proto-)Albanian the word was borrowed to Rum *bucur* (MEYER *Wb.* 52). ◊ STIER *KZ* VII 160 (identical with Lat *pulcher*); CIHAC II 715 (borrowed from Turk *buhur* 'incense'); BARIĆ *A ArbSt.* II 79-80 (to Ir *boce* 'ark'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133; HAAS *LB* I 35, 43, III 51 (to Gk βαυκρός); ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 338 (explains both Albanian and Rumanian words from the Balkan substratum); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 119; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 360-362.

**bulbĕr** m 'street dust'. Borrowed from Lat *pulverem* 'dust'. Note the

irregular voiced anlaut. ◇ MEYER *Alb.St* V 71 (from Ital *polvere* id.); HELBIG 39; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 362.

**bulě** f, pl. *bula* 'bud'. Borrowed from Lat *bullā* 'bubble, boss, knob' (MEYER *Wb.* 53). ◇ SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (to Gk φύλλον 'leaf'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 145; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 90; MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (follows SCHMIDT); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 113; MANN *Comp.* 122 (to MHG *bolle* 'bud'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 81 (accepts MEYER's etymology), *Etim.* II 362-363; LANDI *Lat.* 93.

**bulě** f 'soft flesh (on the rear side of the finger)'. Borrowed from MLat *bullā* 'seal' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 363). ◇ HELBIG 84 (from Ital *bolla*, Venet *bola* id.).

**bullar** m, pl. *bullarě* 'blindworm'. Together with its variant *bollar* this word is derived from *hollě* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 90). It is the source of Rum *bālaur* 'dragon' from where other Balkan forms were borrowed. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 41; BARIĆ *ARSt* 3-5 (from *\*bala* 'water, marsh' and *\*var* 'snake'); PASCU *RE* 25 (reconstructs Rom *\*belluārius*); DURANTE *Ric. Ling.* 1950, 270-271; SKOK *ZfromPh* L 513-517; ROSETTI *ILR* I 272; OREL *Vestnik MGU. Filologija* 1981/2 72-76 (ancient Balkan ties of *bullar*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 366-367.

**bullog** m 'dragon's dwelling'. Transformed from *\*burlog* under the influence of *bullar*. Borrowed from South Slav *\*bъrlogъ* < Slav *\*bъrlogъ* 'den, dwelling', cf. Bulg *bъrlog*, Slovene *brlog*. Alb *-ur-* < South Slav *-ъr-* indicates an early loanword. Another trace of Slav *\*bъrlogъ* is *bĕrllok* 'den' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 16 on *bĕrllok*). ◇ OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 356; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 211; SVANE 43.

**bullungě** f, pl. *bullunga* 'lump, knob'. Formation in *-ungě* (JOKL *RIEt-Balk.* II 76) derived from *\*bull* < PAIb *\*bulna*, etymologically connected with IE *\*bhelā-* 'to swell' (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 53 (from Rom *\*bullūca*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (compares with Gk φύλλον 'leaf'); BARIĆ *AArbSt* I/1-2 144-145 (< *bu-* + *lungě*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 82 (connects *bullungě* with *ballě*), *Etim.* II 368-370 (to *mullā* ~ *mullě*).

**bung** m, pl. *bunga* 'kind of oak, *Quercus sessiflora*'. From PAIb

\**bun(i)ka* derived from IE \**bheu-* 'to grow' and closely related to Arm *bun* 'trunk' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 83, *Etim.* II 373-375). The Albanian word was borrowed to Rum *hunget* 'thicket'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 54 (comparison with Slav \**buky*, \**bukъ* 'beech' which, however, is a Germanic loanword); BARIĆ I 103 f. (to Lith *bingùs* 'brave, courageous' or Gk *παχύς* 'thick'); JOKL *LKUBA* 177-179 (to Skt *bhunákti* 'to enjoy, to use, to consume' because of the edible nature of acorns!); LA PIANA *Studi* I 102-103 (to Gk *φάγος* and Phryg *Βαγᾶιος*); AČAREAN *HAB* I 483-484; MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to OHG *hunga* 'lump'); POKORNY I 146-148; HAMP *LB* XX 117 (to the Indo-European name of 'beech' \**bhāgnā*); FRIEDRICH *Trees* 108; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 118; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3238; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; HAMP *LB* XX/1-2 117 (from \**bhāg-n-*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 70; DEMIRAJ *AE* 112-113 (supports HAMP).

**burdhë** f 'kind of sack'. Attested in Albanian of Greece. From PALB \**burdā* < IE \**bhr̥dh-* further related to ON *borð* 'board, edge', OE *bord* id. ◇ POKORNY I 138; ÇABEJ *SCL* X 556 (to Germ *Bürde*); HAMP *RRL* IV 335 (reconstructs \**bhorH-dā*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 113.

**burg** m, pl. *burgje* 'prison, stable'. Borrowed from Gmc \**burg-* 'borough, fenced area': Goth *baurgs*, OHG *burg* and the like (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). ◇ CAMARDA II 145 (to Gk *πύργος*); DIEFENBACH apud MEYER *Wb.* 54-55 (from MLat *burica*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7 (from Rom \**burgus*); MEYER *Wb.* 54-55 (various preliminary guesses); ZALIZN'AK *Ėtimologija* 1964 206; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 379-383 (follows CAMARDA).

**burrë** m, pl. *burra* 'man, husband'. Borrowed from OHG *gibūro* 'peasant, villager' with the simplification of the anlaut cluster \**gb-* > *h-*. Cf. a similar source of Hung *pór* id. < OBavar \**pour*. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (to Skt *pūrusa-* 'man'); MEYER *Wb.* 55 (etymologically identifies *burrë* with OHG *gibūro*, Germ *Bauer*), *Alb. St.* III 74; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 254 (from MLat *barro*); PISANI *Saggi* (follows MEYER); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 219 (reconstructs \**bhornō-* further connected with OHG *baro* '(free) man'); JOKL *LKUBA* 230 (follows WIEDEMANN and reconstructs \**bherno-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 91 (agrees with JOKL), TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 113; VASMER *ZfslavPh* V 368-369 (to Illyr *Boûpot*); RIBEZZO *Riv. Alb.* II 135 note 1; PISANI *Saggi* 121; MANN *Language* XVII 13 (reconstructs \**bhr̥njo-*); GEORGIEV *Issledovanija* 119 (to Thrac *βουρ*); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 76, *ZfceltPh* XXXIX

209 (reconstructs *\*bhorH-n-* ~ *\*bhorHtr-*); CAMAJ 230; DURIDANOV *Trakite* 74 (same as GEORGIEV); ÇABEJ *St.* I 84-85 (accepts WIEDE-MANN's etymology), *Etim.* II 389-391; KLUGE 57; HULD 46-47; KLINGENSCHMITT apud DEMIRAJ (from PAIb *\*burnas*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 113-114.

**bush** m 'boxwood'. Borrowed from Lat *buxus* id. (WEIGAND 10). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 56 (from SCr *bus* id.); HELBIG 43, 76 (from Ital *bosso*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 392 (follows WEIGAND 10).

**bushġer** f, pl. *bushtra* 'bitch', adj. 'raging, wild'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*bystrъ*, fem. *\*bystra* 'quick' (TREIMER *AARbSt* I 27), cf. Russ *borzoi* 'borzoi' < 'fast'. ◇ CAMARDA I 162 (to Lat *bustum*); MEYER *Wb.* 56 (to ON *bikkja* id., E *bitch* or to Lat *bĕstia*); JOHANSSON *IF* IV 268 (to Lat *findō*); LA PIANA *Prefisso* 14-15 (to *bush* 'bogy, werewolf'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 394-395 (same as LA PIANA); MANN *Comp.* 127 (related to Slav *\*bystrъ*).

**but** m, pl. *bute* 'big barrel'. Borrowed from Lat *buttis* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1046). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 6 (from Ital *botte*); HAARMAN 113; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 396; LANDI *Lat.* 83-85.

**butĕ** adj. 'soft, smooth'. From PAIb *\*buta* < IE *\*bhugh-to-* comparable with NĪr *bog* 'soft' < *\*bhugho-*, Arm *but* 'blunt' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 341). The source of both forms is IE *\*bheugh-* 'to bend'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 57; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 159; JOKL *IF* XLIV 54; MLADENOV *IF* XXXVIII 169-171; POKORNY I 152-153; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 70 (to *buj*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 397-398; MANN *Comp.* 121; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 114; DEMIRAJ *AE* 114.

**buzĕ** f, pl *buzĕ* 'lip, end, edge, bank, stitch, rock'. The word goes back to PAIb *\*budjā* identical with Lith *budĕ* 'tree-fungus, tinder, whetstone' (OREL *LB* XXVII 49 f.); semantically, cf. Slav *\*gqba* 'lip, tree-fungus' (TOPOROV *Balkanica* 243 f.) and Rum *buză* (see below). Both the Lithuanian and the Albanian words are related to IE *\*bhudh-men* 'bottom' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 86, KALUŽSKAJA *SBJa Leksikol.* 152 f.); the development of meaning is paralleled in Alb *fund* 'bottom, end, edge'. Alb *buzĕ* is the source of Rum *buză* 'lip, edge, sharp edge, top of a rock', Arum *budză* 'lip, edge'. The latter forms were borrowed into Slavic: Bulg *buza* 'cheek', Maced *buza* 'lip', SCr *budza* 'mouth, lip', *buza*

'mouth, lip, kiss'. The status of Pol *buzia* 'mouth, face' and Ukr *buz'a* id. (< Polish?) is dubious. Alb *buzëm* 'edge, stone at the edge of the hearth, piece of wood burned down at Christmas' is a late derivative of *buzë* and, therefore, cannot be a base for a deep semantic reconstruction as suggested by TOPOROV (*Ëtimologjia* 1976 136 f.) in connection with SCr *badnjak*. ◊ CAMARDA I 52 (cognate of Lat *bucca* 'mouth'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 5 (from Lat *basium* 'kiss'); MEYER *Wb.* 57 (from \**buz-zë* compared with Lat *bucca* 'mouth' and derived from IE \**buk-*); PUŞCARIU *EWB* 21, *LR* I 177; PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 114 (compares with Lith *burnà* 'mouth', Arm *beran* id.); JOKL *Studien* 11-12, *LKUBA* 143, 278 (follows PEDERSEN; identifies *-zë* as a collective suffix); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 87 (onomatopoeia); LA PIANA *Studi* I 103 (from IE \**bheua-* 'to swell'); PISANI *Paideia* XXI 343; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 329; POKORNY I 174 (to IE \**bu-* 'lip, kiss'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 86-87 (derives *buzë* from \**bhŷdhjā* and compares it with E *board!*), *Etim.* II 400-402; NIKOLAEV *Antič. balk.* 5 30 (*buzë* borrowed from North Caucasian); BÛGA I 324 (identifies Lith *budë* 'fungus' and *bùdë* 'whetstone'); FRAENKEL 61-62; BARIÇ *Hymje* 66; VAILLANT *BL* XIV 16 (Rum *buză* < Slav \**lobъza*); BER I 87; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 356; DEMIRAJ *AE* 114-115.

**byr** aor. *byra* 'to carry out, to perform, to execute'. Continues PALb \**būra* related (as a causative) to IE \**bhū-* 'to be, to grow'. It is probable that the Proto-Albanian verb is a denominative based on an unattested abstract noun \**bhūrom* > \**būra*. ◊ XHUVANI *KLeTr* I/3 2 (based on *běj*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 408-409 (derived from *bie*).

**bythë** f, pl. *bythë* 'backside, buttocks'. A Proto-Albanian compound of *mbë* and *vithe*, with *-y-* resulting from PALb \**-iwi-* as in *qytet*. ◊ BARIÇ *AArbSt* I 141-142 (compound of *mbë* and *ith*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 87; SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (to IE \**bhū-*); HAMP *ZfceltPh* XXXIX 211-212; ÇABEJ *Etim.* II 410-411; MANN *Comp.* 57-58 (from IE \**bused(h)jā*, related to Gk βυσσός 'depth').

## C

**ca** pron. 'some'. From the sequence of article *të* and pronoun *sa* (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 20, *KZ* XXXVI 316). ◊ CAMARDA I 214 (links *ca* to

*sa*); MEYER *Wb.* 383 (connects *ca* with the pronominal stem *s-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 87 (follows PEDERSEN), *Etim.* III 3-4.

**calik** m, pl. *calikë* 'goat-skin'. Borrowed from Slav \**cělikъ* 'whole object', in this case, 'whole skin' (OREL *Ėtimologija* 1983 135). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 439; POLÁK *Orbis* XVI 131 (to Gk θαλλίς); ÇABEJ *St.* I 87 (unacceptable comparison with *cull*), *Etim.* 6-7.

**camërdhok** m 'little boy'. Of unclear origin. ◇ GAZULLI 18 (prefix *ca-*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* 8 (to *callok* id.).

**carac** m, pl. *caraca* 'nettle tree'. Of unknown origin. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 88 (cognate of *ther*).

**carbë** f, pl. *carba* 'scrap, rag'. Borrowed from Slav \**čarьba* 'daub, dirt' attested only in Czech *čarba* but believed to be of much wider distribution originally. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 439 (to NGk τερβούλια 'kind of shoe' and the like); ÇABEJ *St.* I 88 (to *carac* and *ther*).

**care** f, pl. *care* 'witch'. Borrowed from Slav \**čara* 'witchcraft', cf. South Slavic forms: SCr *čara*, Slovene *čára* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 439; OREL *Ėtimologija* 1983 138). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 185; SVANE 214.

**carrok** m, pl. *carrokë* 'lad, youth'. The etymology is uncertain. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 88-89 (to *carac* and *ther*).

**cek** aor. *ceka* 'to touch'. A variant of *cerk*. The noun *ceke* 'intention, aim' is a deverbative. ◇ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 16-17 (onomatopoeia).

**cemtë** adj. 'cold (of water)'. Derived from *cermë* 'cold' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 18-19).

**cenis** aor. *cenita* 'to value'. Borrowed from Slav \**cěniti* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *cen'a*, SCr *ceniti* (JOKL *Studien* 103). ◇ SKOK *A ArbSt* II 343 n. 3 (identical with *cmoj*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 20 (follows JOKL).

**cep** m, pl. *cepe* 'angle, edge'. Phonetic variant of *thep* (JOKL *Balkangerm.* 125). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 446 (mistaken spelling *cep*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 20-21 (agrees with JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 115-116.

**cerk** aor. *cerka* 'to hit'. From PALb \**tserka* related to *ther*. The form *cerk* preserved the original affricate.

**cermĕ** f 'arthritis'. Borrowed from Slav \**čьrmъ* 'inflammation' attested in South Slavic as Slovene *črm* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 258). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 90 (historically identical with *thermĕ* - this view can be only accepted for *cĕrmĕ* 'cramp, spasm'), *Etim.* III 22-23.

**cermĕ** adj. 'cold, cool'. Continues PALb \**tsermā* related to Lith *šarmà* 'frost', Latv *sāfma* id. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 90 (identical with *cermĕ* 'arthritis').

**cĕmoj** aor. *cĕmova* 'to hurt'. Derived from *thermĕ* with a dialectal change of *th-*. Thus, *cĕmoj* < \**thermoj*. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 318-319 (related to *thimth*, *thumb*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 90 (same as JOKL), *Etim.* III 24-25.

**cĕrij** aor. *cĕrita* 'to melt butter'. Based on PALb \**tsira* related to Skt *śrāyati* 'to cook, to fry', Gk κίρυνμι 'to mix'. ◊ FRISK I 824-825; POKORNY I 582; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 25 (onomatopoeia *cĕr cĕr* of boiling oil).

**cĕril** m 'thrush'. Another variant is *cĕrllē*. An early Slavic loanword, borrowed from \**čьrnidlo* 'black (object)' (MEYER *Wb.* 440). ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 202; SKOK I 278 (same as MEYER); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 62-63 (from Romance, cf. Ital *merla* id.); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 25-27 (onomatopoeia).

**cfurk** m, pl. *cfurqe* 'pitchfork'. Derived from *furkĕ* (MEYER *Wb.* 114).

**cicĕ** f, pl. *cica* 'breast, nipple'. An element of the child language, cf. *thithĕ* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 290). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 90 (adduces Slavic and Romance parallels), *Alb. St.* III 44; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 255 (from Romance); JOKL *Balkangerm.* 127-128; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 234; ÇABEJ *St.* I 91 (follows TAGLIAVINI), *Etim.* III 30-31.

**cili** pron. 'which'. Together with its older variant *cilĕ*, *cili* continues \**tĕ silĕ*, cf. *ca* (MEYER *Wb.* 383). As to \**silĕ*, it appears to be a recent formation based on *si* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 316). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 50 (derives *-l-* of *cili* from \**-ln-*); LAMBERTZ *IF* XXXIV 113 n. 2 (reconstructs a suffix \**-l-* in *cili* similar to that of Lat *tālis* 'such'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 91-92 (follows PEDERSEN), *Etim.* III 34-38.



**cimb** m, pl. *cimba* 'sting'. A dialectal form related to *thimth* as well as *cimak* id. (JOKL *Idg. Jb.* XXIV 217). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 92, *Etim.* III 39.

**cip** m 'point, tip; upper part'. A dialectal form standing for *\*thip* and connected with *thep* id. ◇ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 20-21.

**cipë** f, pl. *cipa* 'thin skin; milk skin'. Derived from *cip* in its meaning of 'upper part' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 44-45). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 441 (borrowed from Slavic).

**cirlë** f, pl. *cirla* 'blackbird'. An onomatopoeia similar to that of Slav *\*čirьkь* 'teal'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 440 (mistakenly reconstructs *\*čërnlle* as borrowed from Slav *\*čьrnidlo*).

**citë** adj. 'full, brim-full'. From PAIb *\*tseita* etymologically identical with Slav *\*čitь* 'whole', Lith *kietas* 'hard' and continuing IE *\*k'ejatos*. The verb *cis* 'to saturate, to stuff' < *\*tsitja* also belongs here. ◇ CAMARDA I 87-88 (*cis* to Gk σιτεύω 'to feed'); MEYER *Wb.* 441 (compared with NGk τσιτώνω 'to fill holes with lime'); VAILLANT *RÉS* VI 106-107; FRAENKEL 252; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IV 124-125; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 48-49 (from Slavic).

**cjap** m, pl. *cjep* 'he-goat'. Various forms including *cap* and *sqap* continue PAIb *\*tsapa* which, together with Slavic *\*capь* id., Rum *șap* id. and Ital *zappo* id., reflects an Oriental *Wanderwort* of Iranian or Altaic origin, cf. NPers *čapiš* 'one year old goat', Osset *cæw* 'goat', OTurk *čäbiš* 'six-months old kid'. ◇ POTT *KZ* IV 70 (connected with Lat *caper* 'he-goat'); MEYER *Wb.* 387-388 (the same); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 738 (Rum *șap* from Albanian); DENSUSIANU *GS* I 243-244 (against the Latin etymology of Rum *șap*); SPITZER *MRIW* I 292 (Rumanian loanword); ROZWADOWSKI *Roczn. Sław.* II 109 (Iranian parallels); ROHLFS *ZfromPh* XLV 662-664 (independent sources of Romance, Albanian and other words for 'goat'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 133-134; ABAEV I 307; HUBSCHMID *Pyren.* 49, *Kult. SOE* 89; RUSSU *TD* 203 (Rum *șap* from Dacian); TRUBAČEV *Živ.* 89; ROHLFS *ZfromPh* XIV 624 (pre-Romance nature of Rum *șap* = Ital dial. *zappo* id.); ROSETTI *ILR* I 282; KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 48-50; MEIER *Etym.* 56; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IV 172-173; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 49-51 (follows MEYER).

**cmag** m, pl. *cmagë* 'peg'. Another variant is *cmak*. Together with

*cimak* this word is related to *cimb* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 93, *Etim.* III 51-52). ◇ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 62-63.

**cub** adj. 'with a short tail, with a tail cut off'. An early borrowing from Slav \**čubъ* 'tuft of hair' and also 'stump, a cut off piece'. ◇ MEYER 442 (to SCR *čupa* 'tuft of hair'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 58-59 (to *cup*).

**cub** m 'robber, brigand'. Borrowed from a Germanic source, cf. Goth *þiubs* 'thief', OHG *diob* (MANN *Language* XXVI 384). ◇ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 58 (to *cub* 'with a short tail').

**cucë** f, pl. *cuca* 'girl, maiden'. An onomatopoeic form with parallel formations in Slavic as well as in Hung *csucsa* 'loved one' (MEYER *Wb.* 443). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 17; JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 93-94 (from \**cull-cë* to *cull*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 113; MANN *Language* XXVI 384-385 (to Goth *þiwi*); BRÎNCUŞ *SCL* 1 (1961) 25-28; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 59-60.

**cull** m, pl. *cullë* 'youth, boy'. A relatively recent loanword from Ital *ciullo* 'nincompoop' < *fnaciullo* (MEYER *Wb.* 449-450; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 315-316). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 95 (reconstructs the original meaning as 'skin'), *Etim.* III 63-65.

**cup** adj. 'odd (uneven)'. Continues PALb \**tsupa* from IE \**k̑(e)u-po-*, based on \**keu(ə)-* 'to swell', cf. in particular Skt *sūnyá-* 'empty'. As far as the suffix is concerned, cf. Skt *śó-pha-* 'swelling'. ◇ POKORNY I 592-593; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 67 (identical with *sup*).

**curr** aor. *curra* 'to prick up (ears)'. A phonetic and semantic variant of *thur*.

**curr** m, pl. *curra* 'high rock'. A nominal derivative of the verb *curr*. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 115-116 (borrowed from Hbr *šôr* 'rock'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 104 (reconstructs \**k̑rno-*, to OIr *carn*), *AARbSt.* II 388; ÇABEJ *St.* I 96 (to Arm *sur* 'sword', Goth *hairus* id.), *Etim.* III 68-69.

**cys** aor. *cyta* 'to spur on, to tease'. A difficult word. Maybe, a secondary formation in -s based on *theyej*. ◇ JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 105-106, 149 (to *qoj* and, further, to Lat *ciēre* 'to move'); MANN *Language* XXVIII

31-32 (from \**teudjō*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 96-97, II 327 (related to *nxis*), *Etim.* III 71; DEMIRAJ *AE* 116.

**cyth** aor. *cytha* 'to prick'. An onomatopoeia or an unusual derivative of *thyej*. Not at all clear.

## Ç

**çafkë** f, pl. *çafka* 'heron'. Borrowed from Slav \**čavьka* 'daw, magpie', cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *čavka*, SCr *čavka* (MEYER *Wb.* 443). A homonymic *çafkë* 'glass, cup' is borrowed from Slav \**čašьka* 'small bowl'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 97 (adducing dialectal *cap* id., reconstructs \**capkë* > *çafkë*), *Etim.* III 75-76 (from *çap*); SVANE 145.

**çaj** aor. *çava* 'to split, to cleave, to smash, to batter, to chop up'. A parallel variant is NGeg *shaj*. From PALb \**tšenja*, formed on the basis of IE \**sked-* 'to split': Skt *skhadate* id., Gk σκεδάννυμι id. and the like (JOKL *IF* XXX 196). Note *çazë* 'leaf' representing a derivative in *-zë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 444 (to Gk σχάζω 'to cut, to incise'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 97; PISANI *Saggi* 119; POKORNY I 918-919; MAYRHOFER III 507; FRISK II 721; CAMAJ *Alb. Woth.* 60; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 71; ÇABEJ *St.* I 98, *Etim.* III 77; HULD 47-48 (reconstructs \**-a-* in the Proto-Albanian root); DEMIRAJ *AE* 116-117 (*çaj* < \**dë-shaj*, related to Lat *sariō* 'to weed').

**çajme** f, pl. *çajme* 'red-backed shrike, heron'. Derived from Slav \**čaja*, \**čajьka* 'gull, lapwing', cf. South Slavic forms: Maced *čajka*, Slovene *čajka* (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 77). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 443 (uncertain relation to Slav \**čapja* 'heron').

**çalë** adj. 'lame'. From PALb \**štšala* related to Gk σκολιός 'crooked', Lat *scelus* and their cognates (MEYER *Wb.* 443). ◊ JOKL *IF* XXX 194 (from IE \**skel-no-*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (from IE \**ēks-skoluḡios*); PISANI *Saggi* 128; FRISK II 723-724; CHANTRAINE 1013; POKORNY I 928; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 80 (to *shalë*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 117-118 (reconstructs \**dë-shalë*).

**çam** m, pl. *çamë*, *çamër* 'Chamerian, inhabitant of the western part of Epirus'. Borrowed from early dial. Slav \**čamь* or \**čama* rendering

an earlier *\*tjama*, the latter reflecting the Greek river-name Θύαμις of Epirus. ◇ LEAKE *Greece* 13 (establishes the connection between *çam* and Θύαμις); ÇABEJ *St.* I 98 (treats *çam* as a direct continuation of Θύαμις), *Etim.* III 82-83.

**çandër** f, pl. *çandra* 'prop, support'. From *\*štšentra* reflecting a singularized plural of the Indo-European neut. *\*skentrom* with *s*-mobile, close to IE *\*kentrom* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259): Gk κέντρον 'goad, spur', cf. also Latv *sfts* 'spear, lance' < Balt *\*šintas*. The anlaut *ç(a)-* excludes the possibility of a borrowing from Latin or a Romance language, cf. *qendër*. ◇ POKORNY I 567; FRISK I 820-821; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 71 (mistaken comparison with *çaj*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 84 (variant of dialectal *qandër* < *qendër*).

**çap** aor. *çapa* 'to chew'. From PALb *\*štšepa* connected with IE *\*skēp-* 'to cut, to split' (JOKL *IF* XXX 192-193). Note that *çapë* 'step', *çap* 'to step, to pace, to go' represent a metaphoric usage of *çapë* 'bite, piece', *çap* 'to chew'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 444 (connects *çapë* 'step' with Turk *çapmak* 'to run' as well as with Slav *\*stopiti* 'to step'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (prefix *\*ekš-* followed by *hap*); POKORNY I 930-932; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 72; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 84-85.

**çapua** ~ **çapue** m, pl. *çaponj* 'spur (of a rooster)'. Derivative of *çapë* 'step' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 89).

**çarë** f, pl. *çara* 'fissure, crack'. Borrowed from Slav *\*cara* 'line, rent, cleft', presently attested in South Slavic only in Slovene *cára* (OREL *Ėtimologija* 1983 135-136). ◇ OREL *ZfSlav* XXX/6 914.

**çars** aor. *çarta* 'to destroy, to spoil'. From PALb *\*štšertja* based on IE *\*sker-tj-*, cf. ON *skera* 'to cut', Lith *skirti* id. and the like (JOKL *IF* XXX 195-196, XXXVII, 100-101, *LKUBA* 156). ◇ FRAENKEL 803; POKORNY I 938-942; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 91-92; DEMIRAJ *AE* 118 (originally, from *\*dë-shart-*).

**ças** m, pl. *çase* 'moment, time'. Another variant is *çast* (with *-t* generalized from locative as in *në çast*, cf. ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 93-94). Borrowed from Slav *\*časъ* 'time', cf., in particular, South Slavic forms: OCS *časъ*, Bulg *čas*, SCr *čas* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 445). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197; SVANE 176.

**çek** aor. *çeka* 'to touch'. An onomatopoeia existing in many phonetic variants, cf. *cek* id., *cik* id. and *cok* id. (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 98).

**çel** aor. *çela* 'to open'. From PAIb \**štšela* etymologically related to Hitt *iškallāi-* 'to tear up', ON *skilja* 'to split', Lith *skeliū*, *skėlti* id. (JOKL *IF* XXX 194-195, *WuS* XII 70). ◇ PISANI *Saggi* 125; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (from IE \**eḱs-skeljō*); FRAENKEL 800; BORETZKY *ZfBalk* VIII/1-2 21-26 (on *çelës* 'key' < 'opener' as an Oriental semantic calque); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 100-101; HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XLI 52 (< \**dz-šel-* < IE \**sel-* 'to put').

**çelë** f 'best part'. Borrowed from Slav \**čelo* 'head', its South Slavic reflexes (Bulg *čelo* and SCr *čelo*) having a specific meaning of a 'front, visible place' and 'end, edge' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 98, *Etim.* III 101). ◇ SVANE 180.

**çelitet** refl. 'to recover, to get well'. Borrowed from Slav \**čeliti* 'to heal', cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *čeliti*, Bulg *cel'a*, SCr *cijeliti*.

**çelnik** m, pl. *çelnikë* 'senior shepherd'. Borrowed from Slav \**čelъnikъ* 'leader, head', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *čelnik*, SCr *čeonik* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 179). As to *çeling* 'senior shepherd', it goes back to NGk τσέλιγκος id., ultimately, from the same Slavic source (ÇABEJ *St.* I 98). The variant *çelik* was influenced by an Albanian Turkism *çelik* 'steel'. ◇ SVANE 194; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 102.

**çem** aor. *çema* 'to bring to light, to disclose, to reveal, to broach'. From PAIb \**štšepna* etymologically connected with *çap* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 72). For the semantic development cf. ON *skilja* 'to separate, to divide' > 'to understand' (BUCK 1207). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 91 (divides *çem* into prefix *ç-* and *-em* < \**apniō* compared with Lat *apiō* 'to fasten, to attach'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 98-99, *Etim.* III 103.

**çerdhe** f, pl. *çerdhe* 'nest'. A singularised plural of the original \**çerdhë*. An early borrowing from Slav \**čerda* 'row, herd, flock' (Bulg *čreda*, SCr *čreda*) with a particularly interesting shift of meaning (MEYER *Wb.* 446). ◇ JOKL *AArbSt* I 38 (reconstructs \**skerdh-* related to Lith *skeřdžius* 'shepherd' and its cognates); ÇABEJ *LP* VII 199, *St.* I 99, *Etim.* III 108-109.

**çerr** m, pl. *çerra* 'wren'. A substantivized use of a borrowed Slavic adjective \*čьrнъ 'black' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259). ◇ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 111 (onomatopoeia).

**çetë** f, pl. *çeta* 'clan, armed group'. Borrowed from Slav \*četa id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *četa*, SCr *četa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 446-447). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 184; SVANE 202; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 112.

**çetinë** f, pl. *çetina* 'pine-tree'. Borrowed from Slav \*četina 'bristle, needles', cf. in particular South Slavic: Bulg *četina*, SCr *četina* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 99). ◇ SVANE 125; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 112.

**çë** pron. 'what'. With a full reduction of vowel, also is used in the form of ç'. From PALb \*tši continuing IE \*k'id: Hitt *kuit*, Gk τί, Lat *quid* and the like (BARIĆ *AARBSt* I 206, II 399; HULD 47). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 218 (borrowed from Rum *ce* id.); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 328 (from \*qish); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 388 (borrowed from SCr *ča* id.); MANN *Language XXVIII* 35; FRISK II 903-904; WALDE-HOFMANN II 404-405; ÇABEJ *St.* I 97 (identical with çë), *Etim.* III 73-74.

**çimkë** f, pl. *çimka* 'bug'. Another variant is *çimkë*. Borrowed from Lat *cimicem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14). Another word for 'bug', *çimërr*, seems to be an expressive formation based on *çimkë*. ◇ STIER *KZ XI* 137; MEYER *Wb.* 227 (from SCr *kimak* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 146; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 22; HAARMANN 117; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 119-120 (follows MIKLOSICH).

**çjerr** aor. *çorra* 'to tear up'. From PALb \*štšera etymologically related to OIr *scaraim* 'to separate', ON *skera* 'to cut', Lith *skiriù*, *skirti* 'to separate' and the like (CAMARDA I 69, 87; MEYER *Wb.* 410-411). ◇ MANN *Language XXVIII* 40 (from \*ekš-skerið); FRAENKEL 808; VENDRYES [S] 33-34; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 124.

**çmoj** aor. *çmova* 'to estimate'. Borrowed from Lat *aestimare* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 448). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1052; MANN *Language XXVIII* 35 (related to Gk τιμάω); MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 12; HAARMAN 110; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 126-127.

**çnderoj** aor. *çnderova* 'to dishonor'. Borrowed from Lat *exhonorāre* id.

**çoj** aor. *çova* 'to bring, to rise, to send'. Borrowed from Lat *excīre, exciēre* 'to call out, to cause, to wake'. ◊ CAMARDA I 68 (to Gk κίω); MEYER *Wb.* 448 (from Lat *excitāre*); TREIMER *MRIW* I 341 (against MEYER, reconstructs \**skē-* in the anlaut); JOKL *Studien* 81 (accepts the view of CAMARDA), *Mélanges Pedersen* 145 (close to CAMARDA's view, from \**ds-qoj*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 73 (to Goth *skewjan* 'to go'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 98 (agrees with MEYER); SCHMIDT *KZ LVII* 8-10 (to Lat *sāgiō* 'to feel'); MANN *Language XXVIII* 40 (from \**eks-skēujō*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 128-130; DEMIRAJ *AE* 119.

**çotillë** f, pl. *çotilla* 'stamp, kind of long blender'. A metathesized form of *toçillë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 102, *Etim.* III 134). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 73, *AArbSt* I 156-157 (compares with Lat *quatīō* 'to wield, to beat'); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 145 n. 1 (to *çutër* 'stream, brook').

**çubë** f, pl. *çuba* 'bush, shrubbery'. Borrowed from Slav \**čuba* 'lock, forelock, curl' (SCr *čuba*) with a semantic innovation. ◊ MANN *Language XXVI* 380 (related to Slav \**čuba*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 135-136 (related to *kaçubë*).

**çudis** aor. *çudita* 'to astonish'. Borrowed from Slav \**čuditi* id. as well as Geg *çudë* 'wonder' - from Slav \**čudo* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 449). As to *çudi* id., it is an Albanian derivative of *çudis*. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 191, 323; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 98; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IV 127-129; SVANE 231; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 136-137.

**çukë** f, pl. *çuka* 'peak'. Borrowed from South Slav \**čuka* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 449; MLADENOV *AfsI/Ph XXXIV* 385 (borrowed from Bulgarian); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 339; ROSETTI *ILR I* 275 (comparison with Rum *ciucă*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 103, *Etim.* III 138-140; SVANE 161, 181.

**çullë** f 'sheep with little ears'. Borrowed from Slav \**čulъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *čula*, SCr *čula*. ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 141-142 (Balkan parallels).

**çun** m, pl. *çuna* 'boy, youth'. Together with *çunë* 'penis', borrowed from

Ital *cionno* 'penis' (MEYER *Wb.* 449-450). ◇ CAMARDA II 67 (from Ital *ciullo* 'little'); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 77 (from \**qun* borrowed from Slav \**čędo* 'child'); MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* VII 101 (*čunę* borrowed from NGk τσουννί 'branch, twig, penis'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 103-104 (related to *cung* 'stump'), *Etim.* III 142-143; SVANE 88.

## D

**dac** m, pl. *daca* 'cat'. An onomatopoeic formation or a hypocoristic based on a personal name (MEYER *Wb.* 62). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 134.

**daj** aor. *dava* 'to divide'. Often used with prefix *n-* as *ndaj* id. Goes back to PALb \**danja*, transformed from \**daja* under the influence of other verbs in *-nja*. Further connected with Gk δαίωμα 'to divide', Skt *dáyate* id. (BOPP 483; CAMARDA I 144; MEYER *Wb.* 59, *Alb. St.* III 26). ◇ JOKL *Idg. Jb.* IX 58 (to Skt *dđlayati* 'to split'), *Sprache* IX 128 (follows BOPP); RESTELLI *RIL* XCI 471-472; MANN *Language* XXVI 381; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 54; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239 (verb in \*-*njō*); FRISK I 341-342; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 117; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 150-151; DEMIRAJ *AE* 119-120.

**dak** m 'big ram'. From PALb \**dauka* further related to Lith *dvėkti* 'to breathe', *dvėkas* 'breath' and other derivatives of \**dheu-* on which *dash* is also based (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 153: related to *dash*).

**dal** aor. *dola* 'to go out'. From PALb \**dala* etymologically related to Gk θάλλω 'to bloom', i.e. 'to appear, to come out' (MEYER *Wb.* 60, *Alb. St.* III 29). ◇ PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 114-115, *Kelt. Gr.* II 648 (to OIr *dul* 'go'), KZ XXXIII 542; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 99; MANN *Language* XXVI 380, XXVIII 36; PISANI *Saggi* 121; POKORNY *Vox Rom.* X 241 (to Fr *daille* < Gaul \**dal(l)jā*); FRISK I 649-650; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240, *St. IE* 43 (from \**dalnō*); CAMAJ *Alt. Worth.* 37; CHANTRAINE 421; HAMP *Sprache* XXX/2 156-157 (< IE \**dhalnjō*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXII 76-77; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 172; ÇABEJ *St.* 104 (reconstructs \**dalnō* and compares *dal* with Lat *dolō* 'to cut'), *Etim.* III 153-154; CLACKSON *LR* 118; DEMIRAJ *AE* 120.

**daltě** f, pl. *dalta* 'chisel'. An early borrowing from Slav \**dolbto* id., preserved in South Slavic as Bulg *dlato* and also borrowed as Rum *daltă*



(MEYER *Wb.* 60). ◊ SKOK *Slavia* III 115-116; BARIĆ *Hymje* 75; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 305-306; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173, 319; ÇABEJ *St.* 105 (treats *daltë* as a cognate of Slav \**delbto* or of Skt *dālayati* 'to split'), *Etim.* III 154-156; SVANE 78; MURATI *Probleme* 129-130.

**dallëndyshe** f, pl. *dallëndyshe* 'swallow'. A relatively recent compound motivated by the swallow's forked or "double" tail - \**dalluan dysh* 'appearing to be double', with \**dalluan* > Tosk *dalluar*, Geg *dalluen* representing the participle of *dalloj* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 72-73 with some differences). ◊ CAMARDA I 37 (to Gk *ταλαντεύω* 'to swing, to rock, to shake'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31 (from Lat *hirundō*); MEYER *Wb.* 59-60 (from Lat *hirundinem* 'swallow' + suffix *-yshë*, influenced by *dallëndis* 'to take heart, to be brave'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544 (to Gk *χελιδών* 'swallow'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 5 (contamination of Lat *hirundō* and \**dallë*, to Germ *Schwalbe* 'swallow'); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236-237 (to Germ *Schwalbe*); MAYER *KZ* LXVI 89-96 (comparison with Illyr *Taulantii*, *Ταυλάντιοι*, ἔθνος πρὸς Ἀδρία Ταυλαντίνων προσεχὲς τοῖς Χελιδονίοις, *Hecat.*); HASDEU *EMR* II 51; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 134; HALIMI *GjA* (1972) 124 (from \**da-në-dyshe*); KNOBLOCH *AIAK* 335-337 (agrees with PEDERSEN); ÇABEJ *St.* I 105-106, *Etim.* III 157-159.

**dallgë** f, pl. *dallgë*, *dallga* 'wave'.

**dalloj** aor. *dallova* 'to discern, to recognize'. Continues PALb \**dalnānja* based on an adjective in \*-no- - \**dalna* related to Skt *dālayati* 'to split', Lat *dolō* 'to chip, to hew' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 12). ◊ CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239; MAYRHOFER II 24; WALDE-HOFMANN I 364-366; XHUVANI *KLetr.* I/11 2 (to *daj*); ÇABEJ *St.* *Etim.* III 159-160; DEMIRAJ *AE* 121.

**dangë** f 'belly'. Another variant is *dëngë*. Goes back to PALb \**dangā* etymologically identical with Lith *dangà* 'table-cloth, cover', Latv *daņga* 'puddle, marshland', Slav \**doga* 'arc' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259). All these forms are deverbatives related to Lith *dengüü*, *deņgti* 'to cover'. Adjectival *dëng* 'full, stuffed up' continues PALb \**danga* and also belongs here. As to *deng* 'bundle, full sack', it is rather a borrowing from Turk *denk* 'bale' (MEYER *Wb.* 63) than a cognate of the above forms. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 61 (to Slovene *danka* 'rectum'); FRAENKEL 88-89; ÇABEJ *St.* I 106 (to *deng*), 121, *Etim.* III 162 (back formation

of Turk *dangalak* 'stupid' > Alb *dëngallak*); TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* V 98-99.

**dardhě** f, pl. *dardha* 'pear, pear-tree'. From PALb *\*dardā*, a derivative of *derdh* 'to tip out, to pour' < PALb *\*derda* (OREL *Ětimologija* 1986-1987 220-221) with a semantic motivation established for Slav *\*gruša*, *\*kruša* 'pear, pear-tree' < *\*grušiti*, *\*krušiti* 'to crumble, to break', IE *\*peisom* 'pear' < *\*peis-* (TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* VII 156). ◊ HAHN I 236 (connects *dardhě* with the name of Dardania); MEYER *Wb.* 61 (follows HAHN), *Gr. Gr.* 50; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 164 (to Gk ἄχρηδος, ἀχράς 'wild pear, wild pear-tree'); JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 89-90 (to IE *\*gher(s)-* 'to stiffen'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 106; MANN *Language* XVII 17 (reconstructs *\*ḡhṛdis*), XXVIII 34 (from IE *\*ghard-*); PISANI *Saggi* 118; JUCQUOIS *Muséon* LXXVIII 440; FRISK I 199, 203; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 121 (to *\*der-* 'to split'); GINDIN *Onom.* 124; ÇABEJ *St.* I 107 (to OIr *draigen* 'wild pear'), *Etim.* III 165-167; HULD 48; DEMIRAJ *AE* 121-122.

**darě ~ daně** f, pl. *darě ~ daně* 'pincers, tongs'. From PALb *\*dana*, a participial form related to *daj* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 107-108, *Etim.* III 1167-168). ◊ CAMARDA II 61 (to Gk δάκνω 'to bite'); MEYER *Wb.* 61 (considers the unchanged Tosk *-a-* to indicate a lost consonant before *-r-* ~ *-n-*); JOKL *Studien* 12-13 (develops CAMARDA's etymology based on IE *\*denk̑*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239 (to OHG *zanga* id.); MANN *Language* XXVIII 40; HAMP *LP* XXVIII 78 (same as CIMOCHOWSKI); JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 442; LEHMANN *GED* 338 (follows JOKL); ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ (to IE *\*dhau-*); JANSON *Unt.* 21; DEMIRAJ *AE* 122.

**darkě** f, pl. *darka* 'supper'. From PALb *\*darkā*, originally a singularize neut. pl. of IE *\*dork'om* reflected in Gk δόρυον id. (CAMARDA I 67; MEYER *Wb.* 61). On the other hand, the connection with *drekě* is doubtless. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 3, 26, 72, *Gr. Gr.* 245; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 189; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231 (reconstructs *\*dṛak̑-* in order to explain *drekě*); KRETSCHMER *Einleitung* 101 n. 3; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 99-100; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239; MANN *Language* XVII 19, XXVI 384; PISANI *Saggi* 118; PORZIG *Gliederung* 178; POKORNY *Vox Rom.* X 239 (to Illyr Δρακούινᾱ < *\*darkuinā*); PISANI *Saggi* 118; HAMP *Anc. IE* 116 (adds Bret *dibri* 'to eat'); FRISK I 410-411; CHANTRAINE 294; ANTTILA *Schw.* 29, 100; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 563; ÇABEJ *St.* I 108, *Etim.* III 168-169; HULD 48-49; DEMIRAJ *AE* 122-123.

**darově** 'bride's gift'. Borrowed from Slav *\*darovъ* 'gratuitous'. The

corresponding verb *darovis* 'to make a present, to give money as a gift' seems to continue an unattested Slav *\*daroviti*, cf. the widespread *\*darovati* 'to make a present' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 61) while *dari* 'dowry' is based on *\*dar* borrowed from Slav *\*darъ* 'gift, present'. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 183; SVANE 212, 231, 252; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 169.

**dasmě** pl. *dasma* 'wedding'. Another widespread and historically important variant is *darsmě*. Goes back to PAIb *\*dartšimā*, originally, *\*'wedding feast'*, derived from *darkē* (ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ; ÇABEJ *St.* I 108-109, *Etim.* III 169-170). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 62 (to Rum *zestre* 'dowry'); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 232, *KZ* XXXVI 309 (reconstructs *\*dam-ēsē* to be compared with Gk γάμος 'marriage, wedding'); JOKL *LKUBA* 14; HULD 49; DEMIRAJ *AE* 123-124.

**dash** m, pl *desh* 'ram'. From PAIb *\*dauša* reflecting IE *\*dhouso-* 'breath, breathing, animal' (MANN *Language* XXVI 387), cf. Gmc *\*deuzan* 'wild animal' (Goth *dius*, ON *dýr*), Lith pl. *daūsos* 'paradise', Slav *\*duxъ* 'breath, spirit'. The Albanian word was borrowed to Rum *daş*. ◊ CAMARDA II 70 (to Gk δάσκιλλος 'kind of fish'); MEYER *Wb.* 62; BARIĆ *ARSt.* 6 (*dash* < *\*dalsh* connected with *dele*); JOKL *LKUBA* 240-241, 329 f. (compares *dash* < *\*dhjosj-* with Lat *bēstia* 'animal'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 134-135; LA PIANA *Studi* I 91 (*dash* ~ Lat *dēnsus*, difficult both semantically and phonetically); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 164 (links *dash* to *deshā*); IVANESCU *SAO* VIII 274-276; POKORNY I 270; FRAENKEL 115-116; FEIST *Goth.* 121-122; ZALIZN'AK *Etimologija* 139; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 341; ROSETTI *ILR* I 276; OREL *Die Sprache* XXXI 280, *ZfBalk* XXIII 144, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351, 356; ÇABEJ *St.* I 109-110, *Etim.* III 171-173 (to Goth *tagl* 'hair'); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* V 153-154; DEMIRAJ *AE* 124-125 (related to *dem*).

**degě** f, pl. *degě, dega* 'twig, branch'. From PAIb *\*dwaigā* etymologically related to OHG *zweig* id., Germ *Zweig* (MEYER *Wb.* 62, *Alb. St.* III 9, 26, 39). ◊ CAMARDA I 80 (to Gk τέκνον 'child, sprout'); BÜGA II 319; JOKL *Studien* 15; PISANI *Saggi* 103, 122; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; KLUGE 897; HAMP *Trends* LVII 906; HULD 145 (against MEYER); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 179-180 (dubious Alpine-Romance parallels); DEMIRAJ *AE* 125-126.

**deh** aor. *deha* 'to inebriate'. From PAIb *\*degška*. At the same time, con-

tinuants of *\*degnja* are attested in *dej* ~ *dënj* id. Both *\*degska* and *\*degnja* are related to *djeg*. ◊ BOPP 539 (to IE *\*dhē(i)-* 'to suckle'); MEYER *Wb.* 62-63 (to Goth *dauns* 'vapor'), *Alb. St.* III 29, 90; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88 (to *dyllë*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 6-7; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 110; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to IE *\*dhues-* 'to destroy'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 111 (compares *deh* with *dend*), *Etim.* III 182-183; DEMIRAJ *AE* 125-126.

**dej** adv. 'the day after tomorrow'. From PALb *\*daja* continuing IE loc. dual *\*duoi-ous* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 127). For the development of IE *\*duo-* > PALb *\*da-* see OREL *Antič. balk.* 3 37-39. ◊ CAMARDA I 310 (to Gk δήν); MEYER *Wb.* 62, *Alb. St.* III 39 (to IE *\*duoin-/dyein-*); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88; OŠTIR *AarbSt.* II 307; FRAENKEL 108; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 73 (close to MEYER); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 183-184 (back formation based on *andej*).

(G) **dêjë** f 'place where the snow melts, low place'. Denominative forms: *dejet* ~ *dëjet*. From PALb *\*danjā* related to Skt *dhānvan-* 'dry land', OHG *tenni* 'threshing-floor' (DEMIRAJ *AE* 127). ◊ JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88 (to *deh*); SCHMIDT LVII 6-7 (to Skt *ádhanIt* 'to burn out, to fade away'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to IE *\*dhues-*); POKORNY I 249; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 180-182 (to *ndej*).

**dele** f, pl *dele, dhen, dhën* 'sheep'. The Geg variant *delme* represents a formation in *\*-mā* (and hardly has anything in common with the name of Dalmatia *pace* MEYER *Wb.* 63 and ÇABEJ *St.* I 111). The word is based on PALb *\*dailā* 'sheep' < 'suckling' and related to various *l*-derivatives from IE *\*dhē(i)-* 'to suckle' (MEYER *Wb.* 63, *Alb. St.* III 29 operates with *\*dailjā* < IE *\*dhailjā* or *\*dhoiljā*), cf., in particular, Arm *dayl* 'colostrum' < IE *\*dhailo-*. Suppletive plural forms *dhen, dhën* should be treated separately as a Proto-Albanian (collective) derivative in *\*-anti* based on *dhi* 'she-goat'. Thus, the source of *dhen, dhën* is to be reconstructed as *\*aiganti-*, with apheresis of the anlaut vowel (OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 357). ◊ BRUGMANN 117; PETERSSON *LUÁ* XIX/6 12; BARIĆ *ARSt.* 6 (*dhën* compared with IE *\*dhē(i)-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 239 (mistakenly explains *-l-* from *\*-ln-*), 251-253 (compares *dhen, dhën* with Celt *\*damatos* 'sheep' > W *dafad*, Bret *dauat* or with *n*-derivatives of IE *\*dhē(i)-* 'to suckle', in particular, with Skt *dhenā* 'milk cow', cf. also OIr *dínu* 'lamb' and the like), *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87 (traces of this root in Balkan place names); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 101, *Stratificazione* 135; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 77-78; SCHMIDT *KZ* L 238; PORZIG

*Gliederung* 150; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240-241; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (*dhen* to Lat *gēns* 'kin, tribe'); POKORNY I 241-242; DURIDANOV *ŽA* XVIII 37 (*dhen* - to Thr *Δανδαλῆται*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 152 (comparison of *dhen*, *dhën* with Gk *δημός* 'fat'), *Etim.* III 184-186 (follows MEYER); HULD 143; KÖDDERITZSCH *LB* XXXI 108; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 52; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 357; DEMIRAJ *AE* 127-128, 157-158 (agrees with MANN).

**del tině** f 'clay'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav *\*delbtina* further connected with *\*delbto* ~ *\*dolbto* 'chisel'. The semantic development seems possible but not quite obvious: 'clay' < \*'pounded mass'? ◊ JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 24 (from *\*ndĕ-baltině*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 112 (compares *del tině* with *daltĕ*), *Etim.* III 187-188 (to *dyllĕ*).

**dell** m, pl. *dej* 'tendon'. From PAIb *\*daisla* probably related to Lith *gýsla* 'blood-vessel, tendon', Slav *\*žila* 'tendon' (MEYER *Wb.* 63, *Alb. St.* III 18) if the latter are treated separately from Skt *jiyá-* 'bow-string', Gk *βίος* 'bow' (BRUGMANN *Grundr.* I 345). ◊ CAMARDA I 71 (to Gk *δέω* 'to tie'); PEDERSEN *IF* V 68 (to Lat *filum* 'thread'), *KZ* XXXVI 326 (agrees with MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 13 (comparison with Gk *δέω* 'to bind'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 87-88; FRAENKEL 150; FRISK I 237; MAYRHOFER I 448; VASMER II 57-58; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239; ÇABEJ *St.* I 112-113 (connects *dell* with Slav *\*dolъ* 'valley' and Gk *θόλος* 'mud' - those two having nothing in common), *Etim.* III 189-190; DEMIRAJ *AE* 128 (against ÇABEJ).

**dem** m, pl. *dema* 'young bull'. From PAIb *\*dama* etymologically related to OIr *dam* 'ox' and, probably, to Gk *δάμαλος* 'calf' (CAMARDA I 73; MEYER *Wb.* 63, *Alb. St.* III 26, 64). ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 164; JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 92, *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 236; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 135; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; FRISK I 345; ÇABEJ *St.* I 113, *Etim.* III 190-191; DEMIRAJ *AE* 128-129.

**dend** aor. *denda* 'to stuff'. An archaic non-assimilated variant is NGeg *tend*. From PAIb *\*tenda* related to Skt *tandate* 'to weaken', Lat *tendō* 'to stretch'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 21 (based on Lat *dēnsus*); MEYER *Wb.* 65 (related to Lat *dēnsus*), *Alb. St.* V 72 (borrowed from Lat *tendere*); BARTHOLOMAE *IF* I 300 (to Lat *dēnsus* 'thick'); JOKL apud WALDEHOFMANN I 341 (to *gdhënd*); MANN *Language* XVII 19; CIMOCHOWSKI

LP II 239; POKORNY I 1065-1066; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 193-194 (agrees with JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 129 (to *ndej*).

**denjë** adj. 'worth'. Borrowed from Lat *dignus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 21). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 63 (borrowed from Ital *degno*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 195.

**depërtoj** aor. *depërtova* 'to penetrate'. Borrowed from Rom *\*dē-penetrāre* (MEYER *Wb.* 65). ◇ MANN *Hist. Gr.* 146 (borrowed from Lat *dēparitire*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 195-196 (derived from *ndëpër* 'across').

**derdh** aor. *derdha* 'to pour out'. In Old Albanian the stem is not umlauticized: *dardh* (BUZUKU, BUDI). Continues PAIb *\*darda* close to onomatopoeic Lith *dardëti* 'to rattle', Latv *dàrdēt* 'to creak', W *go-dyrddu* 'to mumble, to grumble'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 64 (to Slav *\*dъrъzъ* 'daring'), *Alb. St.* III 13, 26; FRAENKEL 83; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 238 n. 2 (to Skt *srjāti* 'to sell off, to discharge'), *KZ* XXXVI 289, *Kelt. Gr.* I 494; JOKL *Studien* 13-14 (to Skt *dhāra* 'stream'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 101; LA PIANA *Studi* I 42-43 (to Skt *kṣarati* 'to flow'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 114-115 (to Gk θηρός 'sperm'), *Etim.* III 197-198.

**derë** f, pl. *dyer* 'door'. From PAIb *\*dwōrā*, a secondary *a*-stem based on IE *\*dh̥yēr-* id.: Skt *dvār-*, Gk θύρα, Tokh B *twere* and the like (CAMARDA I 17; MEYER *BB* VIII 188, *Wb.* 63, *Alb. St.* III 29, 39, 71). ◇ JOKL *IF* XXXVI 132, *LKUBA* 240, 255; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 101; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (reconstructs *\*dh̥yeres*); PISANI *Saggi* 103; FRISK I 695-696; MAYRHOFER II 83-84; POKORNY I 278; OREL *Antič. balk.* 3 37-39 (on the development of the anlaut); HAMP *LP* XX 9; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 104, 125; HULD 49; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 198-201; DEMIRAJ *AE* 129-130.

(T) **derë** adj. 'bitter; difficult'. From PAIb *\*deuna* etymologically identical with OS *tiono* 'evil', OE *teona* 'wrong' (JOKL *Studien* 19-20 with further erroneous link to *dhunë*). ◇ HAHN 29 (connected with *dhunë*); MEYER *Wb.* 87 (accepts HAHN's etymology with some doubt); HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 346; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 241; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* I 689; ÇABEJ *St.* I 115 (to the Indo-European word for 'tear': Gk δάκρυ), *Etim.* III 201; DEMIRAJ *AE* 130 (dialectal phonetic development of *hidhur*).

**dergj** aor. *dorgja* 'to lie down, to lay sick, to be ill'. A more frequent form of present is pass.-refl. *dergjem*. From PALb \**dergja* further etymologically connected with Lith *d̃irginti* 'to move', *d̃irgti* 'to lose energy, to become weak', Slav \**d̃r̃gati* 'to pluck, to pull' and particularly with Gmc \**targjan* 'to tear': MHG *zergen* 'to pluck, to pull' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 9). ◊ PEDERSEN *BB* XX 238 (to Lith *sergù* 'to be ill', OIr *serg* 'illness' supposing IE \**sq-* > Alb *d-*), *Kelt. Gr.* I 71; TRAUTMANN *BSIWb.* 56; FRAENKEL 96; VASMER I 500-501; HAMP *IF* LXXIX 155 (follows PEDERSEN); ÇABEJ *St.* I 115-116 (to Lith *d̃arga* 'rainy weather', Slav \**dorga* 'road'), *Etim.* III 201-203; HULD 49-50; LINDEMAN *IF* XCVIII 48-50; DEMIRAJ *AE* 131 (agrees with VASMER).

**deri** prep. 'to, up to, till'. From PALb \**deur(e)i* having the same structure as Gk δεῦρο, δεῦρε, δευρί 'here' compared with Lith *aurè* id. and Av *avarə* id. and analyzed as \**δε-αυρο* or \**δε-υρο*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 299 (borrowed from South Slav \**dori* 'to'); MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (to Lat *feri*); FRISK I 371-372; FRAENKEL 26; BARTHOLOMAE 175.

**derr** m, pl. *derra* 'pig'. From PALb \**darja* connected with Gk χοῖρος id. < IE \**ǵhorjos* (CAMARDA I 96; MEYER *Wb.* 64). Note a derivative *derk* 'piglet' continuing PALb \**darika*. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 18; JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 78 f. (reconstructs \**ǵhōr-n-*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 333 (to *dosē*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 135; LA PIANA *Studi* I 45-46 (to Skt *-dāri-* 'making burst'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; PISANI *Saggi* 116, 118; FRISK II 1107-1108; HULD 148 (from IE \**sqoinro-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 116 (explains *-rr-* by expressive gemination), *Etim.* III 205-206; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; *FLH* VIII/1-2 39 (on PALb \**-rj-* > *-rr-*); KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 220; DEMIRAJ *AE* 131-132.

**det** m, pl. *dete* 'sea'. From PALb \**deubeta* 'depth' based on IE \**dheub-* 'deep' (JOKL *Studien* 14-15). Intermediary stages of the phonetic development are preserved in the uncontracted Italo-Alb *dejt*, *dejēt* and in dialectal forms with a long vowel - *dēt*. PALb \**deubeta* is particularly close to Gmc \**deupipō* 'depth' > MDu *diepde*, MLG *dēpede*, E *depth*. ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 165 (connected with *dal* 'to go out'); MEYER *BB* VIII 187 (to Gk Θέτις, name of the sea-goddess), *Wb.* 64 (reconstructs *dejt* < \**delt* to be compared with Gk θάλασσα), *Alb. St.* IV 54 (follows BUGGE); RIBEZZO *Riv. Indo-greco-italica* XVI 25 f. (reconstructs \**dakti* compared with Epir δάξα·θάλασσα Hes.); TAGLIAVINI

NI *Dalmazia* 102; ÇABEJ *St. I* 118, *Etim. III* 209-210; POKORNY I 267-268; ONIONS 258; OREL *SBJa Lekiskol.* 148-149 (Baltic toponymic parallels: Lith *Duobýtė*, Latv *Daubīte*); HULD 50.

**detyřě** f, pl. *detyra* 'duty, debt'. Borrowing from Rom *\*debitāra* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 66). The verb *detoj* ~ *detonj* reflects Rom *\*debitāre*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 111; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 15; HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *St. I* 118-119 (derived from *detorēs* 'debtor'), *Etim. III* 210-211; LANDI *Lat.* 39, 41, 82-83.

**děboj** aor. *děbova* 'to drive away'. Other variants are *zboj*, *xboj*, *choj*. Related to *boj* (ÇABEJ *St. I* 119, *Etim. III* 212-214). ◊ BUGGE *BB XVIII* 174 (borrowed from Rom *\*disbināre*); MEYER *Alb. St. IV* 44 (agrees with BUGGE); JOKL *IF XXXVII* 119 (reconstructs *\*bhōrejō* connected with *bie*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 23-24 (to IE *\*uei-*); MANN *Language XXVIII* 32 (to Gk *πτοέω* < *\*de-bhojējō*).

**děfrej** aor. *děfreva* 'to enjoy oneself'. Based on the recombination of its antonym, *shěfrej*, *shufrej* 'to suffer' < Lat *sufferāre* id., as a prefixal formation in *shě-* (ÇABEJ *Etim. III* 214-215). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 111 (from Rom *\*disfrenāre* or *\*dēfrenāre*); KRISTOFORIDHI 98 (to *fryj*).

**děftoj** aor. *děftova* 'to show, to point'. Borrowed from Rom *\*indictāre* (MEYER *Wb.* 64-65, *Alb. St. IV* 41). ◊ CAMARDA I 64 (derives *děftoj* from IE *\*deik-*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1054 (borrowed from Rom *\*doctāre*); JOKL *RIEB II* 65-67 (analyzes the verb as *\*dē-fětoj*, its root borrowed from MGk *φωτίζω* 'to shine, to illuminate'); BARIČ *Hymje* 63 (follows MEYER); JOKL *RIEB II* 65-67 (based on *\*ftoj*, to *forti* 'oil lamp'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 23; HAARMANN 122, 130; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 16-24; ÇABEJ *St. I* 120 (to *\*f-tonj* further related to Gk *στέγω* 'to cover', Lat *tegō* id.), ÇABEJ *Etim. III* 215-217 (from Lat *digitāre*).

**děgjoj** aor. *děgjova* 'to hear'. Dialectal forms *nděgoj* and, particularly, *dělgonj*, *diligonj* reflect the obvious Latin source - *intelligere* 'to perceive' (MEYER *Wb.* 66-67). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1054; BARIČ *ARSt* 33-34 (related to Gk *ἀκούω* 'to hear', Goth *hausjan* id.); ÇABEJ *Etim. III* 217-218.



**děkoj** aor. *děkova* ‘to hit, to strike’. Borrowed from Lat *indicere* in its specific meaning ‘to impose, to inflict’ > \*‘to inflict pain’. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 65 (from Rom \**dēcōleāre* based on *cōleus* ‘bag, sack’); GAZULLI 19 (-*koj* to Gk χέω); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXV 539-560 (agrees with MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* I 120-121 (connects *děkoj* with *koj* and *měkoj*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 218-200 (from \**děrkoj*, to *darkě*).

**dělir** aor. *dělira* ‘to clean, to cleanse, to deliver’. The variant *děliroj* is morphologically more regular. Continues Rom \**deliberāre* and is connected with *lirě* (CAMARDA I 172; MEYER *Wb.* 247). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538 (derived from *lirě*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 221 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

**děllinjě** f, pl. *děllinja* ‘juniper’. A more archaic variant *děllěnjě* seems to reflect PALb \**daislanjā* (for the derivational structure cf. *měllěnjě*) related to *dell* < \**daislā* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259). Semantically, the juniper is described as a wiry, sinewy plant, cf. Russ *možževl’nik* id. derived from Slav \**mozgъ* ‘brain, marrow’, Lith *māzgas* ‘knot’. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 65 (from Rom \**cedrulanea* or \**cedrulina* derived from *cedrus* ‘cedar, juniper’); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 9-10 (to Lith *dūlis* ‘fog’, Skt *dhūli-* ‘dust’ and the like); JOKL *LKUBA* 191-193 (same as VASMER); JAGIĆ *AfslPh* VIII 654-655; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 241; FRAENKEL 426-427; VASMER II 637; ÇABEJ *St.* I 121 (related to *daltě* and *dalloj*), ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 222; DEMIRAJ *AE* 132.

**děm** ~ **dam** m, pl. *děme* ~ *dame* ‘damage’. Borrowed from Lat *damnum* ‘hurt, harm, damage’. As to *děnoj* ‘to condemn, to punish’, it is an Italian loanword (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 60). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042, 1047, 1050; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *St.* I 121, *Etim.* III 222-224; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 94, 115.

**děrgoj** aor. *děrgova* ‘to send’. Borrowed from Lat *dělēgāre* id. with an irregular change of *liquida* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 259). ◊ CAMARDA I 67 (to Gk τρέχω ‘to run’); MEYER *Wb.* 65 (borrowing from Lat *dirigere* ‘to arrange, to lay straight’); JOKL *IF* L 43; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 226 (follows MEYER).

**děrmoj** aor. *děrmova* ‘to cut into pieces, to plummet down’. Borrowed from Lat \**dērāmāre*, cf. Rum *dārîma* ‘to tear off’ (MEYER *Wb.* 65, *Alb.*

St. IV 56). Note a derivative *dërmë* 'steep slope'. ◇ PUŞCARIU *EW* 42; ÇABEJ *St. I* 122 (reconstructs *\*dromoj* and connects it with *dromcë*), *Etim. III* 227-229.

**dërrasë** *f.*, pl. *dërrasa* 'board, stone plate'. From PAIb *\*deratjā* based on IE *\*der-* 'to tear, to split', see *djerr* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP III* 158-161: to Slav *\*dъrati* 'to tear'). ◇ CAMARDA II 143 (to *dru*); MEYER *Wb.* 66 (from Ital *terrazza* 'terrace'); MANN *Language XXVIII* 33 (to Gk χάραξ); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP III* 158-159; HELBIG 70; ÇABEJ *Etim. III* 230-231 (derived from *rrasë* 'flat stone').

**dëshiroj** aor. *dëshirova* 'to wish'. Borrowed from Lat *dēsiderāre* 'to long for, to desire' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 65). As to the noun *dëshirë* 'desire', it seems to be a deverbative rather than a continuant of Lat *dēsiderium* id. (ÇABEJ *St. I* 123, *Etim. III* 233). ◇ CAMARDA I 176 (wavers between the correct etymology and the comparison with *dashur*, participle of *dua*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048, 1052; MIHÄESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 15; HAARMANN 122.

**dëshmoj** aor. *dëshmova* 'to testify'. Borrowed from Rom *\*testimōniāre* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66; MEYER *Wb.* 64). ◇ ÇABEJ *St. I* 124, *Etim. III* 233-234 (denominative); HAARMANN 153.

**dëshpëroj** aor. *dëshpërova* 'to make desperate'. Borrowed from Lat *dēspērāre* 'to despair' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 22). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 68 (from Ital *disperare* id.); ÇABEJ *Etim. III* 235.

**dështoj** aor. *dështova* 'to have a miscarriage'. Borrowed from Rom *\*dēpositāre* used as a replacement of *dēpōnere* in its meaning 'to give birth' (MEYER *Wb.* 66, *Alb. St. V* 72). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; SPITZER *MRIW I* 318-319 (connects *dështoj* with Ital *tosto* 'fast, quick'); BARIĆ *ARSt I* 38 (derives the verb *dështoj* from a noun *\*dushyrë* 'miscarriage' explained as IE *\*dus-sūto-* 'badly born'); ÇABEJ *St. I* 124 (a prefixal derivative of *shtoj*), *Etim. III* 235-236.

**di** aor *dita* 'to know'. From PAIb *\*dija* connected with IE *\*dhej(ə)-* 'to see', cf. Skt *dhyāti, dhyāyati* 'to observe, to feel, to think', Av *dā(y)-* 'to see' (MEYER *Wb.* 66, *Alb. St. III* 29; OREL *FLH VIII/1-2* 46). Aorist *dita* and participle *ditur* ~ *ditun* are based on PAIb *\*dita*, a formation in *\*-to-*, cf. Skt part. *dhyāta-* and *dhīta-*. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to

Skt *vid-* 'to know'); MEYER *Alb. St.* III 29; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 112, *Sprache* IX 128; TAGLIAVINI 104; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; POKORNY 243; MAYRHOFER II 45; HULD 152; ÇABEJ *St.* I 125 (reconstructs PALb \**din-* < IE \**ǵenə-* 'to know'), *Etim.* III 237-238; DEMIRAJ *AE* 132-133 (*di* < \**dhiH-m*).

**diç** pron. 'something'. As all other pronouns in *di-*, contains an element identical with the verb *di* as the first part of the compound (CAMARDA I 214; MEYER *Wb.* 66). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 316; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 105; ÇABEJ *St.* I 125.

**diel** f 'Sunday'. Derivative in \*-*jā* or in \*-*nā* based on *diell*, a calque of Lat *diēs solis* id. (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 43). ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 240-241.

**diell** m. pl. *diej* 'sun'. From PALb \**delwa*, a tabooistic substitute of the original word for the sun based on a color adjective, cf. Skt *hāri-* 'pale, yellowish', Av *zairi-* id., Lat *helvus* 'yellowish', Lith *žėlvas* id. ◊ BOPP 513 n. 3 (to Skt *dīva* 'by day'); CAMARDA I 123 (comparisons with Gk ἥλιος 'sun' and, on the other hand, with δίαλος· φανερός, λαμπρός); MEYER *Wb.* 69 (links *diell* to *dal* or, alternatively, reconstructs \**dheg<sup>h</sup>-lo-*, cf. *djeg*); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 238 (to IE \**suēl-* 'sun', cf. CAMARDA); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 103; MANN *Language* XXVIII 36 (follows MEYER in reconstructing \**dheg<sup>h</sup>həlos*); MAYRHOFER III 581; WALDE-HOFMANN I 639; PISANI *Saggi* 118 (to Gk σέλας 'light, shine'); FRAENKEL 1297; ÇABEJ *St.* I 125-126 (to OIr *dellrad* 'shine', OE *deall* 'bold, splendid', Arm *delin* 'green'), *Etim.* III 241-242; HULD 50-51 (accepts PEDERSEN's etymology).

**dihās** aor. *dihata* 'to pant'. Borrowed from Slav \**dyxati* 'to breathe', cf. in particular South Slavic forms: OCS *dyxati*, Bulg *dixam*, SCr *dihati* (MEYER *Wb.* 67). ◊ SVANE 256; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 242.

**dikë** f 'desire, lust'. Continues PALb \**dikā*, a substantivized fem. adj. related to Lith *dýkas* 'idle, empty', Slav \**dikъ* 'wild'. ◊ FRAENKEL 95; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* V 29-30; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 243 (borrowed from SCr *dika* 'pride').

**diktoj** aor. *diktova* 'to discover, to find out'. Borrowed from Rom \**dēcaptāre*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 67 (from Lat *dētegere*); JOKL *RIEB* II 59-60

(from Rom *\*dis-captāre*); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 243-244 (unclear).

**dimër** ~ **dimën** m, pl. *dimra* ~ *dimna* 'winter'. From PALb *\*deimena* related to IE *\*ǵheimen-* id.: Skt *heman* loc. 'in winter', Gk *χείμα* 'winter' and the like (GIL'FERDING *Otn.*; MEYER *Wb.* 67, *Alb. St.* III 18, 64). ◊ CAMARDA I 96 (to Gk *ὄμβρος* 'rain', Lat *imber* id.); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 164; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 130, *Sprache* IX 123; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 103; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 333, *Kelt. Gr.* I 66; LA PIANA *Studi* I 52-53 (to *tym*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 229; ERNOUT-MEILLET 294; PORZIG *Gliederung* 190; PISANI *Saggi* 99; MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (erroneous comparison with OE *tīma* 'time'); MAYRHOFER III 607; FRISK II 1079-1081; ANTTILA *Schw.* 35, 134; HAMP *IF* LXVI 52-55; HULD 51; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; JANSON *Unt.* 21-23; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 245; DEMIRAJ *AE* 133.

**din** (3 sg.) aor. *diu* 'to break (of the day)'. Also appears as refl. *dihet* id. From PALb *\*dine*, a denominative verb based on IE *\*dino-* ~ *\*deino-* 'day': Skt *dīna-* 'day', Slav *\*dьнь* id., Lith *dienà* id., Latv *diena* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 68 (derivative of *ditĕ*); JOKL *Studien* 22 (a derivative in *\*dei-* with a verbal suffix *\*-nja*); MAYRHOFER II 41; FRAENKEL 93; IVANOV *Slav.* 168; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* V 213.

**dirë** f, pl. *dira* 'trace'. Borrowed from South Slav *\*dira* ~ *\*dir'a* id.: Bulg *dir'a* > *dira*, SCR *dira* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 126). ◊ SVANE 141; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 248.

**dishtë** f, pl. *dishta* 'mill funnel'. Another variant is *dishkë*. Borrowed from Lat *discus* 'disk' (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 249-250). ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 123 (suffix *-shhtë*).

**dishull** m, pl. *dishuj* 'kind of aromatic shrub, Pistacia lentiscus'. Other variants (*dyshkull* and *dushkull* as well as *ndryshkull*) result from various types of folk etymology associating this plant with *dushk* and *ndryshk*. Borrowed from a deminutive Rom *\*disculus* according to the shape of leaves. ◊ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 250 (derived from *dyllë*).

**ditë** f, pl. *dit*, *ditë* 'day'. From PALb *\*dītā* etymologically connected with Gmc *\*tīdiz* 'time' (OHG *zīt*, OE *tīd*) and Skt *dīti* 'brightness, splendor' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 10-11, 40). ◊ BOPP 513; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to Skt *dīna-* 'day'); CAMARDA I 73 (to Lat *diēs* 'day'); MEYER *Wb.* 68 (from *\*din-rë* related to Skt *dīna-* 'day', Slav *\*dьнь* id., Lith

*dienà* id.), *Alb. St.* III 26; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 230 (to *-di* in *perëndi*), *KZ* XXXIV 546 (follows MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 22; MLADENOV *Ist.* 216; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 103; ONIONS 923; ZALIZN'AK *Ētimologija* 1964 190; MAYRHOFER II 44-45; ÇABEJ *St.* I 126-127, *Etim.* III 251-253; HULD 51-52.

**djalë** m, pl. *djem*, *djelm* 'boy, youth'. From PAIb *\*dela* probably connected with Latv *dēls* 'son', Lat *filius* id. as a derivative of IE *\*dhēi-* 'to suck' (XYLANDER 317; ÇABEJ *St.* I 127-128). Note that the vocalism in Proto-Albanian is irregular so that a secondary transformation of the stem must be presumed. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 60 (derives *djalë* from *dal*), *Alb. St.* III 29; KRETSCHMER *Glotta* XIV 310-311 (to *dal*); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 115; OŠTIR *AARBst.* I 114 (to Gk τάλις 'maiden'); VASMER *ZfslavPh* III 269 (to Thr -τελμις); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 113-114; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; PISANI *Saggi* 121; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 78; HULD 52; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 255-258; DEMIRAJ *AE* 134-135.

**djall** m, pl. *djaj* 'devil'. Borrowed from Lat *diabolus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 60, *Alb. St.* V 73). ◊ CAMARDA I 98 (connection with Gk διάβολος id.); THUMB *IF* XXVI 12-13 (from Gk διάβολος); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1041; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535; JOKL *LKUBA* 20 (from Greek); HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 258-259; LANDI *Lat.* 75, 137-138.

**djathë** m/n, pl. *djathëra* ~ *djathna* 'cheese'. A diminutive in *-thë* (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 121) of *\*djadh* < PAIb *\*dedi-*, the latter to be compared with Skt *dādhi* 'sour milk' and OPrus *dadān* 'milk', derivatives of *\*dhēi-* 'to suck' (JOKL *Studien* 15-16, *WuS* XII 70). For the irregular development of the root vowel cf. *djalë*. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 102, *Stratificazione* 147; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; TRAUTMANN *APSpr.* 316; PISANI *Saggi* 123; MAYRHOFER II 15; POKORNY I 241; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 54, 91, 97 (from IE *\*ghesito-*); HAMP *Word* IX 140, *KZ* LXXXIV 140-141; TOPOROV *PJa* I 284-286; HULD 52-53; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 259-260; DEMIRAJ *AE* 135-136.

**djathë** adj. 'right'. Old Albanian texts preserve *djathë* 'right (side)' (BUZUKU), thus showing that *djathë* is a relatively new formation in *-thë* based on PAIb *\*detsa* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 291; ÇABEJ *St.* I 128-129). The latter is etymologically connected with IE *\*deks-* 'right': Skt

*dákšina-*, Gk δεξιός, Lat *dexter* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 69). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* II 17, III 13, 26; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 291, *Kelt. Gr.* I 36; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 239; PISANI *Saggi* 131; MAYRHOFER II 10-11; WALDE-HOFMANN I 346-347; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; FRISK I 366-367; POKORNY I 190; JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 445 (phonetically impossible \**deksto-* with \*-*kst-* reflected as Alb -*tht-*); HAMP *RESEE* XIX/1 141-145 (reconstructs \**deksino-*); HULD 53; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 260-261 (to Lat *decus* 'beauty, decoration'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 137-138.

**dje** adv. 'yesterday'. From PALb \**de* etymologically identical with Skt *hyás* id., Gk χθές id., Lat. *heri* id. and the like (CAMARDA I 96; MEYER *Wb.* 69, *Alb. St.* III 18, 63). ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 37, 345; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 333, *Kelt. Gr.* I 89; JOKL *LKUBA* 26; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 103; ERNOUT-MEILLET 292; MAYRHOFER II 29; PISANI *Saggi* 101; FRISK II 1097-1098; HAMP *BSL* LXVI 222; HULD 53; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 261; PUHVEL *Festschr. Hoenigswald* 317; DEMIRAJ *AE* 138.

**djeg** aor. *dogja* 'to burn'. From PALb \**dega* etymologically related to IE \**dhegʰh-* 'to burn': Skt *dáhati*, Tokh AB *tsak-*, *tsäk-*, Lit *degù*, *dègti* and the like (BOPP 508; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 69, *Alb. St.* III 9, 29). ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 275; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 323-324, *Kelt. Gr.* I 108; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 103; ERNOUT-MEILLET 250; MANN *Language* XXVI 382, XXVIII 36; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; PISANI *Saggi* 125; FRAENKEL 85-85; IVANOV *Slav.* 129; HULD 53-54, *KZ* CVII 166; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 101, 127; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 261-262; DEMIRAJ *AE* 138-139.

(G) **djemën** pl. 'demons, devils'. A lexicalized plural of *djall* similar to that of *djalë* ~ *djem* (SKOK *A ArbSt* I 220-221). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20 (from Lat *daemōnem* 'demon'); MEYER *Wb.* 69 (same as MIKLOSICH - but the stress is placed differently); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043; THUMB *IF* XXVI 13 (borrowed from Gk δαίμονες id. - but the development of -αι- > -je- would be quite unique); JOKL *LKUBA* 18 (agrees with THUMB), *IF* XLIV 13 n. 1 (follows SKOK); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 10-11 (borrowed from OCS *demonъ* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (follows THUMB); ÇABEJ *St.* I 129 (repeats THUMB's etymology), *Etim.* III 262-264; LANDI *Lat.* 72, 83.

**djep** m, pl. *djepe*, *djepa* 'cradle'. Borrowed from Gk δέπας 'beaker, goblet' (CAMARDA II 191). For the semantic development cf. E *cradle* ~ OHG

*kratto* 'basket'. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 69-70 (related to Slav \**zybъka* id.), *Alb. St.* III 18, 36; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 333; JOKL *IF XXXVI* 158-159, *Mélanges Pedersen* 155 (reconstructs \**ghoubhā* thus slightly correcting MEYER); BARIÇ *Hymje* 77; ÇABEJ *St. I* 129-130 (from IE \**dheubh-* ~ \**dheup-*; Gk δέπας is explained as an ancient Albanian loanword), *Etim.* III 264-265.

**djersë** f, pl. *djersë* 'perspiration'. Another variant is *dirsë*. From PALb \**widertjā* with the loss of the unstressed first syllable. Further related to Gk ἰδρώς id. < \**suidrōt-s*, cf. also Latv *sviēdri* id., Lat *sūdor* id. (PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 288-290). ∅ CAMARDA I 48, 96 (to Gk ἔρση 'dew'); MEYER *Alb. St. I* 81 (to Gk δρόσος 'dew'), *Wb.* 70 (to Gk δάκνω 'to bite'); BUGGE *BB XVIII* 165 (to *zjarr*); JOKL *Studien* 92-93 (accepts PEDERSEN's etymology); FRISK I 710-711; CHANTRAINE 456; WALDE-HOFMANN II 623-624; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 265-266; HULD 148; KORTLANDT *SSGL X* 219; DEMIRAJ *AE* 139-140.

**djerr** aor. *dora* 'to destroy'. From PALb \**dera* or \**derna* related to Skt *ḍṛṇāti* 'to burst, to tear', Gk δέρω 'to skin', Goth *gatairan* 'to tear' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 70, *Alb. St.* III 26). ∅ JOKL *Studien* 8; FRISK I 368-370; MAYRHOFER II 59; FEIST *Goth.* 203.

**djerr** m, pl. *djerre* 'fallow land'. From PALb \**dersa* etymologically identical with Gk χέρσος 'dry land' (CAMARDA I 96) < IE \**ghersos*. ∅ RESTELLI *RIL LXXXIX - XC* 412 (same as CAMARDA); MEYER *Wb.* 70 (to *djerr* 'to destroy'); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 325-326 (to *bie* 'to bear'); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 21-23 (to *var*, *vjerr*); FRISK II 1089-1090; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 266-268 (to *bie* 'to fall').

**dobët** adj. 'weak'. Derived from *dobë* id. The latter is borrowed from Slav \**dobъ* 'good, fine' unattested in South Slavic where a more usual \**dobrъ* id. is widespread. Note *dobi* 'profit, use' related to *dobë*. ∅ PISANI *Saggi* 129 (to Lat *dēbilis*); ÇABEJ *St. I* 131 (based on *udob*), ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 272-273; SVANE 273.

**dobis** aor. *dobita* 'to win'. Borrowed from Slav \**dobyti* 'to acquire, to win' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 70). The Albanian verb is semantically closer to SCr *dobiti* than to Bulg *dobija*. ∅ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178; OREL *Ètimologija* 1983 136; SVANE 199-200; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 273.

**dojkë** f, pl. *dojka* 'nurse'. Borrowed from Slav \**dojka* id., cf. in particular South Slavic continuants: Bulg *dojka*, SCr *dojka* (ÇABEJ St. I 131, *Etim.* III 277). ◊ SVANE 190.

**doke** f 'traditions'. Borrowed from Gk δοκή 'opinion, view, meaning'. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 53-56 (related to *duket*); ÇABEJ St. I 131 (agrees with JOKL), *Etim.* III 277-278.

**dokërr** f, pl. *dokrra* 'big bone, bone of arm or leg'. Derived from \**dok* (for the formation pattern cf. *kokërr*), borrowed from Gk δοκός 'rafter, beam' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). ◊ CAMARDA I 85 (to Gk δόκωνα 'a structure of two joined upright bars'); MEYER *Wb.* 70 (to Turk *dogru* 'direct'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 8 (from \**dorkr-* composed of *dorë* and *krah*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 119 (suffix -ërr); ÇABEJ St. I 132 (an expressive form compared with *doçkë* 'little hand' and the like).

**dolinë** f, pl. *dolina* 'valley'. Borrowed from Slav \**dolina* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *dolina*, SCr *dolina*. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 106 (borrowed from SCr *dolina*).

**dorberi** f 'herd'. A secondary phonetic transformation of \**dobëri* derived from Slav \**dobro* 'property' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 12-13). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 71 (borrowed from Ital *turba* 'crowd'); JOKL *Studien* 16-17, *IF* XXXVII 100 (a compound consisting of *dor-* < IE \**ǵh̥u̯er-* 'animal, beast' and *-berri* compared with Lith *būr̥ys* 'crowd'); BARIĆ *AARBSt* I 215; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 147; ÇABEJ St. I 133 (derived from \**torhar* based on *torbë* 'shepherd's bag; knapsack'), *Etim.* III 286-287.

**dorë** f, pl. *duar* ~ *duer* 'hand'. A singularized neut. plural PALb \**dārā* < IE \**ǵhesr-* (PISANI *Saggi* 121; HAMP *Anc. IE Dial.* 115) related to Gk χεῖρ id., Hitt *keššar* id., Tokh A *tsar-* id., B *šar-* id., Arm *jeṛn* id. (BOPP 492; MEYER *Wb.* 72, *Alb. St.* III 18, 71). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 92 (to Gk δῶρον 'palm'); *Gr. Gr.* 81; JOKL *LKUBA* 90, *IF* XXXVI 132, XLIX 274; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 101, *Stratificazione* 88; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; ERNOUT-MEILLET 295, 300; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (from \**ǵh̥ard-s-*); FRISK II 1082-1083; CHANTRAINE 305; PORZIG *Gliederung* 187; PISANI *Saggi* 99, 121; POKORNY I 203; VAN WINDEKENS I 521; HAMP *Anc. IE* 115; HULD 54; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 288-291; SCHRIJVER *BC* 58; DEMIRAJ *AE* 140.



**došě** f, pl. *dosa* 'pig, sow'. From PALb \**dā(i)tjā*, a derivative of IE \**dhē(i)-* 'to suckle' (ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ; ÇABEJ *St.* I 134-135). ◊ CAMARDA II 203 (to Gk θώς 'jackal'); JOKL *Studien* 17 (reconstructs IE \**suātijā* further connected with \**sū-* 'pig'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 6-7 (from \**dērgiā* related to *derk* < \**dergo-* as *darkĕ* to *dasmĕ*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVIII 393 (to *derk*, *dirk*, from \**dērkiā*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 13 (borrowed from Bulgaro-Turk *doxs* 'pig'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 100 (agrees with JOKL), *Stratificazione* 135; RIBEZZO *RivAlb* I 140, II 144 (from \**ghētijā*, to Maced γοτάν·ὄβν); HULD 148 (follows JOKL); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 293-296; DEMIRAJ *AE* 140-141.

**dot** part. of irreal. A lexicalized sequence of two particles, *do* and *tĕ* (LAMBERTZ *LP* VII 92). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 72 (borrowed from Lat *in tōtō*); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 233-235, *KZ* XXXVII 236-238 (reconstructs acc. \**dhētim* of a deverbative related to IE \**dhē-* 'to put'); MANN *Language* XXVI 381; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20 (from Lat *tōtum*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 135 (follows LAMBERTZ), *Etim.* III 296-297; MANN *Comp.* 129 (identical with Gk δῆτα); HAARMANN 154 (same as MIHĂESCU).

**dra ~ drā** f 'oil-cake, melted butter'. Reflects PALb \**dragā* (MEYER *Wb.* 72-73, *Alb. St.* III 29, 37, 72 with basic etymological parallels) with secondary nasalization in Geg and the loss of the consonant preserved in the variant with a long vowel *drā*. Close parallels are found in Germanic (ON pl. *dreggiar* 'yeast') and in Baltic: OPrus *dragios* 'yeast' (if not borrowed from Germanic), OLith *dragēs* id. (if not from Old Prussian), Lett dial. *dradzi* 'sediment in melted butter'. Cf. also Slav \**droždzi* 'yeast' (but Bulg *drožde* 'something easy to melt or break'!) and a corresponding verb \**drozgati* 'to press, to knead'. The word seems to represent a North European innovation in Indo-European. ◊ CAMARDA I 74 (to Gk τρούς 'must'); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 69; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 101; *Die Sprache* IX 149; PISANI *Saggi* 124; REICHELTE *KZ* XLVI 322; DURIDANOV *Thr.-Dak.* 94 (reconstructs Dac \**draga*); HIRT *BGDS* XXIII 349 f. (Old Prussian < Germanic); TOPOROV *PJa* I 363 f.; BÜGA *RR* III 206 (on Lett *dradzi*); TRAUTMANN *APSpr.* 322; ENDZELIN *KZ* XLIV 65; FRAENKEL 100; PISANI *Saggi* 124; ANTTILA *Schw.* 122; POKORNY I 251; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* V 128 f. (on the Slavic form as derived from \**drozg-*); VASMER I 540 (Slav \**drozga* < \**drogska*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 140, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 357; DEMIRAJ *AE* 141.

**dragĕ** f, pl. *draga* 'avalanche'. Borrowed from Slav \**dorga* 'ravine' (ÇABEJ

*St.* I 136) unattested in the meaning 'avalanche'. ◇ JOKL *IF* XLIII 47-49 (reconstructs \**dě-ra-gě* and connects it with *rashě*); SVANE 81, 161; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 299-300.

**dragua ~ dra(n)gue** m, pl. *dragonj ~ drangoj* 'dragon'. Another variant is (T) *drangua*. It represents a borrowing from Rom \**drancōnem*, a modification of Lat *dracōnem* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1050: also considers the possibility of borrowing from Italian). ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 134 (borrowed from Gk δράκων id.); CAMARDA I 82 (to Gk δράκων id.); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 52, *Wb.* 73 (directly from *dracōnem* or from Ital *dragone*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 123; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 300-302 (from Latin).

**drang** m, pl. *drangje* 'barge-pole, punting-pole; young creature, cub'. From PAIb \**dranga* further to be compared with ON *drangr* 'stone pillar', *drengr* 'thick trunk', Lith *dránga* 'perch, pole', Slav \**drogъ ~ \*droga* (MANN *Language* XXVI 386; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 73). ◇ TRAUTMANN *BS/Wb.* 59; FRAENKEL 101; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 303 (from South Slavic reflexes of \**drogъ*).

**drap** m, pl. *drapa* 'long pole'. From PAIb \**drapa* further related to Gk δρέπω 'to cut off'. ◇ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 165 (to Gk τράπηξ 'pole'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 14 (to Pol *drab* 'long stick'); FRISK I 417; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 304.

**drapër ~ drapën** m, pl. *drapinj, dërpënj, drepër ~ drepën, drapërinj* 'sickle'. Borrowed from Gk Dor δράπανον id., cf. the attested form Gk δρέπανον (BUGGE *BB* XIX 167; THUMB *IF* XXVI 13). ◇ CAMARDA I 85 (treats *drapër* and Gk δρέπανον as cognates); MEYER *Wb.* 73 (from Gk δρέπανον), *Alb. St.* III 26, 72 (related to δρέπανον), *Gr. Gr.* 40; PERSSON *BB* XIX 167; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII; PEDERSEN *BB* XIX 167; TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 107; LA PIANA *Studi* I 94 (related to δρέπανον); ÇABEJ *St.* I 136 (follows BUGGE and THUMB), *Etim.* III 304-305; HULD 54-55; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 39, *SPhAen* 39; JANSON *Unt.* 40-41; CLACKSON *LR* 112; DEMIRAJ *AE* 142.

**dre ~ drě** m, pl. *drerë ~ dreně* 'deer'. Continues PAIb \**drani-* identical with ἀρανίς [for δρ-]· ἔλαφος (LIDÉN *Studien* 67-68, 95-96). Further related to Skt *dhrāṇati* 'to sound', OHG *trëno* 'drone' (SPITZER *MRIW* I 319). For the semantics of this comparison cf. Slav \**bykъ* 'bull'

(and also 'bug') ~ *\*bykati* 'to roar, to bellow'. ∅ STIER *KZ* VII 160 (to Messap βρένδον· ἔλαφον); SCHEFTELOWITZ *BB* XXVIII 297 (to Arm *erinj* 'heifer'); CHARPENTIER *KZ* XL 432; VASMER *ZfslavPh* III 288 (to Thr Δρένις); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 135-136; GEORGIEV *Issledovanija* 120 (to a Thracian name Δρένις); MAYRHOFER II 115-116; ÇABEJ *St.* I 136-137 (to OIr *darn* 'head', cf. Gk κάρα 'head' ~ κέρας 'horn' ~ Lat *cervus* 'deer'), *Etim.* III 305-307; DEMIRAJ *AE* 142-143 (from *\*d-ran-* based on IE *\*uHn-*).

**dredh** aor. *drodha* 'to turn, to rotate'. From PALb *\*dredza* continuing IE *\*dreġh-* closely related to Arm *dařnam* 'to turn', *darj* 'curve, turn' < IE *\*dřġh-* (LIDÉN *Arm. Studien* 101-102). Note a derivative of *dredh* - *dridh* 'to shake, to vibrate'. As to *dredhëz* 'strawberry', it is identical with *dredhëz* 'cord, string' derived from *dredh*. ∅ CAMARDA I 74 (to Gk τρέω 'to flee'); MEYER *Wb.* 74 (secondary connection between *dredhëz* and *dredh*), *Alb. St.* III 18, 29, 72, *IF* V 181 (related to Gk τρέχω 'to run, to hurry'); JOKL *Studien* 17-18 (to OHG *dræen* 'to turn' reconstructing *\*tre-dh-* for the Albanian verb), *IF* XXX 206-208; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 62 n. 1; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 108 (follows LIDÉN); AČAREAN *HAB* I 639; PISANI *Studi* 129 (*dredh-ëz* - to Lat *frāgum*); ANTTILA *Schw.* 34; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 110; HAMP *Trends* LVII 906; ÇABEJ *St.* I 137-138 (accepts LIDÉN's etymology), 138-139 (connects *dredhëz* 'strawberry' with OIr *driss* 'thorn-bush, brier-bush', Gk δρός 'bush'), ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 308-310; CLACKSON *LR* 122-123; DEMIRAJ *AE* 143-144.

**dregë** f, pl. *drega* 'scab'. From PALb *\*dragā*, an *o*-vocalism deverbative connected with West Gmc *\*targjan* 'to pull, to stir' (Germ *zergen*), Slav *\*dřrgati* 'to pull, to tug', Lith *dřrginti* 'to move, to irritate'. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 74 (to *dredhëz* 'strawberry'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 107; KLUGE 882; FRAENKEL 96; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* V 221; ÇABEJ *St.* I 139 (comparisons with IE *\*der-* 'to tear' and Skt *da(r)dru-* 'leprosy, eruption', W *tarwyden* 'lichen, eczema' and the like).

**drejtë** adj. 'straight, right'. Borrowed from Lat *directum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 74, *Alb. St.* V 73). Note the development of the cluster *-ct-*. ∅ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1054; JOKL *RIEB* II 59-60; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 259; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 24-31; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ *St.* I 139, ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 312-315; HAARMANN 122; HULD 55; LANDI *Lat.* 121.

**dreکہ** f, pl. *dreکہ* ‘lunch, dinner, midday meal’. Connected with *darkë* and reflecting PALb \**drikā* related to *darkë* (MEYER *Wb.* 61) and reflecting a zero-grade \**dykʷā* close to Bret *dibri* ‘lunch’, OBret *diprim* ‘to eat’ (HAMP *Anc. IE Dial.* 116). However, the development of \*-i- > -e- remains unclear. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 245; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231 (reconstructs \**drōkʷ-*); HIRT *Ablaut* 126; PORZIG *Gliederung* 178; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 114 (suffix -*kë*); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 314; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 253; MANN *HAED* 61 (zero grade in the root); ANTTILA *Schw.* 29, 100; ÇABEJ *St.* I 108, *Etim.* III 315-316; HULD 48-49; KÖDDERITZSH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 62-63; DEMIRAJ *AE* 144-145.

**dremis** aor. *dremita* ‘to slumber’. Borrowed from South Slav \**drěmiti* ‘to doze, to slumber’, cf. Maced *dremit*, SCr *dramiti*. Cf. also a Slavic derivative in *drēmķë* ‘nap’. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 65 (borrowed from Slav \**drěmati* id.); POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 78 (from SCr *drijemati*); SVANE 253; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 484.

**drenjë** f, pl. *drenja* ‘quail’. From PALb \**dranjā*, derivative from *dre* ~ *drê* (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 316). ◊ CAMARDA II 159 (to Gk τετράων); MEYER *Wb.* 74 (from Rom \**tetraonem*, cf. Lat *tetraōnem* ‘heath-cock’); SPITZER *MRIW* I 319-320 (to *dra*).

**dreq** m, pl. *dreqër* ~ *dreqën* ‘devil’. Borrowed from the nom. sg. or pl. of Lat *dracō* ‘dragon’ (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 73). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1051; JOKL *IF* XXX 291; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 246; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 107; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 123; ÇABEJ *St.* I 140, *Etim.* III 316-317 (from Gk δράκων); LANDI *Lat.* 28, 112, 143-145.

**drënjë** f ‘cornel-cherry’, adj. ‘healthy, sound’. From PALb \**draunjā*, a derivative of IE \**dreu-* ‘tree’. For the evolution of meaning cf. Slav \**sъ-dorvъ* ‘healthy’ ~ \**dervo* ‘tree’ and Lat *rōbustus* ‘healthy’ ~ *rōbur* ‘oak’. ◊ MEILLET *Etudes* I 88; BENVENISTE *Word* X 259, *Inst.* I 108-110 (semantic analysis of \**dreu-*); VASMER II 90; ÇABEJ *St.* I 140 (derivation based on Bulg or Maced *dren* ‘cornel-cherry’), *Etim.* III 318.

**drinjë** f, pl. *drinja* ‘brushwood’. From PALb \**drūnjā* related to *dru* and the Indo-European word for ‘tree’. ◊ JOKL *IF* XXXVI 101 n. 1 (from SCr *drijen* ‘cornel-cherry’); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 320-321 (from Slavic).

**dritë** f, pl. *drita* 'light, luster, pupil (of an eye)'. From \**driktā* based on IE \**derk-* 'to look' and, in particular, close to OE *torht* 'bright', OHG *zoraht* (MEYER *Wb.* 74, *Alb. St.* III 27, 43). ◇ BRUGMANN 131; JOKL *Studien* 53, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 90, *Sprache* IX 120; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 42; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; PORZIG *Gliederung* 149; POKORNY I 213; CHANTRAINE 265; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 688; ÇABEJ *St.* I 140-141 (to Lith *žerìu, žerėti* 'to shine', Slav \**zbrěti* 'to see' and the like), *Etim.* III 322-323; HULD 55; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; DEMIRAJ *AE* 145.

**drithe** m/n, pl. *dritheta* ~ *dritheta* 'grain'. From PALb \**dritsā* etymologically connected with Lat *hordeum* 'barley', OHG *gersta* id. < IE \**ǵhrzd-* (JOKL *IF* XXX 302). In Albanian, the development of the voiced Indo-European cluster seems to be surprising. ◇ HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 351; SPITZER *MRIW* I 335 (from \**ǵhr̥syo-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 108; WALDE-HOFMANN I 656-657; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40; ERNOUT-MEILLET 299; PISANI *Saggi* 118; PORZIG *Gliederung* 209; CHANTRAINE 583; POKORNY I 446; *SGGJa* I 88; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 123; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 685; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 277; ÇABEJ *BUSHT* XV/3 57 (to IE \**der-* 'to tear'), *Etim.* III 323-325; HULD 55-56; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 91; DEMIRAJ *AE* 145-146.

**drizë** f, pl. *driza* 'blackthorn, sloe'. From PALb \**dridzjā* etymologically connected with IE \**derǵh-* 'to hold, to be firm': Skt *dṛhyati* 'to be firm', Slav \**dbržati* 'to hold' < \**dbrzjati* and, in particular, \**dbrza* > Russ *dereza* 'kind of thorny plant' (with a secondary *polnoglasie*), see KALUŽSKAJA *Antič. balk.* 3 27. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 75 (related to *dru*); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 101, *LKUBA* 248 (suffix *-zë*); MAYRHOFER II 61-62; VASMER I 502; MANN *Hist. gr.* 34 (to OIr *driss* 'blackthorn'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* V 231; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 275; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38; KLINGENSCHMITT apud DEMIRAJ (to Gk *δρῖος* 'bush'); ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 325-326 (to *drithe*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 146.

**drobis** aor. *drobita* 'to tire'. Borrowed from Slav \**drobiti* 'to break, to crush' in an otherwise unattested meaning (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◇ ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 326-327 (from Maced *drobi*); SVANE 232.

**drokth** m, pl. *droktha* 'broom'. A deminutive based on \**drok* probably borrowed from Slav \**drokъ* 'genista' which, however, is not attested in South Slavic.

**dromčě** f, pl. *dromca* 'crumb, bit'. Borrowed from Slav \**drobьnica* 'trifle, small object', cf. in particular South Slavic forms: Maced *drobnica* 'trifle', Bulg *drobnica* 'pear-tree with small fruit', SCR *drobnica* 'particle' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Alb. St.* I 82, *Wb.* 75). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 142 (connects *dromčě* with *drudhe* and IE \**der-* 'to tear' or \**dhreu-* 'to break'), ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 329-331.

**dru** ~ **drô** m, pl. *drunj*, *drurë* ~ *drun* 'tree; wood (f, pl. *dru*)'. From PALb \**druwa* etymologically compared with Slav \**drъvo* 'wood', Skt *dru-* id., Av *dru-* id., Gk δρῦς 'tree, oak' (BOPP 541; GIL'FERDING *Otm.* 22; CAMARDA I 76; MEYER *Wb.* 75). The nasalization in Geg is secondary (ÇABEJ *St.* I 142-143) and, probably, influenced by the plural forms. The word was borrowed to Rum *druete* 'thick and short tree'. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 27, 72, *Gr. Gr.* 232, 269; BRUGMANN - DELBRÜCK II/1 161 (borrowing from Slav \**drъva*); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIV* 291, *Kelt. Gr.* I 144; JOKL *IF XXXVI* 100-102; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 109; MANN *Language XVII* 15 (from IE \**dr̥no-*); MAYRHOFER II 36; FRISK I 421-422; PISANI *Saggi* 123; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 330; ROSETTI *ILR I* 276-277; HAMP *KZ LXXVI* 275 (original *n*-stem), *LB XXV* 78 (collective \**druuā*); ANTTILA *Schw.* 16; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa V* 141-142; HULD 56; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 332-334; DEMIRAJ *AE* 146-147.

**druaj** ~ **druej** aor. *druajta*, *drojta*, *drova* 'to be afraid'. From PALb \**drāunja* derived from *dre*, *droe* 'fear' < PALb \**drāwā*. The noun is related to Latv *druvas* 'fear' and, further, to Lith *draudžiù*, *draūsti* 'to forbid, to deter, to scare off'. ◊ CAMARDA I 73 (to Skt *trāsati* 'to be afraid', Gk τρέω 'to flee in fright'); MEYER *Wb.* 75 (etymologically connected with OHG *droa* 'threat' but its anlaut continues IE \**t-*), *Alb. St.* III 24 (explains Alb *d-* from \**en-t-*); TREIMER *MRIW I* 371 (to Gk ταραύσσω 'to stir, to frighten'); MANN *Language XXVI* 382 (to Lith *drovà* 'self-consciousness, awkwardness' which is, in fact, a Germanic loanword); FRAENKEL 102; ROSETTI *ILR I* 276 (to Rum *droaie* 'band, gang; a lot'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 143-144 (to E *dread*), *Etim.* III 334-337.

**drudhe** f, pl. *drudhe* 'crumb'. A singularized plural of \**drudhë*. From PALb \**drudza* related to Lith *drūzgas* 'splinter, fragment', *drūžti* 'to become weak'. ◊ CAMARDA I 115 (to Gk θρῦπτω 'to tear'); MEYER *Wb.* 370 (to *rrudhë* 'wrinkle'); FRAENKEL 107; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 26 (derived from *-rrudh* related to *rrjedh*); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 176 (to OIr *druidim*

'to close'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 121 (suffix *-dhe*); ŠIROKOV *ZFL XXIV/1* 14 (to Lith *d̄irginti* 'to pull'); ÇABEJ *St. I* 144 (connects *drudhe* with *dromcë* and IE *\*dhreu-* 'to break'), *Etim.* III 231-233.

**drugë** f, pl. *druga* 'spindle, shuttle'. Borrowed from SCr *druga* id. < Slav *\*droga* (MEYER *Wb.* 75), ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 171, 295; JOKL *Slavia XIII* 313-314 (from NGk τρούγα, δρούγα 'thread'); BARIÇ *Hymje* 74, 79; POLÁK *ZfBalk I* 81; ÇABEJ *St. I* 144, *Etim.* III 337-338; SVANE 47, 81.

**drushtë** f, pl. *drushta* 'pole, mast'. From PALb *\*drustā* further connected with *dru*.

**druth** m 'wrath'. A derivative in *-th* of *droe*, *dre* 'fear', cf. *druaj* ~ *druenj*.

(G) **dry** m 'kind of lock, bolt'. From PALb *\*drūna* related to the Indo-European word for 'tree' and, probably, referring to the strength of the lock, cf. Gk δροόν· ἰσχυρόν (BUGGE *BB XVIII* 165). The closest formal parallels of PALb *\*drūna* are Skt *drūna-* 'bow', Iran *\*drūna-* 'bow' in Pers *durūna* 'rainbow', Ossetic *ærdyn* (HAMP *KZ LXXVI* 276) and Slav *\*drynz* 'stick, pole'. ◇ BUGGE *BB XVIII* 165 (to OIr *dron* 'hard, strong'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 109 (suggests Skt *dróna-* 'wooden trough' as an exact parallel); MILLER *Oss.* 30; FRISK I 419; MAYRHOFER II 78; ÇABEJ *St. I* 145, *Etim.* III 339-341; TRUBAČEV *VJa* 1975/1 135, *ĚSSJa* V 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 148-149.

**drydhët** adj. 'easy to plane (of wood)'. Continues PALb *\*drūdza* (with a secondary suffix *-ët*) close to Slav *\*dryzgati*, *\*druzgati* 'to squeeze, to crush'. ◇ TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* V 133, 145.

**dryshk** m 'rust'. From PALb *\*drūd(z)iska* derived from *\*drūdza* > *drydh(ët)*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 76 (explains the verb *ndryshk* 'to rust' from Rom *\*in-russicō* based on *russus* 'rusty'); HAARMANN 131; ÇABEJ *St. I* 372-373 (a prefixal derivative of IE *\*reudh-* 'red').

**dua** ~ **due** aor. *desha* 'to love'. From PALb *\*dāusna* connected with IE *\*ǵeus-* 'to taste', cf. Skt *jóṣati* 'to be fond of', Gk γεύομαι and the like (JOKL *IF XXXVII* 101-102, *LKUBA* 127). The diphthongization of the root vowel into *-ua-* may be explained by the original long diphthong in Proto-Albanian *\*dāusna* (JOKL). The aorist goes back to PALb *\*deuša*.

◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20 (from Lat *dēbeō* 'must'); MEYER *Wb.* 76, *Alb. St.* III 17, 61, 90; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 333, *Kelt. Gr.* I 80; PISANI *Saggi* 99, 101; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; LA PIANA *Studi* I 49-51 (to Gk *δέομαι* 'to lack, to miss'); ERNOUT-MEILLET 286; MAYRHOFER I 441; FRISK I 302; POKORNY I 399-400; HULD 144; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 151, *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 124; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 173-175; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (-sh- < \*-s- in *desha* < IE \**ǵeusm* according to the "ruki" rule); DEMIRAJ *AE* 149.

**duaj** ~ **duej** pl. 'sheaf'. Continues PALb \**dōnja* related to Skt *dhānā* 'grain, cereals', *dhānyā-* 'grain', Lith *dūona* 'bread'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 78, *Alb. St.* III 26, 86 (to Gk *δέω* 'to tie'); JOKL *Sprache* IX 117; SCHMIDT *KZ* L 238; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 223, 239; POKORNY I 242; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 37; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 341-342 (plural of *dorë*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 149-150 (to Skt *dāman-* 'band').

**dudë** f, pl. *duda* 'gum'. An onomatopoeic formation (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 342-343).

**duke** ~ **tue** part. before gerund While *duke* may go back to an earlier \**ntuke*, its widespread variant *tuke* seems to be more conservative. In Old Albanian as well as in some dialects one also finds *tue* (BUZUKU) and *tu* (BOGDANI). All these particles reflect compounds of *tu* (for the etymology see *këtu*) and *ke* (identical with *ku*) or *e* (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 120). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 146-147 (from *tuke* where *e* is a proclitic pronoun), *Etim.* III 349-352.

**duket** refl. 'to appear, to be visible'. Borrowed from MGk or NGk *δοκεῖ* 'to seem, to appear'. ◊ CAMARDA I 53 (to Gk *δοκέω* 'to see, to observe'); MEYER *Wb.* 76-77 (follows CAMARDA and, alternatively, compares *duket* with Goth *þugkjan* 'to think'); THUMB *IF* XXVI 2 (against comparisons with Gk *δοκέω*); JOKL *Studien* 18 (to Lith *žvākė* 'light', Lat *fax* 'torch' and the like), *LKUBA* 53-55; PISANI *Saggi* 118; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 352-354.

**duq** m, pl. *duqe* 'bung; cock (of a gun)'. Borrowed from Lat *ducem* appearing in similar meanings in several Romance languages (ÇABEJ *St.* I 148). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 77 (from Lat *ductus* 'connection', \*'canal'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 123; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 359; LANDI *Lat.* 83, 112.



**duroj** aor. *durova* 'to be patient'. Borrowed from Lat *dūrāre* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 77). Note, however, that the reflex of Lat -ū- is irregular. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 123; ÇABEJ *St.* I 148 (from Ital *durare*), *Etim.* III 361-362.

**dushk** m, pl. *dushqe* 'oak'. Another variant of this word is *drushk*. It continues PAIb *\*druška*, a derivative of *dru* (DIEFENBACH I 49; MEYER *Wb.* 77). ◊ CAMARDA I 50 (to Gk τόςον 'bow'); JOKL *LKUBA* 166, *Vox Rom.* VIII 151-152 (from Alpine Illyrian substratum); SKOK *ZfromPh* XLVIII 411, *AGIt* XXIV 19 (from Rom *\*drusculum*); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 254 (to Raeto-Rom *dāsa* 'branch of a conifer'); PISANI *KZ* LXXI 62-63 (to Lat *dūmus* 'smoke' < *\*dus-mos* and OHG *zūsach* 'bushes'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 117; ÇABEJ *St.* I 148-149 (follows MEYER), *Etim.* III 363-365; DEMIRAJ *AE* 148, 150-151.

**dy** num. 'two'. From PAIb *\*duwō*, fem. *\*duwai* with a contraction similar to that of *qytet* and *grykë*. Further parallels are reflexes of IE *\*d(u)uō(u)*, fem. *\*d(u)uoi* (BOPP 511; CAMARDA I 53; MEYER *Alb. St.* II 27, III 26, IV 46). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 78 (thinks of IE *\*dū* and compares with Lith *dū*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 282 (from IE *\*duōje*); SKOK *AArbSt* II 307 (from *\*dui*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 35 (from *\*duyi* > *\*dui*); TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 109; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; ÇABEJ *St.* I 149-150 (reconstructs *\*dui-*), *Etim.* III 366-369; HULD 56-57 (compares fem. *dy*: with Slav *\*dvě*); HAMP *Numerals* 905-906; DEMIRAJ *AE* 151-152.

**dylle** m/n 'wax'. From PAIb *\*dūla* related to Gk χυλός 'juice' (MEYER *Wb.* 78, *Alb. St.* III 18, 76 but reconstructing *\*ghū-dlo-*). Both forms, going back to IE *\*gheu-* 'to pour', appear to reflect *\*ghu-slo-* with a compensatory lengthening. ◊ JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88 (to IE *\*dheu-* 'to flow'), *Sprache* IX 154; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 334; TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 110 (follows MEYER); LA PIANA *Studi* I 54-55 (to Gk δαλός 'burning wood'); PISANI *Saggi* 118 (reconstructs *\*ghūlo-*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; BARIÇ *Hymje* 36; FRISK 1123-1124; POLÁK *Orbis* XVI 132-133 (same as LA PIANA); ÇABEJ *St.* I 150-151 (compares *dyll* with IE *\*ghel-* 'yellow'), *Etim.* III 371-373 (to Gk θύος 'burning offering'); HULD 57, *KZ* XC 181; LIUKKONEN *SSF* X 58 (identical with Slav part. *\*davitъ* 'pressing, squeezing'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 152.

**dynd** aor. *dynda* 'to shake'. An onomatopoeia. Note a deverbative *dyn-*

*dallë* 'flood, inundation'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 150 (a variant of *dend*), *Etim.* III 373-375.

**dysh** m, pl. *dysha* 'two, pair'. A derivative based on *dy* (MEYER *Wb.* 78) and reflecting PALb \**dwis* identical with Skt *dvīh* 'twice', Gk *δίς* id., Lat *bis* id. ◊ MAYRHOFER II 86; FRISK I 398-399; WALDE-HOFMANN I 107; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 376-377.

## Dh

**dhallë** ~ **dhallë** f 'buttermilk'. From PALb \**dzalā* related to Gk *γάλα*, gen. *γάλακτος* 'milk' (MEYER *Wb.* 83). Apparently, the Albanian form is the result of a deep morphological transformation as far as Gk *γάλα* continues \**γάλακτ*. Note that phonetically \**dzalā* < \**ġlakt-* is similar to \**ara* 'bear' < \**rkto-* (cf. *ari*). Rum *zarā* is an Albanian loanword. ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 334; JOKL *LKUBA* 273 (follows MEYER), *Sprache* IX 153 (to *dele*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 147-148; MANN *Language* XVII 17 (reconstructs \**ġalakt-*); LA PIANA *Vocale* 33 (from \**dlagos*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 228; PISANI *Saggi* 118; FRISK I 283-284; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 354; ROSETTI *ILR* I 283; RUSSU *Etnogenez* 419-421; REICHENKRON *Dakische* 170 (substratum word); HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 276-277 (reconstructs \**ġolH-*); ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 686; HULD 57; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 41 (to *dele*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 153-154 (to Skt *jala-* 'water').

**dhe** m/f/n, pl. *dhera* ~ *dhena* 'earth, land'. From PALb \**dzō* reflecting IE \**dhǵhōm* 'earth': Hiit *tekan*, Tokh A *tkam*, B *kem*, Skt *kṣam-*, Gk *χθών* (MEYER *Wb.* 83, *Alb. St.* III 18). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to Gk *γη* 'earth', *δη* id.); CAMARDA I 46 (same as GIL'FERDING); MEYER *Wb.* 83 (does not exclude the connection with *γη*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 334, *Kelt. Gr.* I 89; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 135-136; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 170; SCHMIDT *KZ* L 237-238 (equal to Arm \**ti* 'earth'); MANN *Language* XXVI 382-383 (follows CAMARDA); LA PIANA *Vocale* 32; PISANI *Saggi* 101; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 228, *ABS* III 37-40; MAYRHOFER I 288-289; FRISK II 1098-1099; POKORNY I 414-415; HAMP *Minos* IX 199 (different anlauts of *dje* and *dhe* make the connection with \**dhǵhōm* less probable), *FLH* IV 137, *KZ* CIII 289-292 (from IE \**dheġHo-*); VAN WINDEKENS I 506-507; SCHINDLER *Sprache* XIII 200; HULD 58

(*dhe* < \**dhoiǵho-*, to Gk τοῖχος 'wall'); OREL *Balcanica* 110-112, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 357; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to the first component of Δη-μήτηρ); DEMIRAJ *AE* 155-156.

**dhel** aor. *dhela* 'to fondle, to caress, to flatter'. Metathesis of *ledhë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 151). Note that its derivatives *dhelatoj* id. and *dhelatar* 'only son' also have their counterparts in unmetathesized *ledhatoj* and *ledhatar*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 84 (treats *dhelatar* as a borrowing from Ital *diletto* 'delight, pleasure'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 114-115.

**dhelpẽr** ~ **dhelpẽn** f, pl. *dhelpra* ~ *dhelpna* 'fox'. From PALb \**dzelpinā* transformed by a taboo typical of words for 'fox' (MEILLET *BSL* XXVIII 45) from \**welpinā*, a derivative connected with Lith *vilpišys* 'wild cat' (STIER *KZ* XI 143-144; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 15) and, further, with other irregular forms: Lat *volpēs* 'fox', Gk ἀλώπηξ id. and the like. The development of \**welpinā* to \**dzelpinā* could be influenced by *dhel* or by *dhe*. ◊ CAMARDA I 96 (to Gk ἀλωπά, ἀλώπηξ 'fox'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 165 (from Lat *volpēs* or a modification of CAMARDA's etymology); MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 16 (against BUGGE); JOKL *LKUBA* 297-299 (to IE \**ǵhel-* 'yellow'); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* I 214; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 229; FRAENKEL 1254; WALDE-HOFMANN II 830; FRISK I 83; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 119 (suffix -p-); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 268; DEMIRAJ *AE* 156 (to Gk γαλέη 'weasel').

**dhemb** aor. *dhemba* 'to ache'. In Tosk also *dhëmb*. From PALb \**dzemba* etymologically identical with Skt *jámbhate* 'to snap at', Lith *žembiù*, *žembti* 'to cut' and Slav \**zěbo*, \**zěbti* 'to freeze, to feel cold' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 334). ◊ BOPP 460 (to Skt *dam-* 'to tame'); MEYER *Wb.* 84-85 (to Lat *gemō* 'to sigh, to groan'), *Alb. St.* III 16, 64; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 173-174; FRAENKEL 1289; POKORNY I 369; MAYRHOFER I 419; VASMER II 111; DEMIRAJ *AE* 156-157.

**dhemje** f, pl. *dhemje* 'caterpillar'. Another variant is *vemje*. Derivative of *dhe* (MEYER *Wb.* 84; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 136) that may be reconstructed as PALb \**dzōmjā*. ◊ LIDÉN *AfslPh* XXVIII 33; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335, *Kelt. Gr.* I 89; JOKL *LKUBA* 200; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 228-229, IV 189-191 (to δεμελέας, δεμβλεῖς-βδέλλα, Hes.); XHUVANI *BUSHT* XII 97-99 (analogical influence of *dhjes* and *dhemb* in the secondary form in *dh-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 276-277 (to *ve* 'egg'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 157.

**dheulë** f. pl. *dheula* 'ant'. A recent derivative in *-lë* based on *dheu*, the definite form of *dhe* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 153).

**dhez** aor. *dheza* 'to set on fire, to burn'. From PALb \**dagja* with a sandhial change of the initial \**d-*, cf. *ndez* id. Further connected with *djeg*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 84 (separates *dhez* from *djeg*); JOKL *LKUBA* 333; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200, 235; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38.

**dhëmb** ~ **dhamb** m, pl. *dhëmbë* ~ *dhambë* 'tooth'. From PALb \**dzamba*, a dialectal Indo-European word for 'tooth' shared by Albanian together with Tokh A *kam* 'tooth', B *keme* id., Latv *zùobs* id., Slav \**zqǫbъ* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 83, *Alb. St.* III 16, 35, 64). The original meaning seems to be preserved in Gk γόμφοϛ 'peg', Skt *jámbha-* 'bit, peg'. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to Skt *dánta-* 'tooth'); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 264; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 334; JOKL *Reallex. Vorges.* I 89, *Sprache* IX 123; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 168, *Stratificazione* 88; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 228; MANN *Language* XVII 19, XXVIII 33; PORZIG *Gliederung* 185; PISANI *Saggi* 100, 128; FRISK I 319-321; FRAENKEL 1288-1289; MAYRHOFER I 419; VAN WINDEKENS I 186; HULD 58; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282, *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 225; DEMIRAJ *AE* 158.

**dhëndër** ~ **dhandër** m, pl. *dhëndurë* ~ *dhandurë* 'bridegroom, son-in-law'. In the auslaut *-rr* is also possible. From PALb \**dzanra* with a secondary epenthesis in \**-nr-* > *-nd(ë)r-*, cf. *ëndërr*. The plural form in *-ur-* is not clear. The word is etymologically identical with Skt *jārā-* 'suitor', Gk γαμβρός 'son-in-law', Lat *gener* id. (SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 247; MANN *Language* XXVI 383, XXVIII 33). PALb \**-an-* seems to continue IE \**-emə-* or a similar cluster. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30 (from Lat *gener*); MEYER *Wb.* 85 (to Lith *žentas* 'son-in-law', Slav \**zǫtъ* id.), *Alb. St.* III 16, 24, *Gr. Gr.* 250; JOKL *LKUBA* 46-48 (to Skt *jāmātar-* 'son-in-law', Av *zāmātar-* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 114 (combines MEYER's and JOKL's views); ERNOUT-MEILLET 270; LA PIANA *Studi* I 42 (reconstructs \**genros*); PISANI *Saggi* 130 (*dhëndër* as a contamination of Skt *jāmātar-* and Lat *gener* 'son-in-law'); FRISK I 287; CHANTRAINE 209; MAYRHOFER I 431; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 228 (from \**ġenətër*); FRAENKEL *ZfslavPh* XXIII 348 (*-ërr* < \**-urr* influenced by *vjehërr*); FRISK I 287; ANTTILA *Schw.* 132-133 (from \**ġenH-tr-*); HULD 58-59 (reconstructs IE \**ġomH-ter-*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 159-160.

**dhi** f, pl *dhi* 'she-goat'. From PALb \**aidzijā* corresponding to Gk αἴξ id. (CAMARDA 75 who also adduces Lacon δίζα· αἴξ and Arm *ayc* id.). The Albanian word may be an ancient adjective, cf. Gk αἴγε(1)ος 'of a goat'. ◊ POTT KZ IV 70; MEYER Wb. 85 (compares with Skt *ajā-* 'goat', Lith *ožys* id. or with OHG *ziga*, Lacon δίζα· αἴξ), *Alb. St.* III 28, 37; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 320, 335; JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 241, *Sprache* IX 149; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136; AČAREAN *HAB* I 169-170; BONFANTE *REIE* II 61-63; PORZIG *Gliederung* 181; PISANI *Saggi* 122 (to OHG *ziga*); BARIÇ *Hymje* 77; JOKL *Symb. gramm.* I 241; FRISK I 41-42; HAMP *Laryngeals* 140; HULD 59 (supports PISANI); KARULIS *LEV* I 56 (to Lith *óda* 'skin', Latv *āda* id.), 94 (to Lith *ožys* 'goat', Latv *āzis* id.); OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 47, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 38; DEMIRAJ *AE* 160.

**dhjamë** f, pl. *dhjamëra* ~ *dhjamna* '(animal) fat, lard, suet, tallow'. The dialectal variant *vjam*, *vjamë* is secondary. From PALb \**dzel-mā*, related to *dhallë*. ◊ MEYER Wb. 86 (to Gk δημός 'fat' but how to explain the initial \**d-*?), *Alb. St.* III 28; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 15 (treats *vjam* as the original form); JOKL *Sprache* IX 153; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 241; CHANTRAINE 274; POKORNY I 175; PISANI *Saggi* 118 (follows MEYER but does not explain the short \**ë* vs. Gk -η-); PORZIG *Gliederung* 126, 178; FRISK I 381; CHANTRAINE 274; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 55; HULD 59-60; ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 47 (borrowed from Late Gk ζέμα 'decoction, cooking'); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 74 (derivative of *ve* as Slav \**sadlo* 'fat' goes back to \**saditi* 'to put, to place'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 161.

**dhjes** aor. *dhjeva* 'to defecate'. From PALb \**dzetša* or \**dzetja* related to Skt *hadati* id., Gk χέζω id. (CAMARDA I 96; MEYER Wb. 86, *Alb. St.* III 18, 27). As far as neither \**-tš-* nor \**-tj-* could correspond to IE \**-d-*, the resulting form in Albanian may be explained either by a taboo transformation or as a reflex of a verbal form based on a participle \**ghed-to-*; the latter would regularly yield \**dzetša*. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 274; JOKL *Studien* 61; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 335, *Kelt. Gr.* I 160; LA PIANA *Studi* I 55-56 (to Gk δέισα 'dirt'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 172; PISANI *Saggi* 117; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 237; FRISK I 1078-1079; CHANTRAINE 1250; MAYRHOFER III 573; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 109; ÇABEJ *St.* I 153-154 (to ON *dríta* 'to defecate', E *dirt*, Slav \**driskati* ~ \**dristati* 'to defecate'); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Lat *foria* 'diarrhea'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 161-162 (reconstructs \**gh(e)détjo-*).

**dhjetë** num. 'ten'. A relatively recent derivative in *-të* based on *\*dhjeth* < *\*detsa* etymologically connected with IE *\*dek̑m̑* 'ten': Skt *dáśa*, Gk *δέκα*, Lat *decem* and the like (BOPP 459-460; GIL'FERDING *Om.* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 86). The irregular initial *dh-* < *\*d-* is explained by sandhi in the numerals from 11 to 19 where *\*-d-* is preceded by vowels (MEYER-LÜBKE *Idg. Anz.* II 184). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 14, 28 (from *\*dek̑nti* -phonetically impossible as the syllabic *\*-m-* must be vocalized); BLANKENSTEIN *IF* XXI 110-111; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 46, *KZ* XXXVI 284-285; JOKL *Balkangerm.* 131; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 172; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; PISANI *Saggi* 106; SZEMERÉNYI *Numerals* 70-71, 112-114; MAYRHOFFER II 26; FRISK I 359-360; WALDE-HOFMANN I 327-329; HULD 60; KÖDDERITZSCH *St. albanica* XX/2 123-124; HAMP *Trends* LVII 901-902, 916-917, *Numerals* 916-918; DEMIRAJ *AE* 162-163.

**dhunë** f, pl. *dhunë* 'labor pains, shame, disgrace'. From PALb *\*edunti* or *\*adunti*, further compared with Gk *ὀδύνη* 'labor pains', Arm *erkn* id. (OREL *LB* XXVIII/4 51-52, *AArmL* VIII 17-19). These forms may be derived from *\*ed-* 'to eat' (FRISK II 351). ◊ CAMARDA I 160 (to Gk *δέvvoç* 'reproach, insult'); MEYER *Wb.* 87 (compares with *derë*, *dherë* 'bitter'); JOKL *Studien* 19-20 (reconstructs *\*dus-n-ā* and links it to Skt *duṣ-* 'evil, bad, difficult', *dunóti*, (he) burns', Gk *δαίω* 'to light up, to kindle'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251-252; LA PIANA *Studi* I 63 f. (follows CAMARDA); AČAREAN *HAB* II 64; PISANI *Saggi* 118 (to Gk *αἰσχύνη*, reconstructs *\*ġhunā*); MAYRHOFFER II 49-50; POKORNY I 180; ÇABEJ *BShkSh* II/4 34 (to Lat *fuscus* 'dark brown', *St.* I 154-155; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 112 (to Germ *dunkel* 'dark'); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; JANSON *Unt.* 91-92; DEMIRAJ *AE* 163-164 (follows OREL).

**dhuroj** aor. *dhurova* ~ *dhunova* 'to make a present'. Borrowed from Lat *dōnāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 87). In Geg the form *\*dhunoj* was replaced by Tosk *dhuroj*. The intervocalic Geg *-n-* is, however, preserved in derivatives, such as *dhurëti* ~ *dhunëti* 'present, donation'. Occasionally, the forms with the "correct" *d-* have been attested in dialects. Forms with initial *dh-* may reflect *\*addōnāre*. ◊ CAMARDA I 43 (to Gk *δωρέομαι* 'to make a present'); JOKL *LKUBA* 300; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 123; ÇABEJ *St.* I 155-156; JANSON *Unt.* 49-50.

## E

**e** conj. 'and, also'. From PALb \**ō(d)* (OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 145-146) going back to IE \**ēd* ~ \**ōd*, abl. sg. of the pronominal stem \**e-/o-*, cf. Skt *āt* 'then, and', Av *āt*, *āat* id., Lith *ō* 'and, but' (if not borrowed from Slavic, SADNIK - AITZETMÜLLER *Vgl. Wb.* I 1-2), Slav \**a* and, but'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 93 (from Lat *et* 'and' with an inexplicably preserved *-t*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Grundr. rom. Phil.* I 1057 (questions the Latin origin of *e*); PUŞCARIU *Etym. Wb.* I 565 (< Lat *et*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 111 (follows MEYER); FRAENKEL 514; MAYRHOFER I 72; ÇABEJ *St.* I 156; MANN *Language XXVI* 380; HAMP *Bono homine donum* 127-131 (*e* < \**īoi*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358; HULD 60-61.

**ec(i)** aor. *eca* 'to go, to run'. Another variant is *ecēj*. From \**etēs* < PALb \**aitatja* based on a derivative in \**-to-* of IE \**ei-* 'to go' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260), ◊ CAMARDA I 95 (to Gk εἶμι 'to go'); MEYER *Wb.* 97 (from Rom \**itiō* replacing *itō* 'to go'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 18 (to *erdha*); JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 158 (related to *hedh*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 157-158 (reconstructs \**itiō* as a source).

**edh** m, pl. *edha* 'he-goat'. From PALb \**aidza* connected with Gk αἴζ 'goat', Arm *ayc* id. (TREIMER *ZfRomPh XXXVIII* 408; MANN XXVI 381), cf. *dhi*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 98 (borrowed from Lat *haedus* 'kid'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043; AÇAREAN *HAB* I 169-170; JAHUKIAN *OAI* 122; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 201; FRISK I 41-42; CLACKSON *LR* 90; ÇABEJ I 158 (to Skt *ajā-* 'goat', Lith *ožys* id.); HULD 61.

**edhe** conj. 'and, also'. A sequence of enclitics *e* and *dhe*, with *-dh-* < \**-d-* in the intervocalic position. The first element *e* is identical with *e* 'and, also'. As for *dhe*, it reflects PALb \**dō* < IE \**dō* (in the intervocalic position) as preserved in Slav \**da* 'and, so that'. Note Slovene *ada* < Slav \**a da*, a full correspondence of *edhe*. The variant *dhe* is secondary (ÇABEJ *St.* I 151). The Geg form *ende* may be explained as a different compound including *en-* < IE \**ani* (cf. POKORNY I 39) and *de* < PALb \**dō*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 83 (derives *dhe* from Turk *de* 'and'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 158; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 146 (mistakenly derives *edhe* from IE \**ōge* and compares it with Lith *ōgi* where there are no traces of a palatal); BENVENISTE *St. Balt.* III 121 f. (pronominal sources of \**dō*); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 78, *Bono homine donum* 127-131 (*dhe* < \**g̃hō*

related to Lat *hōc*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358; HULD 60-61 (*dhe* < \**ghoi* compared with Lat *huic*).

**egër** adj. 'wild'. Borrowed from Gk ἄγριος id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 15). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25 (from Lat *agrestis*); CAMARDA I 28, 36 (comparison with Gk ἄγριος); MEYER *Wb.* 94 (borrowed from Lat *ācer* 'sharp, violent'), *Alb. St.* IV 10; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 248; LA PIANA *Studi* I 66 (follows CAMARDA); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 15 (reconstructs \**η-g\*ori* 'living in the mountains'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 111-112 (agrees with VASMER); ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 687 (from Indo-European); ÇABEJ I 159.

**egjëll** adv. 'on an empty stomach'. A compound of a privative particle *e-* < PALb \**a-* < IE \**η-* and *gjell*; thus, *egjëll* means 'without food' (PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 45). See also *esëll*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 94 (connected with *esëll*); ÇABEJ I 159 (to *agull* 'dawn', derivative of *agoj*).

**egjër** f 'Lolium temulentum'. Borrowed from Lat *ebria* f. 'drunk', probably, influenced at some stage by *egër*. For the semantic development cf. the French name of the same plant *ivraie* < Lat *ebriāca* (MEYER *Wb.* 94). ◊ JOKL *WuS* XII 78-79 (privative *e-* followed by *gjër* 'soup' which is compared with Lith *sóra* 'millet'; thus, the resulting meaning is 'not millet' > 'wild grass'); ÇABEJ I 159-160 (identifies *egjër* with *egër* or, alternatively, follows JOKL but compares *-gjër* with *grurë*).

**eh** aor. *eha* 'to sharpen'. From PALb \**akška* derived from IE \**ak̑-* 'sharp': (MEYER *Wb.* 352). ◊ POKORNY I 18-22; FRISK I 52; WALDE-HOFMANN I 8.

**ehull** m, pl. *ehuj* 'icicle'. Derivative of *eh* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 191-192). However, cf. a similarly looking *akull*. ◊ ÇABEJ I 160 (compound consisting of the prefix *e-* and *hell*); MANN *Comp.* 13 (related to Gk ἄκυλος 'edible acorn').

**elb** m, pl. *elbëra* ~ *elbëna* 'barley'. From PALb \**albi* identical with Gk ἄλφι 'kind of grain' (CAMARDA I 60; MEYER *Wb.* 94, *Alb. St.* III 36). ◊ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 16 (looks for Iranian and Altaic parallels to the Greek - Albanian isogloss); JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 92, *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 235 (to Turk *arpa*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 112; MANN



*Language* XXVI 380, XXVIII 36; PORZIG *Gliederung* 178; PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRISK I 81; CHANTRAINE 67; POKORNY I 29; BERNARD *LB* IX/2 86; HAMP *Laryngeals* 132; HULD 61; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; DEMIRAJ *AE* 164-165.

**emēr** ~ **emēn** m, pl. *emra* ~ *emna* 'name'. From PAIb \**enmen-* or \**inmen-*, etymologically close to OIr *ainm* id., Slav \**jmę* id., OPrus *emnes* id. and, further, to other continuations of IE \*(*o*)*noHm̥* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 41; MEYER *Wb.* 94). ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 114; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 46; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 112 (reconstructs \**enmen*); FRAENKEL *TŽ* III 484 (on the first syllable in Baltic); MANN *Language* XVII 21; PISANI *Saggi* 132; POKORNY I 321; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 5; VENDRYES [A] 36-37; CHANTRAINE 804; SZEMERÉNYI *Syncope* 244-245; ANTTILA *Schw.* 126; VAILLANT *Gr. comp.* I 96; HULD 61-62; ÖLBERG *Unt.* 79; HAMP *AION-L* II 185-190, *Laryngeals* 138; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 68; BEEKES *Sprache* XXXIII 5, *Lar.* 102; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 272; JANSON *Unt.* 23-26; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* VIII 227-228; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; DEMIRAJ *AE* 165.

**emtē** f, pl. *emta* 'aunt'. Borrowed from Lat *amita* 'paternal aunt' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 94). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; MANN *Language* XVII 23; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 110; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 129.

**end** m 'pollen'. From PAIb \**anda* etymologically connected with Skt *ándhas-* 'herb', Gk *ἄνθος* 'flower' (CAMARDA I 55; MEYER *BB* VIII 184). Note a denominative verb *end* 'to blossom' < PAIb \**anda*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 94 (to *ēj*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 30 (to OHG *anado* 'wrath'); MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (to Gk *ἄτρομα*), XXVI 380; FRISK I 108-109; CHANTRAINE 136; MAYRHOFER I 36; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 113; HAMP *Laryngeals* 141 (to Arm *and* 'field'); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; ÇABEJ I 160-161 (borrowed from or related to Gk *ἄνθος*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 166.

**end** aor. *endu* 'to weave'. From PAIb \**enda*, a secondary formation based on an unattested noun \**anda* 'weaving tool' related to Lith *iñdas* 'vessel', Latv *endas* 'part of sledge', Slav \**ǫda* 'fishing rod' - all of these reflecting \**en-dhē-* 'instrument, something applied' with various vocaliza-

tions of the prefix.  $\diamond$  MEYER *Wb.* 95 (related to *vej*), *Alb. St.* III 24 (to Gk ἄπτομαι); MANN *Language* XVII 21; FRAENKEL 92; VASMER IV 148; DEMIRAJ *AE* 166-167.

**end** aor. *enda* 'to lay eggs (of flies)'. Etymologically identical with *end* 'to blossom'.

**endem** refl. 'to roam'. Metaphorically used *end* 'to weave'.  $\diamond$  ÇABEJ *St.* II 161 (to Illyr ἄνδινοσ· περίπατος); DEMIRAJ *AE* 167 (to Dor ἐνθεῖν 'to come' but it is a dialectal form of \*ἐλθεῖν).

**enë** f, pl. *enë* 'vessel'. Singularized plural of *anë* id., see *an*.

**eng** m 'deaf and dumb'. From PALb \**anga* etymologically related to Lith *angùs* 'sluggish, lazy, idle', *éngti* 'to strangle', Latv *igt* 'to wear off, to languish'.  $\diamond$  FRAENKEL 10; MANN *Comp.* 25 (to Goth *aggwus* 'narrow' and the like).

**engjëll** m, pl. *engjëj* 'angel'. Borrowed from Lat *angelus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 95).  $\diamond$  CAMARDA I 13 (to Gk ἄγγελος id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 110; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 117.

**enjë** f 'juniper, yew'. Another variant is *venjë* displaying a phonetically secondary initial *v-*. From PALb \**aignjā* related to the Indo-European, and in particular Germanic, word for 'oak': ON *eik*, OHG *eih* (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260).  $\diamond$  ÇABEJ II 281 (to Lat *acus* 'needle', Lith *aštrūs* 'sharp').

**enjë** ~ **êjë** f, pl. *enja* ~ *êja* 'dairy goat'. From PALb \**agnjā* connected with Gk ἀμνός 'lamb', Lat *agnus* id. (ÇABEJ I 162).  $\diamond$  JOKL *LKUBA* 237-238 (to Gk οὐθαρ 'udder' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148; FRISK I 93-94; POKORNY I 9; WALDE-HOFMANN I 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187; JANSON *Unt.* 79-81.

**enjte** f, pl. *enjte* 'Thursday'. A morphologically more conservative form is outdated *enjtë*, an adjective in *-të*. As other Albanian words of weekdays rendering Latin names, this words seems to translate Lat *Iovis diem*. If so, *enj-* must be an early Albanian equivalent of Jupiter. It continues PALb \**agni-*, presumably, reflecting the archaic Indo-European

word for 'fire' (TREIMER *A ArbSt* I 32). For the phonetic development cf. *enjë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 95 ("dunkel"); OŠTIR *A ArbSt* II 31 or 282 (to Etr *ais* 'god!'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 112-113; MJEDE apud ÇABEJ I 162 (from Gk ἔνν 'the day after tomorrow').

**epem** refl. 'to bow down, to bend'. Related to *ap* ~ *jap*, cf. Germ *nachgeben* 'to give way, to stretch' (ÇABEJ I 162-163). The variant *hepem* has a secondary *h-*. ◇ RESTELLI *RIL* LXXXIX - XC 417-418 (to Gk σκαμβός 'curved, crooked').

**epër** adj. 'upper'. From PAIb *\*eupera*, a secondary analogical ablaut variant of IE *\*uperos* id.: Skt *úpara-* 'lower', Av *upara-* 'upper', Gk ὑπερος id. (BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 17-18). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 96 (derivative of IE *\*epi*), Alb. *St.* III 86; FRISK II 966-967; CHANTRAINE 357; MAYRHOFER I 105; HAMP *Laryngeals* 136 (to Goth *iup*); ÇABEJ I 163 (prefix *e-* followed by *për*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 167-168.

**erë** f, pl. *erëra* ~ *erëna* 'wind'. From Rom *\*er(a)* based on Lat *āēr* 'air' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 96: reconstruction of Rom *\*aira*). The feminine form in Albanian may go back to an original pl. neut., the gender of *erë* being motivated by its meaning. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 113 (from Lat *aer*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; ÇABEJ *St.* I 165; HULD 62.

**ergjënd** ~ **argjand** m 'silver'. Borrowed from Lat *argentum* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 15). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044.

**ergjëz** m, pl. *ergjëz*, *ergjëzë* 'young louse'. Another variant is *ergjiz*. A derivative in *-ëz* based on *arg* id. attested in Italo-Albanian < PAIb *\*arga* related to Arm *orjil* 'louse' and its more problematic cognates Skt *likṣā* 'nit', Lith *érkė* 'tick' (MEYER *Wb.* 15; BUGGE *Beiträge* 17). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 99, 329; HERMANN *KZ* XLI 48; PISANI *Saggi* 120; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136; POKORNY I 335; ANTTILA *Schw.* 106; MAYRHOFER III 100; FRAENKEL 122; ÇABEJ *St.* I 165-166 (to IE *\*ak-* 'sharp'); KORTLANDT *KZ* XCIV 247; DEMIRAJ *AE* 81.

**err** m 'darkness'. From PAIb *\*ausra* related, with a frequent change of meaning from 'morning dawn' to 'evening dawn', to Lith *aušrà* 'dawn', Gk ἔως id. and the like. The verb *err* 'to keep smb. till late in the night'

is a denominative. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 96-97; *Alb. St.* IV; *JOKL Studien* 21 (to Gk ἔρεβος 'darkness of the underworld'); FRISK I 605-606; FRAENKEL 27; ÇABEJ *St.* I 166-167 (analyzes *err* as consisting of the prefix *e-* and a root identical with *re* 'cloud').

**esëll** adv. 'on an empty stomach'. Another variant is *esull*. A compound consisting of a privative *e-* < PALb \**a-* < IE \**h-* and the root identical with *sillë* (PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 45). ◊ CAMARDA I 131 (to Gk ἐσθλός 'courageous, brave'); MEYER *Wb.* 97 (comparison with *egjëll*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 167 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

**esh** m, pl. *eshë* 'hedgehog'. A back-formation or a phonetic mutation of the attested and, obviously, more conservative variant *eshk*. The latter reflects PALb \**etska* < \**edz-k-a* etymologically related to Gk ἐχῖνος id., OHG *igil* id., Lith *ežys* id., Slav \**ežь* id. ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 141 (borrowed from Slavic); MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 97 (follows STIER); TRAUTMANN *BSWb* 73; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 199; FRAENKEL 118; KLUGE 324; FRISK I 601; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 266; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VI 37; SVANE 142.

**eshke** f, pl. *eshke* 'kidney'. Singularized plural of an earlier form \**eshkë* continuing \**aiškā*. The latter continues IE \**oid-skā* to be compared with Slav \**jьsto* id. and ON *eista* 'testicle' < \**oidsto-*, derived from IE \**oid-* 'to swell' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXII 273). For the semantic development cf. Slav \**рѣтjька* 'kidney' from IE \**peu-t-* 'to swell'. As to Alb *veshke*, it is a contamination of *eshke* and *veshje* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 74). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 97 (to *eshkë*); SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 209 f. (to Lat *inguen* 'groin'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 283-284; POKORNY I 774; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VIII 242-243.

**eshkë** f 'fungus'. Borrowed from Lat *ēscā* 'food, bait' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 97). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; HAARMANN 123; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 74.

**eshhtë** f, pl. *eshhta* 'fiber, muscle fiber'. Etymologically identical with *ashtë* as a variant of its singularized plural. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 192.

**et** m 'thirst'. From PALb \**alk-ti-* closely related to Lith *álkti* 'to be hungry', Slav \**olkati* id., OHG *ilgi* 'hunger'. ◊ CAMARDA I 15 (to Gk αἶθος 'fire'); MEYER *Wb.* 97 (to IE \**eus-ti-* or to Gk αἰτέω 'to demand, to beg'); TAGLIA-

VINI *Dalmazia* 114; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 161-163 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); FRAENKEL 8; ΦΑCMEP II 452; ÇABEJ *St.* I 167-168 (accepts MEYER's view).

**ethe** pl. 'fever'. Singularized plural of \**eth*, a derivative in *-th* based on PALb \**aida*. The latter is etymologically close to Skt *edhas-* 'fire-wood, fuel', Gk αἶθος 'fire' and the like (CAMARDA I 77; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 162-163). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 93 (to IE \**eus-* 'to burn'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 112 (related to *athēt*); MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (to Lat *aestas*); FRISK I 37; MAYRHOFER I 128; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (borrowing from Gk αἰθός 'burning'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 168-169 (follows BARIĆ); FRISK I 37-38; HULD 62; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 168-169.

## Ë

**ěj ~ âj** aor. *ějta ~ âjta* 'to blow, to swell'. From PALb \**anj* related to Skt *ániti* 'to breathe', Goth *us-anan* 'to blow out' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 5, *Alb. St.* IV 67). ◊ CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk οἰδέω, οἰδάω 'to swell', 111 (to Gk ἄω 'to blow'); JOKL *Studien* 37; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 210 (follows MEYER); POKORNY I 39; MAYRHOFER I 33; FEIST *Goth.* 538; HAMP *Laryngeals* 131; ÇABEJ *St.* I 171 (follows CAMARDA I 57); ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 128; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 256-257; HULD 63; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44 (repeats ÇABEJ's etymology); DEMIRAJ *AE* 171-172.

**ëmbël ~ ambël** adj. 'sweet'. From PALb \**amla* identical with Skt *amlá-* 'sour' (TOMASCHEK *ZÖG* 1875, 529). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 10 (agrees with TOMASCHEK); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 69; MAYRHOFER I 46; MANN *Language* XVII 19 (reconstructs \**amlos*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 170 (to *mjalte*), VII 230; DEMIRAJ *AE* 169-170 (against TOMASCHEK on semantic grounds; reconstructs \**Hen-m(e)lit-*).

**ëndë ~ andë** f 'appetite, desire, wish'. From PALb \**antā* derived from \**anja* > *ěj* (MEYER *Wb.* 5-6) and specifically close to Gk ἄνται· ἄνεμοι, ἀντάς· πνοάς, Hes. (DEMIRAJ *AE* 170). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* I 19 (reconstructs \**handë* < \**khonti* with further fantastic comparisons); ÇABEJ *St.* I 170-171 (follows MEYER but, at the same time compares *ëndë* with Hitt *anza-* 'desire'); MANN *Comp.* 21-22 (comparisons with non-existent Tokharian and Irish forms).

(T) **ěndě** f. 'fine flour'. From PALb \**anta* derived from \**anja* > *ěj* and, thus, historically identical with *ěndě* 'desire'. ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 22; ÇABEJ *St.* I 171 (to *end*).

**ěnděrr** ~ **anděrr** f, pl. *ěndrra* ~ *andrra* 'dream, sleep'. Continues PALb \**anrjā* with an epenthetic *-d-*. Identical with the Indo-European word for sleep \**oner-* (Gk ὄναρ) ~ \**onerjo-* (Gk ὄνειρον, ὄνειρος, Arm *anurf*), cf. CAMARDA I 38; MEYER *Wb.* 11, *Alb. St.* III 66. Note that the Albanian feminine noun corresponds to the original Indo-European neuter and may go back to a singularized plural form. For the development of the cluster \**-nr-* cf. *dhěnděr*. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 101; BARIĆ *ARSt* 1-2 (to Gk ἕδναρον, aor. 'to sleep', Lat *dormiō* 'to sleep'); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 133, *LKUBA* 6; MANN *Language* XVII 19; PISANI *Saggi* 121; PORZIG *Gliederung* 179; FRISK II 393; CHANTRAINE 802; POKORNY I 779; ANTTILA *Schw.* 127; HAMP *AION-L* II/2 187; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 208, 230, *Etim.* IV apud DEMIRAJ (to *nder*); HULD 63; CLACKSON *LR* 236; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 39 (on PALb \**-rj-* > *-rr*), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; DEMIRAJ *AE* 171 (to Skt *nidrā* 'sleepiness, drowsiness', formally possible).

## F

**faj** m, pl. *faje* 'guilt, sin'. Borrowed from Rom \**fallia*, derivative of Lat *fallere* 'to deceive, to trick' (MEYER *Wb.* 98, *Alb. St.* IV 16). ◊ TREIMER *KZ* LXV 96 (from IE \**spel-* 'to break'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 125; ÇABEJ *St.* I 172; LANDI *Lat.* 126.

(G) **fâj** aor. *fana* 'to fill, to cram, to surfeit'. From PALb \**spanja* related to Gmc \**spannjan* 'to tighten' with a secondary expressive gemination (ON *spenna* and the like). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* I 22-23 (to Skt *pūrṇa-* 'full' and the like, with *f-* < \**ph-*); KLUGE 720; ÇABEJ *St.* I 172 (to dialectal *fëngem* 'to eat much').

**fajkě** f, pl. *fajka* 'side (of a ship)'. Borrowed from the Dalmatian reflex of Lat *faciēs* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 172 - 173). Note a derivative in *fajkoj* 'to polish'. ◊ CAMARDA II 70 (treats *fajkoj* as a variant of *fërkoj*); MEYER *Wb.* 103 (follows CAMARDA); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 550.

**fajkua** ~ **fajkue** m, pl. *fajkonj* 'falcon'. Borrowed from Lat *falcōnem* id. (CAMARDA II 70; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 98). ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 136; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1046; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 137, *LKUBA* 306; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 125; ÇABEJ *St.* I 173; LANDI *Lat.* 143, 145.

**fal** aor. *fala* 'to give, to present, to offer', refl. 'to set (of the sun)'. From PAIb *\*spala* etymologically connected with Gk σφάλω 'to overthrow' (CAMARDA I 79). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 98 (borrowed from Slav *\*xvalini* 'to praise'), *Alb. St.* IV 61; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 192 (follows MEYER); HAMP *LB* XIV/2 15 (follows MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt* 24, *Hymje* 35 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); FRISK II 827-828; ÇABEJ *St.* I 173-174 (follows CAMARDA).

**famě** f 'good reputation, rumor'. Borrowed from Lat *fāma* 'rumor, fame'.

**famull** m, pl. *famuj* 'godchild'. Borrowed from Lat *famulus* 'servant, attendant', otherwise lost by Romance languages (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 99). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535; HAARMANN 125; ÇABEJ *St.* I 174; LANDI *Lat.* 137.

**faqe** f, pl. *faqe* 'face, cheek'. As many other feminines of this morphological type, *faqe* seems to continue an earlier *\*faq*. Borrowed from Lat *faciēs* 'face' (RASK apud HULD 63; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; CAMARDA I 338; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 98). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1041; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 124-125; HULD 63; LANDI *Lat.* 83-85, 149-150.

**farě** f, pl. *farě, fara* 'seed, semen, kin'. From PAIb *\*sparā* < IE *\*sporā* closely connected with Gk fem. σπορά 'seed' and further related to *\*sper-* 'to spill, to sow': Gk σπείρω id., σπέρμα 'semen, seed' (BARIĆ *ARSt* 24; MANN *Language* XVII 17, MANN XXVI 386-387; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 147.) As to *faroj, faros* 'to destroy, to exterminate', it is a denominative based on *farě* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 175). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 100 (Germanic loanword, cf. Langob *fara* 'descendants, family, kin'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 24 (*faroj* from IE *\*spher-* 'to kick with a foot'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 114 (follows MEYER), *Origini* 295; POKORNY I 993; FRISK II 762-763; HULD 62-63; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352.

**farkë** f, pl. *farka* 'smithy'. Borrowed from Lat *fabrica* 'workshop' (MEYER *Wb.* 99). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 124; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 280; LANDI *Lat.* 94, 111, 118.

**fashqe** f, pl. *fashqe* 'diaper'. A singularized plural of \**fashqë* also attested as *fashë* 'diaper, stripe'. Borrowed from Lat *fascia* 'band, bandage' (MEYER *Wb.* 100). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMANN 125; LANDI *Lat.* 120.

**fat** m, pl *fate* 'fate; bridegroom, husband, friend'. Borrowed from Lat *fatum*. Undoubtedly, *fat* 'fate' is identical with *fat* 'fate' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 100) - a widely attested metaphor, cf. Alb *shortë* 'fate; spouse, wife' < Lat *sorte(m)* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 176-177). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1041; JOKL *Studien* 107, *LKUBA* 15 (*fat* 'bridegroom' borrowed from Goth \**fadi-* 'master, lord'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 24-25, *Hymje* 71 (arbitrary comparison with Skt *sphāyate* '(he) grows fat, increases'); PUDIĆ *IX Ling. Cong.* 862; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 125; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358; LANDI *Lat.* 109.

**fe** f, pl. *fe* 'belief, religion'. Borrowed from Lat *fidem* 'faith' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26) as the long [ē] in *fē* reflects a contraction of the intermediate \**feë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 177). The verb *fejoj* 'to betroth' is a late derivative of *fe* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 178). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 101 (from Ital *fe* id.), 106-107 (*fejoj* borrowed from Ital *fidare* 'to entrust'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045 (from Italian); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 126; LANDI *Lat.* 46, 133.

**feje** pl. 'nostrils'. A plural form of *fyell*, normally appearing in a phrase *fejet e hundës* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224, 235).

**felë** f, pl. *fela* 'honeycomb'. Borrowed from Rom \**favalìa*, cf. Ital *fiale* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 101). The homonymous *felë* 'piece, slice' is, in fact, a phonetic variant of *thelë*. ◇ TREIMER *KZ* LXV 98 (from IE \**spel-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 235.

**femc** m 'sting (of insects)'. A phonetic variant of *thimth*, *thimc* (JOKL *IJ* XXIV VII 217). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 76 (to *themboj* 'to bore'); TREIMER *KZ* LVI 98 (connects *femc* with Lat *spīna* 'thorn'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 8144; ÇABEJ *St.* I 178 (to *feme* 'awl').



**femër ~ femĕn** f, pl. *femra ~ femna* 'woman'. Borrowed from Lat *fĕmina* id. (CAMARDA I 122; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 101).  
 ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 115; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 126; JANSON *Unt.* 50.

**fend** aor. *fenda* 'to fart'. From PALb *\*spenda* related to Skt *spandate* 'to shiver', Gk *σφοδάζω* 'to shiver, to tremble'. ◇ FRISK II 825; POKORNY I 989.

**ferr** m 'hell'. Borrowed from Lat *infernum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 101). ◇ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 248; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 131.

**ferrĕ** f, pl. *ferra* 'thorn, thorny bush'. From PALb *\*spernā* derived from IE *\*sper-* 'spear, stick': Lat *sparus* 'short spear', Gmc *\*speru-* 'spear' > ON *spjor* (cf. OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 147). Note a derivative *ferrĕl* 'stalk, stem' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 179). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 101 (to *ther* 'to cut'), 102 (*ferrĕl* borrowed from Lat *ferula* 'fennel-giant'); JOKL *LKUBA* 217-218 (follows MEYER); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 99 (to W *ffern* 'talus, malleolus', Lat *spernō* 'to sever, to separate'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37; WALDE - HOFMANN II 568; POKORNY I 990-991; ZALIZN'AK *Ētimologija* 1964 225.

**felligĕ** f 'ignominy, shame'. A variant of this word seems to be *fĕllegĕ* 'sloppy work'. The verb *fĕlliq* 'to make dirty' also belongs here as a denominative. The form *fĕlligĕ* is an irregular transformation of *fĕdigĕ* 'tiredness, strain, work' borrowed from Ital (Venetian) *fadiga* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 102 (*fĕdigĕ* < Venetian *fadiga*; *fĕlliq* < Lat *fornicem* 'brothel'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 539; ÇABEJ *St.* I 180 (to *thellĕ*).

**fĕmijĕ** m/f, pl. *fĕmijĕ* 'child, family, spouse'. Borrowed from Lat *familia* 'family' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24-25; MEYER *Wb.* 103). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1047 (from Ital *famiglia* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 120; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 280; HAARMANN 125; HULD 64; LANDI *Lat.* 80, 108, 126.

**fĕndyell** m, pl. *fĕndyĕj* 'awl'. A derivative of *fund*. ◇ CAMARDA I 201 (to Gk *σφόνδυλος* 'cervical vertebra'); MEYER *Wb.* 103 (to Lat *findere* 'to cleave, to split'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 180 (related to *femc*).

**fëng ~ fang** m, pl. *fëngje ~ fangje* 'virgin land, land difficult to cultivate, lawn, meadow'. Borrowed from Ital *fango* 'mud' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25). ◊ JOKL *Balkangerm.* 120-121 (from Goth *waggs* 'paradise' < \*'meadow'); PUDIĆ *IX Ling. Cong.* 862 (follows JOKL); ÇABEJ *St. I* 180-181 (agrees with MIKLOSICH).

**fërgoj** aor. *fërgova* 'to roast, to fry'. Borrowed from Lat *frigere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 103). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1055; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 260; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 16; HAARMANN 127.

**fërkoj** aor. *fërkova* 'to rub'. Borrowed from Lat *fricāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 103). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1050; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 260; ÇABEJ *St. VII* 198; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 16; HAARMANN 127; HULD 64.

**fërroj** aor. *fërrova* 'to grind roughly'. Clearly connected with *fërratë* 'gruel' (borrowed from Rom *\*farīnāta*) and seems to continue Rom *\*farīnāre* related to Lat *farīna* 'ground corn, flour'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St. I* 182 (related to *ther*).

**fic** aor. *fica* 'to make soft'. Derived from an unattested *\*fij* < PALb *\*spiija* related to Skt *sphāyate* 'to become fat', Slav *\*spěti* 'to ripen'. ◊ POKORNY I 983; VASMER III 734.

**fier** m 'fern'. From PALb *\*spera* or *\*sperna* that may be somehow connected with other Indo-European words for 'fern' (presumably based on the word for 'wing'), e.g. Gmc *\*farnaz*: OHG *far(a)n*. In any case, in the name of fern various irregular changes of taboo origin cannot be excluded. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* 25 (to Slav *\*paporoť* id.); MANN *Language XXVIII* 40 (to Gk *πτέρις* id.); FRISK II 611; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 22 (from Latin), 3-4 350 (from Gk *πτέρις*); ÇABEJ *St. VII* 250; HAARMANN 126 (from Rom *\*filicāria*).

(G) **fijan** m, pl. *fijanë* 'child to be baptized'. A Geg church form of Rom *\*filiānus* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 104). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1039; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 536; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 15; HAARMANN 126; ÇABEJ *St. I* 183; LANDI *Lat.* 75, 126, 133.

**fik** m, pl. *fiq* 'fig'. Borrowed from Lat *ficus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 104). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 116; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 126; LANDI *Lat.* 113, 140.

**fik** aor. *fika* 'to extinguish (of fire); to bring misfortune, to ruin, to destroy'. From PAIb *\*speika* related to Lith *peĩkti* 'to despise, to scold', *pỹkti* 'to be angry', Latv *peĩkt* 'to be spoilt'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26 (from Ital *ficcare*); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 100-101 (to Lat *spĩca* 'point, top'); FRAENKEL 525; ÇABEJ *St.* I 183-184 (to Swedish *spink* 'lean man', Norw *spiken* 'dry').

**fill** m, pl. *fij, fije* 'thread'. Borrowed from Lat *flum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 104). The verb *filloj* 'to begin' is derived from *fill* as it is clear from *zē fill* 'to begin' (CAMARDA I 76). Note that the morpheme *-fish* in *dyfish* 'twice', *trifish* 'thrice', appearing as *-fijesh* in Old Albanian (BUDI, BOGDANI) goes back to abl. pl. of *fill* (KRISTOFORIDHI 427). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1050, 1053; MANN *Language XXVIII* 39 (to Gk σπίλος); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 126; ŠIROKOV *ZFL XXIV*/1 14 (to OHG *sptl* 'spear tip'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 186 (accepts KRISTOFORIDHI's explanation of *-fish*), IV 95-96; LANDI *Lat.* 142.

**fink** m, pl. *finkē* 'finch'. Recent borrowing from Germ *Fink* id. As to *sfingēs* id., it comes from NGk σπίγγος id. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 185 (onomatopoeia or a cognate of Gmc *\*finkan* ~ *\*finkjan* 'finch').

**finjē** f, pl. *finja* 'soapwater, soap suds'. Historically identical with *thinjē* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233). ◊ BUGGE *BB XVIII* 166 (identical with *hie*); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 101 (to OHG *spiz* 'spit'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 185-186 (to SCr *sinjav* 'grey').

**fishkem** ~ **fyshkem** refl. 'to wither, to fade'. Based on the adjective *fishkēt* 'withering, dry'. Goes back to PAIb *\*spūška* etymologically related to Lith *pūškas, pūškas* 'blister, fin, pimple', Latv *pusks* 'tuft'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 468 (together with its variant *veshkem* ~ *vyshkem*, to Lat *vēscus* 'small, weak, feeble'); JOKL *IF XLIV* 35-38; FRAENKEL 680; ÇABEJ *St.* I 186 (related to *fyell*).

**fishkēlloj** aor. *fishkēllova* 'to whistle'. Belongs to a group of phonetic

variants such as *vëshlloj*, *fëshëlloj*, *frushkullij* and the like. All these forms continue Rom *\*fistuläre* or *\*fiscläre* (MEYER *Wb.* 112). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 186 (onomatopoeia).

**fishnjar** m, pl. *fishnjarë* 'harpoon'. A more conservative variant is *fishnjar*, itself derived from *fushnje* id. The latter, or more exactly an earlier and unattested *\*fushnjë*, was borrowed from Rom *\*fusicinia*, derivative of Lat *fuscina* 'trident' (MEYER *Wb.* 106, *Alb. St.* IV 60). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 127; ÇABEJ *St.* I 201 (on Old Albanian *fushqinë* id.).

**fishnjar** m, pl. *fishnjarë* 'marten'. Historically identical with *fishnjar* 'harpoon'.

**fjalë** f, pl. *fjalë* 'word, speech, tale'. From PALB *\*spelā* etymologically connected with Goth *spill* 'story, fable', ON *spjall* 'story, speech', OE *spell* id., OHG *spel*, *spell* id. and Arm *arāspel* 'fable' (OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 146-148; HULD 64-65). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 106 (borrowing from Lat *fābella* 'fable, short story, tale'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 103 (from *\*spelgā*, to Lat *flagrō* 'to flame, to blaze'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 116 (follows MEYER), *Origini* 190; AČAREAN *HAB* I 253-254; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 272; HAARMANN 84-85; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (on Alb *f* < IE *\*sp-*); POKORNY I 985; HAARMANN 124; LANDI *Lat.* 50, 107.

**flak** aor. *flaka* 'to throw, to fling'. From PALB *\*awa-laka*, derived with a prefix *\*awa-* from IE *\*lĕk-* ~ *\*lĕk-* 'to bend, to jump': MHG *lecken* 'to throw back, to spring', Lith *lekiù*, *lĕkti* 'to fly', Latv *lĕkt* 'to spring, to jump' and the like (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 75). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 107 (to Lat *flaccus* 'flabby', Ital *fiaccare* 'to weaken'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 251 (to Gk *σφάλλω* 'to overthrow'); FRAENKEL 353-354; ÇABEJ *St.* I 186-187 (from *flakë*; semantically, cf. Ital dial. *lampare* 'to throw on the ground, to drop' ~ *lampo* 'lightning' but the direction of derivation is opposite there).

**flakë** f, pl. *flakëra* ~ *flakëna* 'flame'. A back formation based on an unattested *\*flakull*. The latter is a borrowing from dialectal Rom *\*flacula* reflected in Ital *fiaccola* id., Rum *flacără* id. and replacing *facula* 'little torch'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 107 (borrowed from Rom *\*flaca* metathesized from *\*facla* < Lat *facula*); PUȘCARIU *EWB* 53; DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 231

(to MHG *vlackern*, Germ *flackern* ‘to tremble, of flame’); ÇABEJ *St. I* 187 (onomatopoeia).

**flamě** f ‘cold (illness), epilepsy, cholera (of animals)’. Borrowed from Lat nom. sg. *flāmen* ‘blowing, blast’ used metaphorically as Russ *povetrie* ‘infection’. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27 (from Lat *flamma*); MEYER *Wb.* 107 (from Ital *flemma* ‘phlegm’); LA PIANA *Vocale* 50 (related to *flakě*); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 101 (to Germ *flink* ‘nimble, quick’); ÇABEJ *St. I* 187-188; LANDI *Lat.* 103, 135.

**flas** aor. *folā* ‘to speak’. The present *flas* is obviously a recent formation based on the lost *\*fal*, and the verb belonged to a group with the quantitative ablaut in aorist (MEYER *Wb.* 106). Continues PALb *\*psala*, further related to *fjalě*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 106 (from Lat *fābulō* ‘to speak’, cf. in particular Dalm *faular*); ANTTILA *Schw.* 100; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 22; HAARMANN 124; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 146.

**flashkēt** adj. ‘sluggish, lame’. Phonetic development of *\*plashkēt* continuing PALb *\*plakška* identical with Lith *plókščias* ‘flat’, Slav *\*ploskъ* id. and, in particular, Slav *\*ploхъ* ‘flat, bad, evil, poor’. ◇ BRÜCKNER 419; POKORNY I 831-832.

**flatēr** f, pl. *flatra* ‘wing’. A singularized plural of *fletě*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St. I* 188 (“elementary formation” cognate with *fletě*).

**fle ~ flē** aor. *fletě*, *fjeta* ‘to sleep’. From PALb *\*awa-leja* etymologically connected with Slav *\*lějō*, *\*lějati* ‘to doze, to slumber’ (OREL *FLH VIII/1-2* 46). ◇ CAMARDA I 108-109 (to Gk φλάω ‘to crush’); MEYER *Wb.* 107-108 (borrowing from Lat *flō* ‘to blow’, with insurmountable difficulties in semantics), *Alb. St.* IV 67; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 544 f. (to Gk κλίνω ‘to lean, to bend’ with Alb *f-* < *th-* < *\*k-*); BARIĆ *ARSt* 21-22 (to *\*fell* ‘to blow’); SCHMIDT *KZ XLVII* 1 f. (from IE *\*bhlend-*); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 103 (reconstructs IE *\*splhend-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 116-117; GOR’ AČEVA *Ėtimologija* 1981 76; ÇABEJ *St. I* 188-189 (to Slav *\*lěns* ‘laziness’, Lith *lėnas* ‘quiet’).

**flegě** f, pl. *flegě* ‘splinter’. From PALb *\*awa-lagā*, a prefixal derivative of IE *\*legh-* ‘to lie’ in *o*-grade, cf. Gk λόχος ‘ambush’. Derived from *flegě* (as its singularized plural?) is *flegēr*, *fregull* ‘nostril, door-leaf’, probably, reflecting a secondary influence of *fletě* on its semantics.

◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 149 (to *flugë*); FRISK II 111-112; ÇABEJ *St.* I 188 (“elementary formation” cognate with *fletë* and *flugë*), OREL FORT. 79

**fletë** f, pl. *fletë* ‘wing, leaf’. From PALb *\*awa-lekta*, a prefixal derivative of IE *\*lek-* ‘to fly’: Lith *lekiù, lëkti*, Latv *lëkt*, OHG *lecken* ‘to jump, to kick’. ◇ CAMARDA II 192 (to *flutur*); MEYER *Wb.* 108 (borrowed from Ital *foglietta* ‘little barrel’); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 117; SKOK *AArbSt* I 226 (borrowed from Lat fem. *foliata* ‘leaved, leafy’ - but the cluster *-li-* [lj] would yield Alb *-j-*); LA PIANA *Studi* I 104 (to OHG *blat* ‘leaf’ and the like); FRAENKEL 353-354; ÇABEJ *St.* I 189-190 (“elementary formation”).

**fli** ~ **flî** f, pl. *fli* ~ *flî* ‘sacrifice’. Identical with *fëli, fërli* ‘kind of pastry’ (originally baked to celebrate baptism) and borrowed from Rom *\*firigilinum* (MEYER *Wb.* 103). ◇ JOKL *Balkangerm.* 121, *IF XLIV* 30-32 (borrowed from MGk εὐλογία ‘wafer, communion bread’ - but how to account for the Geg nasal?); ÇABEJ *St.* I 179 (agrees with JOKL ).

**flojere** f, pl. *flojere* ‘flute’. Known to all languages of the Carpathian and Balkan areas, this is a relatively late borrowing from Rum *fluier* id. continuing Lat adj. *flātūrālis* ‘blowing’, cf. *flātūra* ‘blowing’. ◇ CAMARDA I 161 (comparison with Lat *flāre* ‘to blow’); MIKLOSICH *Wander.* 23 (to *fryj*); MEYER *Wb.* 108 (borrowed from Rom *\*flatuāria*; on the other hand, connected with *fyell*); GIUGLEA *Dacoromania* III 587-589 (borrowed from Gk *\*φλοιάριον* based on *φλοιός* ‘bark’); SKOK *Glasnik SND* II 302 (borrowed from Rum *fluier* < Rom *\*vivulellus*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 341; ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; ÇABEJ *St.* I 190-191 (to Geg *fluier* ‘drawer’); DEMIRAJ *AE* 172 (against ÇABEJ).

**flok** m, pl. *flokë* ‘hair’. Borrowed from Lat *floccus* ‘lock, flock’ (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 108-109). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 116-117, *Stratificazione* 84; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 126; LANDI *Lat.* 103, 139.

**flori** ~ **florî** m, pl. *florinj* ‘gold; (pl.) golden coins’. Borrowed from MLat *florînus* ‘gold piece’ (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 109). ◇ HAARMANN 126; ÇABEJ *St.* I 191-192.

**floskë** f ‘layer (of snow)’. Borrowed from Slav *\*ploska* unknown in

this meaning in South Slavic languages. Cf., however, Bulg fem. sg. *ploska* ‘flat’ and SCr *ploska* ‘flat vessel’.

**flug** m ‘swing, zest, zeal’. Continues PAIb *\*awa-luga* that may be connected with IE *\*leug-* ‘to break’ (see *flugē*) or with *\*leugh-* ‘to lie’: Goth *liugan*, Slav *\*lъgati*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 109 (borrowed from NGk φλόγος ‘flame’); VASMER II 469; POKORNY I 686-687; FEIST *Goth.* 334; ÇABEJ *St.* I 192 (“elementary formation”).

**flugē** f, pl. *fluga* ‘shingle’. From PAIb *\*awa-luga*, a prefixal derivative of IE *\*leug-*, cf. Skt *rujāti* ‘to break’, Lat *lūgeō* ‘to mourn, to deplore’ ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 146-150 (to *lugē*); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 102 (to MHG *spitzen* ‘to split’); MAYRHOFER III 64-65; WALDE-HOFMANN I 830-831; POKORNY I 686; ÇABEJ *St.* I 192 (“elementary formation”); DEMIRAJ *AE* 172-173.

**flutur** f, pl. *flutura* ‘butterfly’. A back formation based on *fluturoj* ‘to fly’. The latter is borrowed from Rom *\*fluctulāre*, a modification of Lat *fluctuāre* ‘to move in waves, to move to and fro’ (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 109). ◇ CAMARDA II 192 (related to *fletē*); MEIER *Etym.* 92; CANDREA-HECHT *Romania XXXI* 310-311; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 33-39 (opposes the Latin etymology); IONESCU *LR* 6 (1984) 476-479.

**fladis** aor. *fladita* ‘to cool’. Borrowed from Slav *\*xolditi* id., cf., in particular, SCr *hladiti* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193, 306). ◇ SVANE 175, 232.

**forbēl** f, pl. *forbla* ‘peelings, sweepings (of nuts), empty nut-shell’. Other variants are *formēl* and *forlē*. Borrowed from Lat *formella* ‘small form’ (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). ◇ CAMARDA II 64 (compares *formēl* with Gk φορμός ‘basket’); MEYER *Wb.* 110 (derives *forbēl* from *\*vorbēl* < Rom *\*orbulus* and *formēl* from Ital *forfore* ‘scabs’); ÇABEJ *St.* I 192-193 (“of unclear origin”).

**fortē** adj. ‘strong’. Borrowed from Lat *fortis* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27; CAMARDA I 167). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 110 (from Ital *forte* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 117; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 281.

**foshnjě** f, pl. *foshnja* 'infant'. The Geg form is *foshi*. Both forms reflect an unattested \**fosh* that may result (irregularly as far as the anlaut is concerned) from \**ftošh*, the latter being a borrowing from Lat *fētōsus*, to *fētus* 'offspring'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 100 (related to *fushqe*); BARIĆ *ARSt* 23-24 (to Skt *phaṇas-* 'foam'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.

**fqinjě** m/f, pl. *fqinjě* 'neighbor'. Borrowed from Rom \**vīcīnius* based on Lat *vīcīnus* id. (CAMARDA I 92; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71; MEYER *Wb.* 107). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 157.

**fjollě** f, pl. *fjolla* 'flax ready for spinning; first combings of flax'. Another variant of this word is *fjollě*. Borrowed from MGk φακιόλης 'handkerchief, napkin' (MEYER *Wb.* 107). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 106 (separates *fjollě* as a continuation of Rom \**fileōlum*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 125; ÇABEJ *St.* I 193.

**frac** m, pl. *fracra* ~ *fracna* 'biting cold, frost'. Singularized form of the original \**frak* continuing PALb \**awa-raka*, a prefixal formation etymologically related to Lith *rakù, ràkti* 'to peck open, to lance', Latv *rakt* 'to dig'. ◇ JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 248 (reconstructs \**vĕ-rak-jo-* related to OIr *diorain* 'to sprinkle'); *SGGJa* I 55; FRAENKEL 694; ÇABEJ *St.* I 193-194 (considers dialectal *thrak* in *mot thrak* 'cold period' to be the older form and uses it to reconstruct \**ther-ak*, further to *ther*).

**frashěr ~ frashěn** m, pl. *frashěra* ~ *frashna* 'ash-tree'. Borrowed from Lat *fraxinus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 111). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; HAARMANN 127; JANSON *Unt.* 51; LANDI *Lat.* 102, 124.

**frashuall ~ frashuell** m 'haricot'. Borrowed from Lat *phaseolus* 'kind of bean' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 175) with a secondary epenthetic *-r-* (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045). In Tosk the NGk φασούλι id. was adapted as *fasul*. ◇ HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 78, 85, 93.

**fre ~ frě** m, pl. *frerě* ~ *frena, frenj* 'bridle; grape-stalk; comb'. Borrowed from Lat *frĕnum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 111). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16;



HAARMANN 127; ÇABEJ *St.* I 194; JANSON *Unt.* 51; LANDI *Lat.* 55.

(G) **fruer** m 'February'. Borrowed from Lat *februarius* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 109). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 125; ÇABEJ *St.* I 194-195; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 75-76, 127, 157.

**frushkull** m, pl. *frushkuj* 'whip'. A transformation of the original \**fushtull* borrowed from Rom \**fustulum*, cf. Lat *fustis* 'knobbed stick, cudgel, club'. The variant *fshikull* is explained by the influence of *fshikë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 112 (identifies this word with *frushkull* 'whistle'); TREIMER *KZ* LVI 104 (connects *frushkull* with Ital *frusta* 'whip'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 195 (onomatopoeia), 199.

**frushkull** f, pl. *frushkulla* 'whistle'. Another variant is *frushull*. A radical phonetic transformation of the original Lat *fistula* 'pipe, tube' (MEYER *Wb.* 112). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 195 (onomatopoeia).

**fruth** ~ **frûth** m 'measles'. Deminutive or collective in *-th* based on PALb \**spruga* related to Skt *sphūrjati* 'to thunder, to rumble', Gk σφαραγέομαι 'to burst with a noise', Lith *sprógstu*, *sprógti* 'to break, to crack up' (MANN *Language* XVII 13). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 154 (related to *hurdhe*), *Alb. St.* III 32; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 29; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 242; FRAENKEL 882-883; FRISK II 828; MAYRHOFER III 545-546; TICHY *Onom.* 177-181; ÇABEJ *St.* I 195 (*f-ruth* related to IE \**reudh-* 'red').

**fryj** ~ **fryj** aor. *fryva*, *fryjta* ~ *fryna* 'to blow'. Continues PALb \**sprūgnja* etymologically connected with Lith *sprūgstu*, *sprūgti* 'to escape, to get out', Slav \**prygati* 'to jump, to spring'. The noun *frymë* 'breath' is derived from *fryj*. ◊ CAMARDA I 112 (to Gk πνέω 'to blow'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 26 (reconstructs \**sphrūgnjō*, to Gk σφαραγέομαι 'to burst with a noise'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 98; LA PIANA *Studi* I 94; MANN *Language* XVII 15 (to Gk σπαίρω), XXVIII 37; FRAENKEL 883; ÇABEJ *St.* I 195-196; VASMER III 390-391; HULD 65.

**fryt** m, pl. *fryte* 'fruit'. Borrowed from Lat *fructus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 112) through the intermediary stage of early Alb \**frūjt*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1054; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 259; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 127; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 39-41; LANDI *Lat.* 121, 148.

(G) **fshāj** aor. *fshana* ‘to sigh’. Other (secondary) variants are *mshāj* and *shāj*. Goes back to PALb \**pušanja* related to Lith *pūškinti* ‘to puff’, *puškėnti* ‘to splash’, Slav \**pyxati* ‘to blow, to puff’ and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 356 (to *psherētij*); XHUVANI *BIShk* III/4 95-97 (to *shēmoj*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 321-322 (analyzes *-shāj* as a prefixal form of \**anə-* ‘to breathe, to blow’); FRAENKEL 680; VASMER III 421; HAMP *LP* XXVIII 78 (follows CIMOCHOWSKI but thinks *sh-* < \**ups-*, compares *fshāj* with OIr *osnad* ‘sigh’ < IE \**hupstxanH-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 196 (from *ofshe* ‘ouch!’).

**fshat** m, pl. *fshatra* ~ *fshatna* ‘village’. Borrowed from Lat *fossātum* ‘ditch’, \*‘surrounded by a ditch’ > ‘camp’ continued in Rum *ṣat* ‘village’, cf. also NGk φουσσᾶτον ‘army’ (LACEA *Dacoromania* I 253-255; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 17). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 112-113 (from Rom \**massātum* based on late Lat *massa* ‘country estate’); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1041, 1049; GIUGLEA *Dacoromania* II 642 (reconstructs Rom \**fixātum*); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 76-77, *Hymje* 66 (derives *fshat* from IE \**ambhised-*, cf. Slav. \**besěda* ‘conversation, feast’ < \*‘sitting around’); TREIMER *Slavia* III 456 (to Gk ἄστις ‘mud’?!); JOKL *LKUBA* 141, 317-318 (agrees with MEYER); SKOK *A ArbSt.* II 112, *ZfromPhil* L 518-519, LIV 496 (supports LACEA’s etymology); BALOTA *RHSEU* XIV 243-246 (derives *fshat* from IE \**ambhi-sek-ti-* ‘tilled around’); SANDFELD 71 n. 1.; BOJAN *CL* XV/1 73-79; ROSETTI *RRL* 1 (1972) 91, *Etudes* 217; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 30; HAARMANN 126; ÇABEJ *St.* I 196-198 (links *f-shat* to *shatoj*); LANDI *Lat.* 40-42, 128, 140.

**fshēh** ~ **mshef** aor. *fshēha* ~ *mshefa* ‘to hide’. In Geg, there exist also variants *mçef*, *çef*. This prefixal verb continues PALb \**skepska* etymologically connected with Gk σκέπω ‘to cover, to shield, to screen’ (JOKL *IF* XXX 192-195). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 250; FRISK II 724; ÇABEJ *St.* I 198 (follows JOKL).

**fshij** ~ **mëshij** aor. *fshiva* ~ *mëshiva* ‘to brush, to sweep’. A prefixal verb derived of the root attested in *shij*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 114 (to OHG *bes(a)mo* ‘broom’); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 78; MANN *Language* XXVI 388 (to Gk ξύω); PISANI *Saggi* 124 (to Slav \**mětq* ‘to sweep’); DEMIRAJ *AE* 173.

**fshikë** f, pl. *fshika* ‘blister, bubble, bladder, bruise’. Another variant is *pshikë*. Borrowed from Lat *vēsica* ‘bladder’ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21). ◊ HAARMANN 156-157.

**ftëk** aor. *ftëka* 'to think over, to consider'. A prefixal formation derived from *teket*.

**ftikem** refl. 'to dry up'. Variant of *fik*, *fikem* (KRISTOFORIDHI 109).

**ftilloj** aor. *ftillova* 'to make clear, to explain, to set in order'. Borrowed from Lat *ventilāre* in its metaphoric meanings: 'to set in motion, to bring forward'. ◊ JOKL *IF* XLIII 63-64 (to *shtjell*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 199 (metathesis of *ftilloj* id. related to *fill*).

**ftoh** ~ **ftof** aor. *ftoha* ~ *ftofu* 'to cool, to make cold'. The verb goes back to PALb *\*awa-tāja* (with privative/negative *\*awa-*). As to *\*tāja*, it is identical with Slav *\*tajǫ*, *\*tajati* 'to melt', Osset *tajyn* id. and other reflexes of IE *\*tā-*. Note that Osset *dajyn* 'to wet' < Iran *\*ava-tā-* forms a full correspondence of *ftoh*. Adjective *ftohët* 'cold' and noun *ftohhtë* 'cold, frost' are late derivatives (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45-46). ◊ CAMARDA I 63 (to Gk πτώσσω 'to shrink (from)'); MEYER *Wb.* 113 (secondary verbal stem based on *ftoftë* < *\*vë-top-të*, to IE *\*tep-* 'to warm': Skt *tápati* 'to make warm, to heat', Lat *tepeō* 'be warm' and the like); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 325 (inchoative *\*-sk-* > *-h-*), *Kelt. Gr.* I 92; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 103, *LKUBA* 126 (*f-* < *\*au-* in *ftoh*), *Mélanges Pedersen* 143; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 79; VASMER IV 30-31; POKORNY I 1053-1054; HULD 65; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 358-359; ABAEV III 223; DEMIRAJ *AE* 173-174 (against OREL; suggests a metathesis of *\*tpo-* > *\*pto-* > *\*fto-*).

**ftoj** aor. *ftova* 'to invite'. Borrowed from Lat *invitāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 113). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 131.

**ftua** ~ **ftue** m, pl. *ftonj* 'quince'. Borrowed from Rom *\*cotōneum* id., namely, 'Cydonian apple' (CAMARDA II 63; MEYER *Wb.* 113). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20 (from *cydōnium*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1050, 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 120; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 42-45; LANDI *Lat.* 120-121.

**ftujë** f, pl. *ftuja* 'one year old she-goat'. Other variants are *ftulë*, *vëtulë*. Borrowed from Rom *\*vitulea*, cf. Lat *vitulus* 'calf, foal' (MEYER *Wb.* 113). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536; WEIGAND 21 (derived from *vjet*); GRAUR *SCL* VII/3-4 276-277 (borrowed from Rum *vătui* 'one year old male kid' which continues the substratum word *\*wet-year*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 199 (follows MEYER); HAARMANN 158.

**fund** m, pl. *funde* ‘bottom, end’. Borrowed from Lat *fundus* ‘bottom’ (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 114). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 127; LANDI *Lat.* 116, 139.

**fuqi** f, pl. *fuqi* ‘power, strength, force’. If the intermediary form was \**fujqi*, it could be a borrowing based on Rom \**fulcius*, the latter derived from *fulcīre* ‘to prop up, to support, to make strong’ (MEYER *Wb.* 114). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* 25 (to Latv *spēks* ‘strength’).

**furfurit** aor. *furfurita* ‘to sparkle, to shine’. A descriptive stem.

**furkë** f, pl. *furka* ‘distaff, fork’. Borrowed from Lat *furca* ‘fork’ (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 28-29; MEYER *Wb.* 114). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 120, *Origini* 190, 239; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; ROHLFS *Spr.* 117; HAARMANN 127.

**furr** m, pl. *furre* ‘oven’. Another variant is *furrë*. Borrowed from Lat *furnus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 114). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 127; LANDI *Lat.* 114.

**furrik** m, pl. *furriqë, furriqe* ‘chicken-coop, fowl-pen, roost, nesting-box’. Another variant of singular is *furriq*. The modern form *furrik* is a back formation based on the original *furriq* borrowed from Lat *fornicem* ‘arch, vault’. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 115 (uncertain comparison with *furr*); JOKL *A ArbSt* I 39-41 (to *farë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 201; LANDI *Lat.* 112-114, 158.

**fus** aor. *futa* ‘to put in, to thrust in, to insert; to plant’. From PALb \**sputja*, a form with *s* mobile etymologically related to Lat *putō* ‘to trim, to prune’, Tokh A, B *putk-* ‘to divide’. ◊ CAMARDA I 132 (to Gk φύομαι ‘to grow’); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 107 (to Lith *spăudyti* ‘to smooth with, to mash’); WALDE-HOFMANN II 393-394; VAN WINDEKENS I 397.

**fushë** f, pl. *fusha* ‘plain, open field, meadow’. Borrowed from Lat *fossa* ‘ditch, trench, gutter’, also ‘furrow’, and originally describing an irrigated plot of land. Note that *fushatë* ‘campaign’ was formed already in Albanian, probably, as a calque of Ital *campagna* ‘country, campaign’. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 115 (borrowed from Lat *fūsum* ‘pouring, poured’); BARIĆ

ARSt. I 23 (reconstructs *\*p[thujām!]*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 120-121; ÇABEJ St. VII 238, 277.

**fyej** aor. *feva* 'to offend, to insult, to make a mistake'. Identical with *fėjej* 'to make a mistake' derived from *faj* (ÇABEJ St. I 201).

**fyell** ~ **fyll** m, pl. *fyej, fej, fyje* 'flute'. Goes back to PALb *\*spāli-* etymologically related to Gk σπήλαιον 'cave, cavern' < *\*'hollow'*. ◊ MEYER Wb. 108 (to *flojere*), Alb. St. V 76; BARIĆ ARSt I 21-22 (to Gk φυσάω 'to blow', Lat *pustula* 'bubble, blister'); TREIMER KZ LXV 103 (to Lith *pliūšė* 'rush, reed'); SKOK *Glasnik SND* II 297-299 (borrowed from Rom *\*vivula* 'viola'); FRISK II 765-766; ÇABEJ St. I 201-202 (from IE *\*spel-* 'to split').

**fyl** adj. 'hollow'. Akin to *fyell* (ÇABEJ St. I 202-203). Note *fyčkë* 'hollow, stupid' and *fyrbë* 'hollow' < *\*fylbë* derived from *fyl*. It is possible that *fyshtë* 'thoroughly baked (of bread)' and *fyshtër* 'Forsythia' also belong here (ibid.).

**fyt** m 'throat, gullet'. From PALb *\*spūta* etymologically related to Lat *spuō* 'to spit', *spūtum* 'spittle', Gk πτύω 'to spit' and the like (BARIĆ ARSt I 25). ◊ MEYER Wb. 115 (borrowed from Lat *fūtis* 'vessel, pitcher'); TREIMER KZ LXV 112 (to Skt *sphāvayati* 'to fatten, to strengthen' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 121, *Stratificazione* 88; FRISK II 617-618; WALDE-HOFMANN II 580-581; POKORNY I 999-1000; ÇABEJ St. VII 217, 258.

**fytyrë** f, pl. *fytyra* 'face'. Borrowed from Lat *factūra* 'formation, creature' (MEYER Wb. 116). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 305 (from Lat *faciēs* 'face'); BARIĆ *AarbSt* I 144; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1055 (from Ital *fattura* 'magic'); TAGLIAVINI *St. albanesi* III - IV 222, *Dalmazia* 116 (follows MEYER-LÜBKE); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 125; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 45-49; ÇABEJ St. I 203 (agrees with MEYER); LANDI *Lat.* 68, 121.

## G

**gabonjë** f, pl. *gabonja* 'eagle'. A suffixal formation in *-onjë* based on *\*gabë*, related to *shkabë* id. The latter consists of the prefix *sh-* and

the same stem (JOKL *LKUBA* 244, 304). The source is PALb \**gabā* that seems to go back to a cultural *Wanderwort* also attested in Lat *capus, capus* 'bird of prey' (ibid.). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 140.

**gacě** f, pl. *gaca* 'heat, hot ashes'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav \**garьsa*, diminutive of \**garь* 'ash, fire'. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 21 (from IE \**g<sup>h</sup>hor-tj-ā*, to \**g<sup>h</sup>her-* 'to be hot'), *ZONF X* 186; *CAMAJ Alb. Wortb.* 48; *ÇABEJ St. VII* 234; *DEMIRAJ AE* 174-175 (borrowed from Turk *garra* 'shining' or *kor*).

**gagač** m, pl. *gagačë* 'stammerer'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav \**gagačь* derived from \**gagati* 'to cackle, to shout', cf. in particular South Slavic reflexes: Maced *gaga*, SCr *gagati*.

**gajgě** f, pl. *gajga* 'kind of nut'. Borrowed from a diminutive Slav \**galьka* derived from \**gal'a* 'lump, pebble'.

**gajushě** f, pl. *gajusha* 'bush, shrubbery'. Derivative of \**gaj* borrowed from Slav \**gajь* 'grove, bush', cf. South Slavic reflexes: SCr *gaj*, Slovene *gaj* (POLÁK *ZfBalk I* 78).

**gak** m, pl. *geqe* 'boar'. From PALb \**gauka*, a derivative of IE \**g<sup>h</sup>ōu-* 'dung, excrements', similar to Maced γοτάν (leg. γοῦταν)· ὄν (Hes.) ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 117-118 (comparisons with Fr *coche* and Germ *Hacksch* 'breeding boar'); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 328 (secondary form of plural as demonstrated by the lack of palatalization in *g-*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 136-137; POKORNY *I* 484; *ÇABEJ St. I* 203-204 (related to *hakoç*).

**galamsh** m, pl. *galamsha* 'lame person'. A prefixal derivative of *lěmsh* (MEYER *Wb.* 119, 243). ◇ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 80-81 (from \**g<sup>h</sup>ou-* + *lam-sh*); *CAMAJ Alb. Wortb.* 107 (prefix *ga-*); *ÇABEJ St. I* 204.

**galě** f, pl. *gala* 'jackdaw; black sheep'. Borrowed from Slav \**gal'a* 'black animal, jackdaw' (MEYER *Wb.* 118). While the meaning 'black sheep' is attested in SCr *galja*, the meaning 'jackdaw' is known only in East Slavic: ORuss and Russ *gal'a*. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 198; *SVANE* 146.

**galině** f 'lump of earth'. A relatively early borrowing from Slav \**golina*

'empty place, hill without grass', with the unstressed \*-o- rendered as -a-.

**gamis** aor. *gamita* 'to bark'. Borrowed from Slav \**gamiti* 'to shout, to be noisy' unattested in South Slavic.

**gamule** f, pl. *gamule* 'heap'. A singularized plural of *gamulë* id. going back to PALb \**gamula* and etymologically identical with Lith *gāmulas* 'bale, lump', Slav \**gomola* id. The metathetized form *magulë* was borrowed to Rum *măgură*. ◊ CIHAC I 152 (Rum *măgură* from Lat *macula* = *maculum* 'bag'); MEYER *Wb.* 118-119 (to Slav \**mogyla* 'tomb, hill'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 18-19 (to Slav \**mogo* 'I can'); SCHWARZ *AfslPh* XLI 139 (borrowed from early Proto-Slavic \**magūla*); VALEK *ČMMZ* 14 (to Pre-Rom *ma-* and Slav \**gora* 'mountain'); ŠAHMATOV *AfslPh* XXXIII 91 (to Celt \**mogo-* 'great'); CHARPENTIER *KZ* XL 467 (to Av *maγa-* 'hole, pit'); GEORGIEV *Festschr. Rosetti* 287-290; FRAENKEL 132; POP *RP* 234-257; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; ZALIZN'AK *VSJa* 40; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 18-19; OREL *OLA* 1981 301-306 (a suffixal derivative of IE \**dhǵhōm* 'earth').

**gand** m 'accident, vice, defect'. From PALb \**ganda* further connected with Lith *gañdas* 'rumor', *gañdinti* 'to frighten', Latv *gañdēt* 'to spoil'. ◊ HELBIG 61, 121 (connected with *gēnjej* 'to deceive', of Italian origin); FRAENKEL 138-139; ÇABEJ *St.* I 204 (identical with *ganë*, participle of *gas*, cf. *ngas*); AJETI *ZfBalkV/2* 142-143 (*gandoj* from SCr *ganuti*).

**gangull** adv. 'whole; poached (of egg)'. Goes back to PALb \**gangula*, a suffixal derivative of \**ganga* connected with Lith *gānga* 'movement', *gāngytis* 'to move'. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 382 (to Gk γογγύλος); FRAENKEL 134.

**garbe** f, pl. *garbe* 'flower-pot'. A singularized plural of the original *garbë* going back to PALb \**gar(i)bā*. As the Slavic word for 'pot' \**gъrnъ* derived from the name of 'oven' \**gъrnъ* and further from IE \**g<sup>h</sup>her-* 'to burn', the Albanian lexeme is derived from the same Indo-European root. ◊ TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 210-211, *Rem. term.* 190-201.

**garbë** f, pl. *garba* 'notch, nick'. Goes back to PALb \**garbā* etymologically related to OIr *gerbach* 'wrinkled', ON *korpna* 'to get wrinkled',

OPrus \**garbis* 'mountain', Slav \**гѣrbъ* 'hump' and the like (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). ◇ TRAUTMANN *BSIWb.* 78; FRAENKEL 135; SLAWSKI *SEP* I 256.

**gardh** m, pl. *gardhe, gjerdhe* 'fence'. Continues PAIb \**garda* related to Goth *gards* 'house', Lith *gařdas* 'fence', Slav \**gordъ* 'town, fence' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 119-120, *Alb. St.* III 9, 72). Geg *gardhën* 'croze' is derived from *gardh*. Rum *gard* is an early Albanian loanword. ◇ WEIGAND *BA* IV 26-27 (borrowed from Slav \**gordъ*); SKOK *Slavia* III 115 (follows WEIGAND); FEIST *Goth.* 197-198; SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 147, 319 (a Slavic loanword); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 297-301 (corroborates MEYER's view); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 122, *Origini* 308; MANN *Language* XVII 19, *Language* XXVIII 35; PISANI *Saggi* 126; FRAENKEL 135; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 246; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 341; ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 37-38; ÇABEJ *St.* I 205; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; MURATI *Probleme* 130; DEMIRAJ *AE* 175.

**garë** f, pl. *gara* 'competition, race'. Continues PAIb \**garā* probably connected with Gk *χαίρω* 'to rejoice' and its derivatives, cf. in particular Gk *χάρμη* 'joy of battle; battle, fight'. Together with *χαίρω*, *garë* belongs to IE \**ǵher-* 'to wish, to feel inclination'. ◇ POKORNY I 440-441; FRISK II 1062-1064.

**gargull** adv. 'full'. From PAIb \**garg-ula* related to Lith *gařgalas, gargōlas* 'thickening, knotted thread, thread' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 260). ◇ FRAENKEL 134.

**gargull** m, pl. *garguj* 'starling'. A more rare variant is *garbull*. The source of this loanword is Rom \**galbulus* 'blackbird' (MEYER *Wb.* 119). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26 (from Lat *galgulus*); HAARMANN 128; ÇABEJ *St.* I 206.

**garris** aor. *garrita* 'to neigh'. Borrowed from an expressive verb, Slav \**gavъriti* ~ \**gavъrati* 'to tease, to spoil', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gavr'a*, SCr *gavrati*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 119 (borrowed from Lat *garrere* 'to chatter'); HAARMANN 128; TZITZILIS *LB* XXX/2 102; ÇABEJ *St.* I 206 (onomatopoeia); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VI 112-113.

**gashtellë** f, pl. *gashtellë* 'knee-cap'. A suffixal derivative of *gashtë* id.



that may be identified with *gashtë* 'whetstone'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244 (to *shtjell*).

**gashtë** f, pl. *gashta* 'whetstone'. From PALb *\*galstā*, a suffixal derivative related to Lith *gālas* 'end', Latv *gals* id. A similar motivation in a word for 'whetstone' may be traced in Lith *budē* 'fungus; whetstone'. On the other hand, it is extremely tempting to compare *gashtë* with Lith *galąsti* 'to sharpen', *galąstuvus* 'whetstone', Latv *galuōda* 'whetstone' but this is only possible if these verbs are analyzed as *\*gal-and-*, i.e. not according to the accepted view according to which *\*gland-* is reconstructed. ◊ BOGA I 324; FRAENKEL 130; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195, 244.

**gatë** f, pl. *gata* 'heron'. From PALb *\*gatā* continuing *\*ghytā*, a derivational variant of IE *\*ghan-s-* 'goose', cf. Gmc *\*ganta* < IE *\*ghand-*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 121 (borrowed from Rom *\*ganta* 'stork, wild goose' > Fr *jante*, Prov *ganta* with serious phonetic and dialectal complications); PISANI *Saggi* 123; POKORNY I 412-413; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31 (from Rom *\*catta*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195; HAARMANN 116.

**gatuaj** ~ **gatuēj** aor. *gatova* 'make ready, prepare'. Note that *gat* 'ready', *gati* id. are secondary formations based on the verb which is an early Slavic loanword, from *\*gotovati*, *\*gotoviti* 'make ready, prepare'. As in *patkua* < *\*rodъkova*, *-ua-* < *\*-ōu-* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; JOKL *IF* XLIX 277) renders Slav *\*-ova-* with a bilabial *v* [ʋ] (OREL *LB* XXIX/4 70). Rum *gata* 'ready' was borrowed from Albanian. ◊ CAMARDA I 130 (to Gk ἀγαθός 'good, fine'); MEYER *Wb.* 121 (treats *gat* and Slav *\*gotovъ* 'ready' as cognates), *Alb. St.* III 7, 23; JOKL *IF* XLIX 290, L 36; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 122; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3341; ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; HAMP *RRL* XVIII/4 333-345; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 198; TRUBAČEV *ESSJa* VII 70-72; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 152.

**gath** m, pl. *gathë* 'catkin'. A deminutive in *-th* of an unattested *\*gat* borrowed from Rom *\*gat(t)us* 'cat' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 261). For the meaning cf. Germ *Kätzchen* and E *catkin*.

**gavër** f, pl. *gavra* 'hole'. From PALb *\*ga-wara*, a prefixal derivative related to *varr* (MEYER *Wb.* 37). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.

**gaz** m, pl. *gaze* 'joy, laughter'. From Lat *gaudium* 'joy' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 120). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1052;

TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 122; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230, 267; HAARMANN 128; HULD 65-66; LANDI *Lat.* 72, 125.

**gdhe** ~ **gdhĕ** m, pl. *gdhenj* 'gnarl, knot'. Another variant in Tosk is *gdhĕ*. From PALb \**ga-daina*, a prefixal formation based on an adjective in \*-*no-* that belongs to the same root as Skt *dáyate* 'to divide', Gk δαίωμα id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 471 (links *gdhe* to *gdhend* and, further, to *vgje*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 207 (connects *gdhe* with *gdhend*); ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ (to OHG *tanna* 'fir-tree'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 175.

**gdhend** aor. *gdhenda* 'to plane'. In Old Albanian there is a parallel form *dhend* (BOGDANI). A denominative verb derived from *gdhe* with a suffix -*d-* < \*-*t-*. Thus, one might reconstruct PALb \**ga-den-ta* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 471 (compares *gdhend* with *vgje*); JOKL *Studien* 21-22 (to ON *detta* 'to hit, to strike'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 241; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 106; FRISK I 341-342; MAYRHOFER II 20-21; POKORNY I 175-176; ÇABEJ *St.* I 207 (follows JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 175-176.

**gdhij** ~ **gdhĭj** aor. *gdhiva* ~ *gdhina* 'to stay awake at night'. Also used impersonally as *u gdhi* 'the day began'. Goes back to a prefixal \**ga-deinja* related to *din* (JOKL *Studien* 22). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 546; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242 (from \**ditnja*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 176.

**gegĕ** m, pl. *gegĕ* 'Geg, North Albanian'. An onomatopoeia of babbling, indistinct speech as contrasted to *shqipe*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193, 249.

**gem** m 'branch'. Together with *gemb* id., a phonetic variant of *gjemb* (JOKL *Studien* 26-28). The adjective *gemtĕ* 'crooked' is derived from *gem*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 122 (from Ital *gambo* 'stem, stalk'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 207 (agrees with JOKL).

**ger** m, pl. *gera* 'squirrel'. From PALb \**gaura* related to Lith *gaūras* 'hair, down, tuft of hair', Latv *gauri* 'pubic hair', Mĭr *gúaire* 'hair' and describing the squirrel as 'furry'. ◊ FRAENKEL 140; POKORNY I 397-398.

**gĕlbazĕ** f, pl. *gĕlbaza* 'liver illness of sheep caused by worms'. Another variant is *kĕlbazĕ*. Borrowed from Slav \**kĕlbasa* 'stuffed gut, sausage', a derivative of \**kĕlbъ* 'stomach (of animals)' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 261). The irregular change of Slav \*-*s-* > Alb -*z-* is explained

by the analogical influence of suffixal forms in *-az(ë)*. Rum *gälbează, cälbează* is borrowed from Albanian. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 222 (to *qelb*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 338 ; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz.* VIII 155 (to *kalb*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224, 233.

**gëloj** aor. *gëlova* 'to burst out; to be gathered, to be accumulated, to blaze (of fire)'. A denominative continuing PAIb *\*gal-ānja* related to OHG *quellan* 'to well up, to pour out, to stream from', Skt *gālati* 'to drip, to drop, to ooze'. ◊ KLUGE 574; MAYRHOFER I 329; POKORNY I 471-472.

**gëlltis** aor. *gëlltita* 'to swallow'. Borrowed from Slav *\*gьltati ~ \*gьltiti* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *gьltam* 'to swallow', SCr *gutati* 'to swallow', *gutiti* 'to squeeze', Slovene *goltiti* 'to swallow' (SVANE 254).

**gëras** aor. *gërita* 'to creak'. An onomatopoeia of uncertain origin.

**gërbë** f, pl. *gërba* 'hump'. Borrowed from Slav *\*gьrba* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 123), cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gьrba*, SCr *grba*. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 188, 195; SVANE 184.

**gërbulë** f 'mange, scab, lepra'. From PAIb *\*garb-uli-*. Derived from *garbë* 'notch, nick' and thus formally identical with Lith *garbūlis* 'hairlock'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 125 (to *gërvish*); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 95 (derivative of *kalb*); FRAENKEL 154; ÇABEJ *St.* I 208 (agrees with LA PIANA).

**gërç** m 'convulsion, cramp'. Borrowed from Slav *\*gьrčьb* id., a variant of *\*kьrčьb*, cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *grčь*, SCr *grč* (MEYER *Wb.* 125). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 124; SVANE 184, 232.

**gërçak** m 'jug, pitcher'. Another variant is *kërçak*. Borrowed from Slav *\*kьrčagь* 'clay vessel, pitcher', cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *krčagь*, Bulg *kьrčag*, SCr *krčag* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 190). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 153; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 78; SVANE 74.

**gërdallë** f 'old horse'. Derivative based on Slav *\*gьrdьb* 'ugly, bad; proud', cf. *gërditet*.

**gërditet** refl. 'to feel sickened, to be sick'. Borrowed from Slav \**gьrditi* 'to be proud', in some languages also - 'to feel bad, to be sick' as in SCr *grditi*, Slovene *grdeti se* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 123). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 191, 289; SVANE 182, 232.

**gërdhatë** f, pl. *gërdhata* 'barren, rugged mountain chain'. As well as *gerdhele* 'boulder, clod' and *gerdhet* 'cellar', a derivative of *gardh*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 208 (divides *gerdhet* into a prefix *ge(r)*- and a root *dhe* 'earth').

**gërdhij** aor. *gërdhiva* 'to scratch'. Continues PALb \**grad-inja*, a denominative verb with \**grad-* < \**ghr̥ndh-* related to OE *grindan* 'to grind', Lith *gréndžiu*, *grésti* 'to scrape, to scratch'. ◊ FRAENKEL 167; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 137-138.

**gërfej** m 'cave with two entrances'. Apparently, this dialectal word from Mirdita was misintepreted as far as its meaning is concerned. Perhaps, the original meaning was 'study, office room'. Its source is, clearly, MGk γραφείον 'record-office, registry'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 208 (prefix *gër-* followed by *-fej*, plural of *fyell*).

**gërgalle** f, pl. *gërgalle* 'rocky area'. A singularized plural of \**gërgallë* further related to *gargull* and continuing PALb \**garg-alā*.

**gërgas** aor. *gërgita* 'to irritate, to incite'. Borrowed from SCr *grgati* 'to tinket, to putter, to pick (teeth or nose)'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 123 (onomatopoeia); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 125; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242.

(G) **gërhanë** f, pl. *gërhanë* 'card, hackle'. Another form is *kërhanë*. Singularized plural of *krehër* ~ *krahen* 'comb' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 208). Note the voicing of the initial *k-* as in many other examples.

**gërhas** aor. *gërhita* 'to snore'. Borrowed from Slav \**kъrxati* 'to cough, to expectorate', represented in South Slavic by SCr *krhati* (MEYER *Wb.* 123-124, *Alb. St.* IV 103). ◊ LA PIANA *Studi* I 70 (reconstructs \**gri-khak-ið*), *St. Varia* 32-33 (from \**gher-ghark-ið*, to Skt *gharghara-* 'thundering, ringing'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 208-209 (onomatopoeia or a cognate of *grahmë*); SVANE 261.

**gërk** m, pl. *gërqe* 'Greek'. A parallel form of singular is *gërq*. Borrowed from Slav \**grькъ* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *grьk*, SCr *grk* (MEYER

*Wb.* 124). The feminine form *gërqinjë* goes back to Slav \**grьkyuni* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20). Cf. also *grek.* ∅ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197; ÇABEJ *St.* I 213.

**gërlac** m 'windpipe'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav \**gьrdlačь* or directly derived from Slav \**gьrdlo* 'throat' (MEYER *Wb.* 124).

**gërlas** aor. *gërlata* 'to bend'. Of obscure origin.

**gërlicë** f 'turtle dove'. Borrowed from Slav \**gьrdlica* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *gьrlica*, SCr *grlica* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 125).

**gërmadhë** f, pl. *gërmadha* 'ruin'. A relatively early borrowing from Slav \**gromada* 'heap, mass', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gramada*, *grьmada*, SCr *gramada* (MEYER *Wb.* 124). ∅ MANN *Language* XVII 12; SVANE 52.

**gërmis** aor. *gërmita* 'to pick, to gnaw'. A denominative based on *grimë*.

**gërmoj** aor. *gërmova* 'to dig'. A denominative verb derived from *gërmë* 'letter' in its otherwise unattested meaning 'line, scratch' so that the original meaning of *gërmoj* would be 'to scratch lines'. If so, *gërmë* must be considered a borrowing from ancient Greek rather than a loan from NGk γράμμα the only meaning of which is 'letter' and which is reflected in Albanian as *gramë*. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 125 (to *gërvish*), 128 (*gërmë* < NGk γράμμα); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254-255.

**gërmuq** adv. 'crooked'. An expressive derivative of *gërmoj*.

**gërshas** aor. *grisha* 'to invite'. A variant of *grish*, aor. *grisha* id. Originally, from PALb \**grisa*, a zero grade of IE \**g<sup>h</sup>er-*: Skt *gr̥hāti* 'to call, to invoke', Lith *giriù*, *girti* 'to praise' (JOKL *IF* XXXVI 133). ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 124 (to Lith *gařšas* 'sound'), *Alb. St.* III 7, 72; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 44; FRAENKEL 154; MAYRHOFER I 343; POKORNY I 478; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 224; HAMP apud SCHRIJVER *BC* 143 (to Celt \**bardos* 'bard' < \**barsdo-* < \**g<sup>h</sup>rs-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 180.

**gërshet** m, pl. *gërsheta* 'plait'. A parallel form is *kërshet*. The source of this word is Gk κορσωτός 'tasseled (hair)', cf. also κορσωτήρ 'barber'.

◇ MEYER *Wb.* 124 (to Ital *grisola* 'wicker-work'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 209-210 (divides the word into *gë(r)*- and *-shet*, the latter to be compared with *shatë*).

**gërshërë** ~ **gërshanë** f, pl. *gërshërë* ~ *gërshanë* 'scissors'. Borrowed from Rom *\*carsānia*, an irregular phonetic transformation of *\*caesānia*, cf. Ital *cesoie* id. < Rom *\*carsōria*. ◇ CAMARDA I 66 (to IE *\*kers-* 'to cut'); MEYER *Wb.* 124 (reconstructs Rom *\*carpsōria* as a source); JOKL *LKUBA* 155-157 (to IE *\*sker-* 'to cut'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

**gërthapë** pl. 'garden scissors; claw, nipper (of a scorpion)'. Another variant is *gëthapë*. Together with the umlauticized form *gëthep* 'hook', continues PALb *\*ga-tsap-* related to *thep*.

**gërthas** aor. *gërthita* 'to cry, to shout'. A variant of *kërcas*, with the dialectal substitution *-th-* > *-c-* and the voicing of the anlaut. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

**gërthël** f, pl. *gërthëla* 'crab, crayfish'. From PALb *\*karts-ila* with a secondary voicing of the anlaut. Related to Skt *karka-* 'crab', Gk *καρκίνοç* 'crab, crayfish', Lat *cancer* id. ◇ MAYRHOFER I 169; FRISK I 789-780; WALDE-HOFMANN I 151; POKORNY I 531.

**gërvish** aor. *gërvisha* 'to scratch'. Another variant is *gërvisht*. As other derivatives in *-ish(t)*, this is a secondary formation based on *\*gërvij*. The source of the latter remains unclear. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 125 (from Slav *\*grebq* 'to rake up').

**gërresë** f, pl. *gërresa* 'scraper'. From PALb *\*garatjā*, a suffixal derivative of an unattested *o*-grade noun *\*gara* based on *grij* (MEYER *Wb.* 130). Borrowed to Rum *gresie*. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 9-10 (suffix *-esë*), 23-24 (related to OHG *krazzōn* 'to scratch'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3342; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278.

**gërric** aor. *gërrica* 'to scratch with nails'. A denominative verb connected with *gërresë*.

**gërryej** ~ **gërryj** aor. *gërreva* 'to scrape, to scour'. A denominative verb connected with *gërresë*. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 23-24 (from *\*grēd-*, cf. OHG *krazzōn* 'to scratch'); MANN *Language* XVII 15, XXVIII 35 (to Gk

χαίνω); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to various forms in *gërr-/kër-*); DEMIRAJ AE 177-178 (prefix *gë-*).

**gësh tallë** f 'splint, piece of wood'. A parallel form is *kësh tallë*. Goes back to PALb *\*ka-stalnā*, a prefixal derivative related to *shtjell* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 210-211).

**gësh tenjë** f, pl. *gësh tenja* 'chestnut'. Together with a parallel form *kësh tenjë*, borrowed from Lat *castanea* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 12; MEYER *Wb.* 191). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 279; HAARMANN 115; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 81, 97.

**gëzof** m, pl. *gëzofë* 'fur, pelt'. Borrowed from Gk γάουσαπος 'frieze' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 29), the latter itself being an Oriental loanword (from Akk *guzippu* ~ *kuzippu*). The phonetic details of the Albanian word, however, remain irregular: the place of the stress, the voiced *-z-*, the vowel of the second syllable and the auslaut *-f* do not correspond exactly to the Greek form. They could be better explained by a Greek dialectal or Macedonian γανσῶφος. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 125; JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 585 (borrowed from an ancient Balkan language to Albanian and Greek), JOKL *Beiträge* (< *\*g'ðu-di-āpos* 'bovine'); FRISK I 202.

**gëzhojë** f, pl. *gëzhoja* 'nut shell'. A singularized plural of *gëzhollë* which is a metathetic form of *zhgoll* ~ *zhguall*. The latter is a prefixal derivative of *guall* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 211). ◊ HELBIG 78 (borrowed from Ital *guscio* 'nut shell').

**gica** pl. 'first teeth of an infant'. A word of the expressive vocabulary. Cf. also *gic* 'darling'.

**gilcë** f, pl. *gilca* 'sinew'. Other variants are *gilzë* ~ *kilzë* 'groin, hollow of knee or elbow'. The word is derived from an unattested *\*kilë* going back to PALb *\*kūlā* and identical with Lith *kūla* 'thickening, swelling', Slav *\*kyla* id. ◊ FRAENKEL 306; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XIII 262-263.

**gisht** m, pl. *gishta*, *gishtëra* ~ *gishtna*, *gishtërinj* 'finger, thumb'. The Greek-Albanian and South Tosk form *glisht* leads to the reconstruction of PALb *\*glista*. Related to Lith *gėlti* 'to prick, to sting', *gālas* 'end, tip' and

the like (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIX 393; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 125). ◇ BOPP 498 (to Skt *aṅguṣṭhā-* 'thumb'); MEYER *Wb.* 141 (follows BOPP); BRUGMANN *IF* XI 285-286 n. 1 (to Gk βλιμάζω 'to feel hens to see if they are fat'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 167 (to Skt *aṅgūli-* 'finger, thumb'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 547 (to Slav \**gъrstь* 'handful'), *Kelt. Gr.* I 79 (to Arm *čiwł* 'twig, finger'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 123, *Stratificazione* 88-89; PISANI *Saggi* 132; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 124; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147, *Ētimologija* 1986-1987 222-224 (reconstructs \**glista* but connects it with *ngjis*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; DEMIRAJ *AE* 178-179 (to *W bys*, OCorn *bis, bes* 'finger').

**glasĚ** f, pl. *glasa* 'bird's droppings'. Borrowed from Rom \**galliātia*, a derivative of Lat *gallus* 'rooster', cf. Rum *găinaț* 'fowl's droppings' < \**gallnātia* (MEYER *Wb.* 122). ◇ PUȘCARIU *EWB* 60; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16 (from Lat *gallinācea*); LANDI *Lat.* 137-138.

**gledhĚ** f, pl. *gledha* 'caress'. From PALb \**gladā*, a substantivized adjective related to Lat *glaber* 'smooth', OHG *glat* 'shining, even, smooth', Lith *glodūs* 'smooth', Slav \**gladъкъ* id., \**gladiti* 'to caress'. ◇ FRAENKEL 158; WALDE-HOFMANN I 603; POKORNY I 432; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* VI 114-116.

**glepĚ** f, pl. *glepa* 'matter from eyes, rheum (in eyes)'. Also attested as *gĚlepĚ*. From PALb \**ka-laipā*, derived from IE \**leip-* 'to smear with fat' (JOKL *LKUBA* 314). For the development of the prefix \**ka-* see *gloq.* ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 125 (thinks of OHG *chlĕbĕn* 'to glue'), *Alb. St.* III 31; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to MHG *klepe*); POKORNY I 670-671; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 101 (adduces a dubious variant *gĚlapĚ*); ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 214 (against CAMAJ); OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 427; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to *lyej*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 176-177 (to Gk λoπός 'shell, scale').

**glinĚ** f 'clay'. Borrowed from Slav \**glina* 'clay', cf. in particular South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *glina*, SCr *glina* (JOKL *Studien* 109). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173, 308; SVANE 169.

**gliqe** pl. 'knee tendons'. A suffixal derivative going back to \**gĚliqe* and further connected with *gilcĚ*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 126 (borrowed from Slav \**kl'uka* 'stick, cane').

**glistĚr** f, pl. *glistra* 'rainworm'. Derived from \**glistĚ* borrowed from



Slav *\*glista* 'worm', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *glista*, SCr *glista* (SVANE 157).

**gloq** m, pl. *gloq* 'matter from eyes, rheum (in eyes), testis'. Note a dialectal form *gëluq*. Goes back to PALb *\*ka-lāukja*, a formation with a prefix *\*ka-* occasionally voiced in Albanian. The stem reflects a lengthening of IE *\*leuk-* 'to shine; shining, white' and is also found in *loqe* (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 427). ◇ POKORNY I 687-690.

**gllanik** m, pl. *gllanikë* 'hearth stone'. Borrowed from Slav *\*golъnikъ* derived from *\*golvn'a* 'charred log, charcoal', cf. Bulg *glavn'a*, SCr *glavnja* (JOKL *Studien* 108, LKUBA 315). ◇ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 19-20 (from Bulg *klanik* 'space between the fireplace and the wall'); BARIĆ *AarbSt* I 216 (agrees with JOKL); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 149, 307; KRISTOFORI 64; ÇABEJ *St. I* 211-212 (supports VASMER); SVANE 56.

**gllavinë** f, pl. *gllavina* 'wheel hub'. Borrowed from Slav *\*golvina* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *glavina*, SCr *glavina* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 11). ◇ SVANE 35.

**gobellë** f, pl. *gobella* 'deep place (in water)'. Together with *gobetë* 'hollow', derived from *\*gobë* continuing PALb *\*gāubā*, further etymologically connected with Lith *gaūbti* 'to cover, to wrap', Slav *\*gъhnōti* 'to bend'. ◇ FRAENKEL 140; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 188-189.

**gocë** f, pl. *goca* 'girl'. Derived from *gop*.

**gocë** f, pl. *goca* 'oyster'. Other variants are *guacë*, *guaskë*, *guazë* describing any shell. A derivative of *guall* (ÇABEJ *St. I* 212).

**godas** aor. *godita* 'to strike, to beat'. Borrowed from Slav *\*goditi* used in a meaning unattested in South Slavic (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 126). ◇ SVANE 229, 232.

**godinë** f, pl. *godina* 'building'. An Albanian derivative of *godis*.

**godis** aor. *godita* 'to build'. Historically identical with *godas*, this verb has a meaning developed in Albanian from a different usage of *godis*

'to fit, to adjust' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 123). ◇ MLADENOV *Ist.* 77; REITER *ZfBalk* VII/1-2 125-129.

**gogěl** f, pl. *gogla* 'ball, acorn'. A descriptive stem. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 78 (to *gogě*, an expressive word denoting 'Vlach'); JOKL *Studien* 24-25 (to OHG *chliuwa* 'ball', Lat *galla* 'gall-nut' and the like); DEMIRAJ *AE* 179 (reduplicated stem related to Arm *katin* 'acorn', Gk βάλανος id.).

**gogěsij** aor. *gogěsiva*, *gogěsita* 'to yawn'. An expressive formation (MEYER *Wb.* 126). ◇ DEMIRAJ *AE* 179 (to Gk χάσκω 'to yawn').

**gojě** f, pl. *gojě* 'mouth'. As immediately clear from the variant *golě* preserving *-l-*, this element of the basic vocabulary is an Italian loanword from *gola* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 126). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31 (from Lat *gula*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 123.

**golle** f, pl. *golle* 'hole'. A singularized plural based on \**goll* borrowed from Gk γωλεός 'cave, cavern'.

**gomě** f, pl. *goma* 'resin'. Borrowed from Rom \**gumma*, a variant of Lat *gummi*.

**gomilě** f, pl. *gomila* 'heap of stones, stone hill'. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *gomila* id., SCr *gomila* id., metathesis of Slav \**mogyla* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19).

**gop** m 'vagina, vulva'. From PALb \**gāupā* related to Gk γύπη 'cave', ON *kofi* id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 21). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 89; FRISK I 335; POKORNY I 395-396.

**gorricě** f, pl. *gorrica* 'wild pear'. Borrowed from Slav \**gorьnica*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gornica* (MEYER *Wb.* 127). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164, 309; SVANE 125.

**gosě** f, pl. *gosa* 'water-hole'. Continues PALb \**gātjā* formally close to Slav \**gatь*/*\*gatъ* 'dam, pool' and Skt *gātú-* 'passage, way'. ◇ TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* VI 108-109.

**gostis** aor. *gostita* 'to receive guests'. Borrowed from Slav \**gostiti* id.:

Bulg *gost'a*, SCr *gostiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 127).  
 ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 183, 191; MLADENOV *Ist.* 77; MANN *Language* XVII 12; SVANE 212, 233.

**gozhdě** f, pl. *gozhdě, gozhda* 'nail'. Borrowed from Slav \**gvozdъ* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *gvozd*, dialectal *gozd*, SCr *gvozd* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 128). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 124; HAMP *LB XIV/2* 12; SVANE 30, 88, 229.

**gozhup** m. pl. *gozhupa* 'lambskin waistcoat'. Borrowed from Bulg dial. *kožuf, kužuf* 'leather-coat, fur-coat', Maced *kožuv* id. continuing Slav \**kožuxъ*.

**grabě** f, pl. *graba* 'erosion, hollowing out'. From PALb \**grabā* etymologically related to OHG *grab* 'grave', Slav \**grabъ* id. and other derivatives of IE \**ghrebh-* 'to dig' (MANN *Language* XXVI 380). ◇ POKORNY I 455-456; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* VII 133-134.

**grabis** aor. *grabita* 'to steal, to rob'. Borrowed from Slav \**grabiti* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *grab'a*, SCr *grabiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 128). ◇ BOPP *Gr. comp.* I 66 (related to Slav \**grabiti*); JOKL *IF XLIX* 295; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 124; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178, 191; MLADENOV *Ist.* 77; SVANE 233.

**gradě** f, pl. *grada* 'nest'. Borrowed from Slav \**gordъ* 'fence, wall, town', cf. Bulg *grad*, SCr *grad*. Note the change of gender in Albanian.

**gradině** f, pl. *gradina* 'garden'. Borrowed from Slav \**gordina*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *gradina*, SCr *gradina*. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 128). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 151; SVANE 58.

**grah ~ graf** aor. *graha ~ grafa* 'to spur on, to call, to roar'. From PALb \**graska* etymologically related to Skt *grāṭi* 'to call, to invoke', Lith *giriù, girti* 'to praise'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 128 (to Goth *hrops* 'call' and the like); FRAENKEL 154; MAYRHOFER I 343; POKORNY I 478; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200-201.

**gram** m. pl. *grama, gramra ~ gramna* 'couch-grass, knot-grass'. Bor-

rowed from Rom \**grāma* (> Spanish *grama*) replacing Lat *grāmen* 'grass' (MEYER *Wb.* 128). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 128; LANDI *Lat.* 103, 147.

**grashině** f, pl. *grashina* 'vetch, sweet pea'. Borrowed from Slav \**goršina* 'pea', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *grašina* (JOKL *LKUBA* 185). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 326; SVANE 104.

**grath** m, pl. *grathē* 'tooth, prong (of a device), bristle'. A deminutive derived from PAIb \**graba*, an *o*-grade noun related to *kreh*.

**gravě** f, pl. *grava* 'cave, den, lair'. From PAIb \**gravā* etymologically identical with Lith *griovà*, Latv *grava*, *ggrava* 'ravine, precipitous valley', OPrus *grauvus* 'side' further connected with Lith *griūti* 'to decline, to collapse', Latv *grūt* id. (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 261). ◊ TRAUTMANN *APSpr.* 342; FRAENKEL 171.

**grazhd** m, pl. *grazhde* 'manger'. Borrowed from South-Eastern Slavic, cf. Bulg *gražd* id. < Slav \**gordjъ* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 129). ◊ MLADENOV *Ist.* 77.

**grebash** m, pl. *grebasha* 'rake'. Borrowed from Slav \**grebašъ*, a derivative based on \**grebo*, \**grebti* 'to rake'. ◊ TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* VII 109-110.

**grehull** m, pl. *grehuj* 'thicket'. Derived from *greh*, a variant of *kreh*.

**grek** m, pl. *grekě* 'Greek'. Borrowed from Lat *graecus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 124 (from Ital *greco*); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197 (agrees with MEYER); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1043; MILETIĆ *Sp. BAN XVI/9* 35-42 (from West Macedonian with \**z* > [ä]); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 128; ÇABEJ *St. I* 213 (follows MEYER-LÜBKE); LANDI *Lat.* 71, 140.

**grellě** f, pl. *grella* 'deep place'. Continues PAIb \**gritlā* with a secondary *e* < \**i* based on the analogy with *i* < \**e* in singularized plurals. PAIb \**gritlā* is formally identical with Lith *gurklỹs* 'crop', OPrus *gurcle* 'throat', Slav \**gъrdlo* id., cf. also \**žerdlo* 'river-bed; opening'. Together with Balto-Slavic, the Proto-Albanian word reflects IE \**gʰrtlom* (OREL *Fort.* 79). ◊ POKORNY I 475; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* VII 204-205.

**grep** m, pl. *grepa* 'hook, fish-hook'. A more archaic form of the word is preserved in its variant *gërjepë*. It continues PALb \**ga-repa* related to *rjep*. Note *grremç* < \**grepç* id. as one of derivatives of *grep*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 129 (borrowed from Ital *grappa* 'hook'); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 242; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3342; ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; ÇABEJ *St.* I 218 (on *grremç* as derived from *grem* ~ *grep*).

**grerë ~ grenzë** f, pl. *grera*, *grerëz* ~ *grenëz*, *grenza* 'wasp, hornet'. From PALb \**graisnā* < \**grisinā* that, despite its voiced anlaut, must be equated with Lat *crābrō* 'hornet', OHG *hornaꝥ* id., Lith *širšuō* id., Slav \**sr̥šěny* id. ◊ CAMARDA I 346 (to Skt *gar-* 'to swallow'); JOKL *LKUBA* 89 (singularized plural in Geg); KLUGE 316; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Gk βρομή), *Language* XXVIII 35; FRAENKEL 988; WALDE-HOFMANN I 283-284; POKORNY I 576; VASMER IV 432; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

**greth** m 'flax-combings'. Derived from *kreh* (MEYER *Wb.* 204).

**grëmëratë** f 'beestings, clots of curdled milk'. Borrowed from Lat *glomeratum*, participle of *glomerare* 'to wind into a ball, to gather into a round heap', with assimilation of *liquida*. Borrowed to NGk γραμινάτα with a dissimilation of sonorants. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 130 (from Rom \**cremoratum*), *Alb. St.* V 78-79 (goes back to Lat *glomus* 'ball'); PASCU *RE* 56 (from Arum \**grumurata*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 204, 258.

**grifshë** f, pl. *grifsha* 'jay, magpie'. Borrowed from Rom \**gripsa* based on Lat *gryps* 'griffin'. The form *grizhël* 'magpie' seems to be a form of *grifshë*. ◊ CAMARDA II 71 (from Gk γρῦψ 'griffin'); MEYER *Wb.* 130 (from Friul *gripp* 'kind of bird' or Ital *griva* 'thrush'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 214-215 (related to *krip* 'hair', *krife*).

**grifshë** f, pl. *grifsha* 'arbutus, wild strawberry-tree'. A metaphoric use of *grifshë* 'mane' for a bushy tree. Other variants are *krifshë* and *kripçë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 291-292 (to *krife*).

**grifshë** f, pl. *grifsha* 'mane'. Derived from \**grifë* id., a variant of *krife*.

**grigj** m, pl. *grigje* 'flock, herd'. Another variant is fem. *grigjë*. Borrowed from Lat *gregem* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente*

31; MEYER *Wb.* 130). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1052; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 132-134; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 129; ÇABEJ *St.* I 215; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 85, 103.

**grih** aor. *griha* 'to sharpen'. From PALb \**greiska* etymologically related to Gk χρίω 'to rub, to anoint, to prick', Lith *griejù, griëti* 'to scoop cream from milk, to take hold of'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 130 (identified with *grij*); FRAENKEL 168; FRISK II 1120; POKORNY I 457; ÇABEJ *St.* I 215-216.

**grij** ~ **grĭj** aor. *griva, grijta* 'to cut into pieces, to gnaw, to eat away'. From PALb \**grinja* etymologically related to IE \**g<sup>h</sup>er-* 'to swallow': Skt *girāti*, Arm *eker*, Lat *vorō*, Lith *geriù, gérti* 'to drink', Slav \**žerti* (MEYER *Wb.* 130, *Alb. St.* III 8). Another derivative of the same root is preserved in *gris* 'to wear out, to tear'. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 23-24 (to *gërrye*), *Slavia* XIII 321; LA PIANA *Studi* I 66 (to *grurë*); MAYRHOFER I 335; FRAENKEL 148-149; POKORNY I 474-476; WALDE-HOFMANN II 836; AFCVTH II 62-63; ÇABEJ *St.* I 216 (to Gk χόνδρος 'granule, lump (of salt)' and OE *grindan* 'to grind').

**grill** m 'lumpy soil, waste land, slate'. Borrowed from Lat *gracilis* 'poor (of soil)'.

**grimë** f, pl. *grima* 'crumb, bit'. From PALb \**grima* derived from *grij*. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Lat *grūmus* 'heap').

**grindë** f, pl. *grinda* 'quarrel'. A suffixal derivative of *grij* reflecting PALb \**grin-tā*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 131 (borrowed from Ital *grinta* 'wrath').

**gromëšij** aor. *gromëšita, gromëšiva* 'to belch'. The Geg variant *gropëšij* is phonetically closer to its source - *gropoj* 'to dig out', *gropë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 216-217). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 131 (based on Slav \**gromъ* 'thunder'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 36 (to Latv *grēmens* 'heartburn'); HAMP *LB* XIV/2 15 (follows MEYER).

**gropë** f, pl. *gropa* 'pit, hole, grave'. Borrowed from OHG *crōpa* (FRIEDWAGNER *ZfromPhil* XXXIX 234), probably via Rum *groapă* id. ◊ CAMARDA I 50 (to Gk κρύπτω 'to hide'); MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20 (from Slav \**grobъ* 'grave'); MEYER *Wb.* 131 (same as MIKLOSICH); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 342; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 14 (early Slavic loanword); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230; MURATI *Probleme* 130.

**groshě** f, pl. *groshě* 'bean, lentil'. Borrowed from Slav \**goršb*, an adjective derived from \**gorxъ* 'pea' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 132). Note the West Slavic development of the inlaut group \*-or- that may reflect an extinct dialectal source of the word. As to *groshull* 'chick-pea', it seems to be a recent Albanian derivative of *groshě*. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 326 (follows MEYER); JOKL *LKUBA* 184 (also agrees with MEYER), *Slavia* XIII 307-309 (related to ON *graur* 'grits', Latv *graūds* 'grain, corn'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 217-218 (etymologically connected with Slav \**gorxъ*).

**grozhěl** f, pl. *grozhla* 'vetch'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav \**grozdblъ*, a derivative of \**grozdbъ* 'cluster'.

**grua** ~ **grue** f, pl. *gra* 'woman, wife'. From PALb \**grāwā* related to Gk γραῦς 'old woman' (CAMARDA I 39, 65; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 276). The latter is further connected with IE \**ĝerǵ-* 'to become old'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 132 (from IE \**ĝnōn-*, to \**ĝen-* 'woman, wife' but \*-n- would be preserved in Geg); BRUGMANN *IF* IX 372 (on the derivational structure of γραῦς); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 155; BARIĆ *ARSt* 71; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 126, *Stratificazione* 115-116; LA PIANA *Studi* I 20; BARIĆ *Hymje* 49; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; FRISK I 324; POKORNY I 390-391; KÖDDERITZSCH *Festschr. Schmidt* 67-76; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 264; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 685; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 381; HULD 66; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (borrowed from γραῦς); DEMIRAJ *AE* 180-181.

**grumbull** m, pl. *grumbuj* 'heap, crowd'. Another variant is *grumull*. Continues PALb \**grumbula* etymologically comparable with Lith *grūmbulis* 'hump, uneven place' and its cognates connected with *grūblas* 'uneven place, hillock' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 261). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31 (from Lat *grūmulus*); MEYER *Wb.* 132 (from Ital *grumolo* 'cabbage-stump'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049 (from Lat *grūmulus* 'little hill, hillock'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 31 (to Lith *grūmulas*); FRAENKEL 172-173.

**grurě** ~ **gruně** m/n 'wheat'. From PALb \**grunā*, singularized pl. neut. going back to IE \**ĝfnom* 'grain' (CAMARDA I 85; LA PIANA *Studi* I 66, 94): Lat *grānum*, OIr *grán*, Goth *kaurn*, Lith *žirnis*, Slav \**zbrno* (an adjective in \*-no- the meaning of which is clear from Skt *jūrṇá-*, *jīrṇá-* 'old, decayed, withered'). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30 (borrowed from Lat *grānum*); MEYER *Wb.* 133, *Alb. St.* III 8, IV 105 (agrees

with MIKLOSICH); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1054 (follows MEYER); BARIĆ *AarbSt.* II 414 (links *grurë* to Lith *grūdas* 'grain, wheat', Latv *graūds* id., OHG *grūz* 'groats'); MANN *Language* XVII 13; MAYRHOFER I 439, 443; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 8; FEIST *Goth.* 309-310; WALDE-HOFMANN I 618-619; VASMER II 95-96; FRAENKEL 1314; POKORNY I 391; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 684; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 278-279; ÇABEJ *St.* I 218-219; OREL *Koll. Ig. Ges.* 351 (\*-rH- > \*-r- > -ru- after labials and labiovelars); JANSON *Unt.* 83-84.

**grusht** m, pl. *grushte, grushta* 'fist'. Early borrowing from (South-Eastern) Slav \**grьrstь* 'handful, hand' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 133). ∅ BARIĆ *ARSt* 32-33 (related to Slav \**grьrstь*); JOKL *LKUBA* 33; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 143; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 126; MANN *Language* XVII 13; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 14.

**grykë** f, pl. *gryka* 'throat'. From PALb \**grīwīkā* related to IE \**gʰrīwā* 'neck': Skt *grīvā*, Av *grīvā*, Latv *grīva* 'river mouth', Slav \**griva* 'mane' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 438). ∅ CAMARDA 65 (correctly links *grykë* to IE \**gʰer-* 'to swallow, to eat'); MEYER *Wb.* 133 (compares, without certainty, with Slav \**kьrkъ* 'neck', ON *kverk* 'throat' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 89; MANN *Language* XVII 15-16; MAYRHOFER I 353-354; POKORNY I 475; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (suffix *-kë*); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 129-130; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 257.

**grrykë** f, pl. *grryqe* 'cool wind'. A derivative of *gërryeyj*: a cool wind described as a scratching one.

**guall** m, pl. *guaj* 'shell, skull'. From PALb \**gāla*, a long-grade derivative related to the dialectal Indo-European word for 'head' (and, originally, also 'tumor'): Arm *glux* < \**ghōlu-*, Lith *galvā*, Slav \**golva*. ∅ AČAREAN *HAB* I 565-566; FRAENKEL 131-132; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VI 221-222; POKORNY I 350; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 236.

**gugë** f, pl. *guga* 'baby shirt'. An expressive word.

**gul** adj. 'hornless'. Attested only in Italo-Albanian. From PALb \**gula* further related to OHG *kalo* 'naked, bald', Slav \**golъ* 'naked', \**guliti* 'to skin'. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 209 (to ON *kolla* 'hornless animal'); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 15; DEMIRAJ *AE* 181.



**gulçoj** aor. *gulçova* 'to worry, to disturb'. Another form is *kulçoj*. Borrowed from Rom \**colluctiāre*, cf. Lat *colluctārī* 'to struggle, to contend'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 209 (uncertain comparison with NGk κοτώ 'to risk').

**gulum** m, pl. *gulma* 'worry'. A derivative of *gulçoj* continuing \**gulçm*.

**gultoj** aor. *gultova* 'to get rid off'. Borrowed from Lat *colluctārī* 'to struggle, to contend'. Cf. *gulçoj*.

**gunë** f, pl. *guna* 'goatskin coat with hood'. Borrowed from MGk γούνα 'fur' (MEYER *Wb.* 134-135). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31 (from MLat *gunna*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046 (from Rom \**gunna*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ZALIZN'AK *VSJa* 39; HAARMANN 129; ZOJZI *St. albanica* III 319-337; LANDI *Lat.* 101.

**gungë** f, pl. *gunga* 'bump, swelling'. From PALb \**gunga* etymologically connected with Lith *gugà* 'hump, hillock', *gungà* id. (MANN *Language* XXVIII 34). ◇ FRAENKEL 174-175; ÇABEJ *St.* I 219-220.

**gur** m, pl. *gurë* 'stone, rock'. From PALb \**gura* continuing the zero-grade of IE \**g<sup>h</sup>er-* 'mountain': Skt *girí-*, Av *gairi-*, Lith *girià* 'wood', Latv *dziria* id., Slav \**gora* 'mountain, wood' (CAMARDA I 50; MEYER *Wb.* 135 with much uncertainty). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 318-319 (follows MEYER and reconstructs \**g<sup>h</sup>er-*); ; BARTHOLOMAE 514; JOKL *IF* XLIV 50, *LKUBA* 230, *Sprache* IX 150; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 127; MANN *Language* XVII 13; PORZIG *Gliederung* 198; PISANI *Saggi* 126; FRAENKEL 153; MAYRHOFER I 335; POKORNY I 477-478; HAMP *BSL* L 45; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 29-31; HULD 66-67; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; WATKINS *Dragon* 164 (from IE \**g<sup>h</sup>H-u-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 181.

**gurmac** m, pl. *gurmacë* 'small round stone'. Derived from \**gurm* based on *gur*.

**gurmaz** m 'gullet'. A derivative of *kurm* with a secondary voicing of the anlaut *k-*. Borrowed to Rum *grumaz*. ◇ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 63-64; PASCU *RE* 56; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 343; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278; KALUŹSKAJA - OREL *SBJa Kontakty* 17-22 (comparison with Gk βάραθρον 'throat').

**gushě** f, pl. *gusha* 'throat'. Borrowed from Rum *gușă* id. (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 127). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 20 (from Slavic); MEYER *Wb.* 135-136; PUȘCARIU *EWB* 64; MEYER-LÜBKE *ZfromPhil* XV 242; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 106-107 (from IE \**gursjā*, related to *grykĕ*); PUȘCARIU *EWB* I 64; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 343; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278; MURATI *Probleme* 130.

**gusht** m 'August'. Borrowed from Lat *augustus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; MEYER *Wb.* 136). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 112; LANDI *Lat.* 91, 177.

**gushtericĕ** f, pl. *gushterica* 'lizard'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *gušterica* id., SCr *gušterica* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 220).

**gutĕ** f 'gout'. Borrowed from Rom \**gutta* 'drop' used as a name of the disease, cf. Rum *gută* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 31). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 136 (from SCr *guta* id.); PUȘCARIU *EWB* 65; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046 (same as MIKLOSICH); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 129; ÇABEJ *St.* I 220 (follows MEYER-LÜBKE; LANDI *Lat.* 101, 127).

## Gj

**gjaj** aor. *gjava, gjajta* 'to resemble, to be like; to suit, to become; to seem; to happen'. Dialectal forms *glaj, gĕlaj* require the reconstruction of PALb \**ga-lanja* < \**ga-lab-nja*, a denominative verb based on \**lab-* etymologically identical with Lith *lābas* 'good', Latv *labs* id. (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 261). Thus, the original meaning must have been 'to suit, to become'. Note another verbal form *gjas* 'to resemble' also belonging here and continuing \**ga-labtja*. ◊ CAMARDA I 336 (to Gk γλαύσω 'to shine', an obvious derivative of γλαυκός 'shining'); MEYER *Wb.* 137 (related to *qas*), Alb. *Studien* V 79 (to Gk βάλλω 'to launch, to reach', Skt *gālati* '(he) drops, falls down'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 331; JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 221 (compares with Germ *glänzen* 'to shine'); PISANI *Saggi* 125; FRAENKEL 327; ÇABEJ *St.* I 221 (reconstructs \**ga-laig-* and links it to Goth *galeikan* 'to please' but this ablaut grade is unknown in \**leig-* ~ \**līg-*); OREL *IF* XLIII 102-104, *FLH* VIII/1-2 43 (from PALb \**janja* related to IE \**iā-* 'to go, to walk').

**gjak** m, pl. *gjaqe, gjakra ~ gjakna* 'blood'. From PALb \**saka* related to Gk ὀρός 'juice', Lith *sakaĩ* 'resin', Slav \**sokъ* 'juice' and the like continuing an Indo-European word for 'juice' \**sokʷo-* (MEYER *Wb.* 136, *Alb. St.* III 4, 43; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 285). ◊ CAMARDA I 38 (to Gk ἰχὼρ 'blood'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 128 (reconstructs \**δ-* in the root), *Stratificazione* 89; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; FRAENKEL 756-757; PISANI *Saggi* 126; FRISK II 405-406; POKORNY I 1044-1045; VASMER III 708; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279, *ZfBalk* XXIII 149, *VDI* 1986/1 130-144 (Albanian and ancient Indo-Europeans formulas connected with 'blood'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200, 254; HULD 67; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 219; DEMIRAJ *AE* 181-182.

**gjalm** m, pl. *gjalma, gjalmitër, gjelmitër* 'rope, lace'. From PALb \**salpna*, connected with Slav \**solpiti* 'to stick out', Lith *iš-selpinėti* 'to get divided'. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 43, 89 (to Gmc \**sailaz* 'rope'), *Alb. St.* III 43; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIV 286-287; JOKL *Studien* 47 (agrees with MEYER); FRAENKEL 971-972; VASMER III 714, *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 36 (rejects MEYER's etymology as far as Indo-European diphthongs in *-i* do not yield Alb *-a-*); PETERSSON *LUÁ* XIX/6 12-14 (to Gk ἄλυσις 'chain'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 58 (agrees with PETERSSON but treats *-mit-* in *gjelmitër* as a separate root); ÇABEJ *St.* I 222 (to Lat *glomus* 'ball' and the like); ANIKIN *Ètimologija* 1982 65-70.

**gjalpë** m/n 'butter'. Continues PALb \**selpa* identical with Gk ἔλαπος-ἔλαιον, στέαρ, εὐθηνία (Hes.), Skt *sarpís-* 'clarified butter', OHG *salba* 'ointment' (CAMARDA I 93; MEYER *Wb.* 137, *Alb. St.* III 31, 43). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 549; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148; LA PIANA *Studi* I 85; MANN *Language* XXVI 383, XXVIII 36; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRISK I 503; MAYRHOFER III 446; POKORNY I 901; HAMP *Kratylos* V 105 (to *shtjalp*); OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 253; HULD *KZ* CVII 169 (*s-*stem); DEMIRAJ *AE* 182.

**gjallë** adj. 'alive'. Reflects PALb \**salwa* etymologically close to Skt *sárva-* 'complete, whole', Gk ὅλος 'whole', Lat *salvus* 'healthy', Tokh A *salu* 'completely' (MEYER *Wb.* 137, *Alb. St.* III 43, 75). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544, *Kelt. Gr.* I 53; JOKL *Sprache* IX 122; LA PIANA *Studi* I 78 (to Lat *vīvus*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; PISANI *Saggi* 131; FRISK I 381; CHANTRAINE 795; MAYRHOFER III 446-447; WALDE-HOFMANN II 472-473; POKORNY I 979-980; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82, *BSL* LXVI/1

223, *RRL* XXI 49-51; VAN WINDEKENS 412; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 205, 263; DEMIRAJ *AE* 182-183.

**gjarkĕz** pl. 'peritoneum'. A dialectal plural form of *qark*.

**gjarpĕr** ~ **gjarpĕn** m, pl. *gjarpinj*, *gjĕrpinj*, *gjarpanj*, *gjarpĕrinj* ~ *gjarpninj* 'snake'. From PALb *\*serpena* etymologically related to Lat *serpens* 'snake, serpent', *serpō* 'to crawl' and, further, to IE *\*serp-* 'to crawl' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; CAMARDA I 79; MEYER *Wb.* 137, *Alb. St.* III 31, 43, 72). There is no connection between *gjarpĕr* and *shtĕrpinj* 'vermin, reptiles' (see *shtrep*) despite the widely accepted opinion. ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 235; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 113-114; ERNOUT-MEILLET 113; MANN *Language* XVII 17, XXVI 383; HAMP *Kratylos* V 105; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 284; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 129, *Stratificazione* 137; PISANI *Saggi* 129; WALDE-HOFMANN II 524-525; POKORNY I 912; ĆABEJ *St.* VII 268; HULD 67-68; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; JANSON *Unt.* 26; DEMIRAJ *AE* 183-184.

**gjashtĕ** num. 'six'. From PALb *\*sešti-*, a derivative in *\*-ti-* close to collectives like Skt *ṣaṣṭi-* 'six tens' (JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 440) or to Slav *\*šestb* 'six', and further related to IE *\*s(y)ek̑s-* 'six': Skt *ṣaṣ-*, Gk *ἕξ*, Lat *sex* (BOPP 459, 512; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; CAMARDA I 36; MEYER *Wb.* 138, *Alb. St.* II 56-57, III 43). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 283, *Kelt. Gr.* I 78; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 129; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; HAMP *IF* LXVI 52 *Numerals* 913; PISANI *Saggi* 106; POKORNY I 1044; MAYRHOFER III 407; WALDE-HOFMANN II 528-529; FRISK I 527-528; HULD 68; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; KORTLANDT *SSLG* X 219; DEMIRAJ *StF* XXI/4 132-134, *AE* 184.

**gjatĕ** adj. 'long'. Dialectal *glatĕ* reflects the older form of the anlaut. From PALb *\*dlata* continuing IE *\*dlngh-to-* and related to other Indo-European adjectives for 'long' reflecting *\*(d)longho-*: Lat *longus*, Goth *laggs* and the like (BUGGE *BB* XVIII 167; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 545). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 137 (compares with Slav *\*setьnъ* 'extremus'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 308 (reconstructs *\*dlonghtos*); JOKL *Studien* 96 (follows PEDERSEN), *LKUBA* 315 (rejects the reconstruction of a nasal in the proto-form); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 39 (suggests a syllabic *\*-ŋ-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 129; PORZIG *Gliederung* 124, 190; WALDE-HOFMANN I 820-821; FEIST *Goth.* 318-319; POKORNY I 197; HULD 68; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 35; DEMIRAJ *AE* 184-185.

**gjazë** f 'riverside forest'. From PALb *\*sedjā*, a derivative of IE *\*sed-* 'to sit, to be settled', cf. in particular Slav *\*sadbъ* 'garden, grove' derived from the same root. ◊ VASMER III 543-544; POKORNY I 884-887.

**gjedh** m, pl. *gjedha* 'cattle'. From PALb *\*sada* or *\*seda*, a deverbative based on IE *\*sed-* 'to go, to walk' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262). Semantically, cf. other descriptions of cattle as 'walking', i.e. movable: Gk πρόβατα 'cattle, sheep', Hitt *iġant-* 'ram' and the like. ◊ PISANI *Saggi* 125; POKORNY I 887; ÇABEJ *St.* I 223 (to IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>ōu-* 'cattle' and in particular to Slav *\*goveĉdo*); BENVENISTE *Inst.* I 37-45; OREL *IF* XLIII 104-105 (from IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>mdhos* connected with IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>em-* 'to go'; however, the development of the umlauticized *\*a* to *-je-* is dubious), *Fort.* 79.

**gjej ~ gjëj** aor. *gjeta* 'to find'. From PALb *\*gadnja* < *\*gh<sup>h</sup>nd-* etymologically related to Gk χάιδανω, aor. ἔχαιδον 'to seize, to grasp', Lat *pre-hendō* id., ON *geta* id. (MEYER *BB* VIII 187, *Wb.* 140, *Alb. St.* III 10). The full grade is represented in refl. *gjëndem, gjindem* 'to be present'. ◊ CAMARDA I 285 (to Gk γί(γ)νομαι 'to be born'); JOKL *Balkangerm.* 105-106, *Sprache* IX 123; BARIĆ *A ArbSt.* II 383; LOEWE *KZ* XXXIX 312 (from Goth *bigitan*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 12-14, 33; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 129-130; PISANI *Saggi* 132; FRISK II 1071-1072; WALDE-HOFMANN II 359; POKORNY I 437-438; HAMP *Laryngeals* 135; HULD 145; ÇABEJ *St.* I 223-224 (related to Slav *\*goditi* 'to satisfy, to correspond, to be fit'); KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 232 (from *\*sH-ajelo*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 185-186.

**gjel** m, pl. *gjela* 'rooster'. Borrowed from Lat *gallus* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 138). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; JOKL *IF* XXX 205; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 129; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 128; ÇABEJ *St.* I 224; LANDI *Lat.* 28-29, 128, 138.

**gjelbër ~ gjelbën** adj. 'green'. Borrowed from Lat *galbinus* 'greenish-yellow' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 29). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 128; LANDI *Lat.* 49.

**gjellë** f, pl. *gjellë* 'food; life'. A singularized plural of *gjallë* (CAMARDA I 108). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 138 (borrowed from SCr *jelo* 'meal'); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 45; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 217.

**gjellëz** f 'salt'. Another variant is *gjillesë* 'salt, taste'. Although the comparison with IE \**sali-* 'salt' could be tempting, connection with *gjellë* is much more probable. Thus, 'salt' is treated as a 'taste' of food.

**gjem** m 'bridle'. From PALb \**jama* identical with Skt *yāma-* id. and forming one of the isoglosses of Albanian with Southern Indo-European dialects, particularly, in horse breeding (OREL *IF* XCIII 105-106). Note *gj-* as a regular reflex of the initial IE \**j-* (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 43). ◊ POKORNY I 505; MAYRHOFER III 2-3; OREL *Ētnogenez* 34-36; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350.

**gjemb** m, pl. *gjemba* 'thorn'. A Greek-Albanian form *glëmb* preserves the original anlaut *gl-*. Goes back to PALb \**glamba*, comparable with Slav \**glōb-okъ* 'deep' < \*'hollowed', \**glōbъ* 'trunk, stump, cabbage-stump', cf. also Gk γλάφω 'to scrape up' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262). Rum *ghimpe* 'thorn' was borrowed from Albanian. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 140 (to Lith *gėmbė* 'nail used to hang clothes' - impossible in view of the initial *gl-*), *Alb. St.* III 8, 36, 64; JOKL *Studien* 26-28 (to Lith *geliū*, *gėlti* 'to stick'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 547 (against MEYER); PISANI *Saggi* 123; POKORNY I 367; FRISK I 311; ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 231; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VI 141-143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 186-187.

**gjep** m, pl. *gjepa* 'spool'. A phonetic variant of *djep*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 138 (to *gjemb* and *qep*).

**gjer** prep. 'till'. Other variants are *deri*, *ndjer*, *ngjer*. From PALb \*(*a*)*jeri* identical with Gk ἤρι < \*ἤρι 'early' further related to Gmc \**airiz* 'before, ere' (Goth *air*, ON *ár*) and Av *ayar* 'day' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 43). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 59-60 (to *ndër*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 101; MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (to Lat *ferē* 'near'); FRISK I 643; FEIST *Goth.* 24-25; BARTHOLOMAE 157; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 175; DEMIRAJ *AE* 288-289 (to Gk μέχρι 'till').

**gjer** m, pl. *gjera* 'dormouse'. Borrowed from Lat *glirem* id., with the long *-i-* treated as a short one (MEYER *Wb.* 138-139). ◊ TRUBAČEV *Slav. jaz.* XI 11 (related to Lat *glīs* and the like); LANDI *Lat.* 83, 104.

**gjerb** aor. *gjerba* 'to gulp, to drink'. From PALb \**serba* connected with Lat *sorbeō* 'to sup up, to suck in', Gk ῥοφέω id., Lith *surbiū*, *suřbti* id., Slav \**srbati* 'to gulp, to sup up' (MEYER *Wb.* 139, *Alb. St.* III 36,

43, 72). ◇ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 237, 299; ERNOUT-MEILLET 636; MANN *Language XXVIII* 31 (reconstructs \**ō* in the root); PISANI *Saggi* 131; FRAENKEL 945; FRISK II 663; CHANTRAINE 978; WALDE-HOFMANN II 561; POKORNY I 1001; VASMER III 604; HULD 143 (suggests IE \**sorbh-ej-ō*), KZ CVII 169; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 273; ANTTILA *Schw.* 27; DEMIRAJ *AE* 187.

**gjerë** ~ **gjanë** adj. 'broad, wide'. There also exists Tosk *gjërë*. From PALb \**saina*, a zero-grade derivative in \*-*no-* based on IE \**sēi-* 'long, late', cf. OE *sīd* 'long, wide', Goth *seipus* 'late', OIr *síth* 'long', Lat *serus* 'late' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 28). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 128; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 292; FEIST *Goth.* 415-416; VENDRYES [S] 120-121; WALDE-HOFMANN II 526-527; POKORNY I 890-891; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; HULD 68-69; JANSON *Unt.* 28.

**gjesh** aor. *gjesha* 'to knead'. From PALb \**jesja* identical with Skt *yásyati* 'to boil', Gk ζέω 'to boil, to cook' (MEYER *Wh.* 139, *Alb. St.* III 39, 61). ◇ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 35, 292; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 327, *Kelt. Gr.* I 65; PISANI *REIE* IV 10, *Saggi* 102, 123; MINSHALL *Language XXXII* 629; FRISK I 612; MAYRHOFER III 13; POKORNY I 506; HAMP *Laryngeals* 134; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 152; HULD 99; ÖLBERG KZ LXXXVI 129; OREL *FLH VIII/1-2* 38; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Germ *kneten* 'to knead'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 300.

**gjeshtër** f. pl. *gjeshttra* 'broom'. Borrowed from Rom \**genistra* (cf. Ital *ginestra* id.) based on Lat *genista*, *genesta* 'broom-plant, broom'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237.

**gjeti** adv. 'elsewhere'. A number of parallel forms exist, e.g. *gjetiu*, *gjetkë*, *ngjeti*, *njeti* and the like. A fossilized form of aorist of *gjej* with various other elements including *kë*, acc. of *kush*, and *u*, reflective pronoun. ◇ CAMARDA I 307 (to *tjetër*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 225-226 (treats *njeti* as an older form and links it to Skt *anyá-* 'other').

**gjetkëz** f. pl. *gjetkëza* 'goose-coop'. Identical with OAlb *gjetkhë* 'stall, pen' (BARDHI) continuing \**gjerdhkë*, a deminutive of *gardh* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 226).

**gjeth** m. pl. *gjethe* 'foliage, green leaves'. From PALb \**gadza* with an irregular unvoicing of the auslaut or, rather, with a secondary *th-*suffix. The

variant with a voiced *-dh-* is registered by some scholars but it may well be an artifact. Etymologically connected with OHG *questa* 'tuft', ON *kvistr* 'branch', Slav *\*gvozďь* 'wood, forest' (JOKL *IF* XXX 199-204, *LKUBA* 130, 221). Note the development of the initial cluster *\*gyo-* > *\*ga-* in Albanian. The form *gjeshk* 'dry leaves' is derived from *gjeth*. ◊ *CAMARDA I* 72 (compares with Gk κλάδος 'branch'); *MEYER Wb.* 138 (develops *CAMARDA*'s etymology); *PEDERSEN KZ* XXXIII 547; *TAGLI-AVINI Dalmazia* 130; *LA PIANA Varia* 103-104; *CIMOCZOWSKI LP* II 230; *PISANI Saggi* 125; *XHUVANI BUSHI* III/3 93 (connected with *gath*); *VASMER I* 263; *POKORNY I* 480; *TRUBAČEV ĚSSJa* VII 185-186; *ÖLBERG St. Bonfante* 562; *ÇABEJ St. I* 226-227 (to Lat *hasta* 'spear' and its cognates); *HULD* 69; *OREL ZfBalk* XXIII 147; *DEMIRAJ AE* 187-188.

**gjezdis** aor. *gjezdisa* 'to go for a walk, to roam'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*jězditi* 'to ride' with the initial *j-* substituted by Alb *gj-*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *jazd'a*, SCr *jezditi* (*OREL Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262).

**gjë ~ gjâ** f, pl. *gjëra ~ gjana* 'thing'. From PAIb *\*san(s)* going back to the participle of IE *\*es-* 'to be', *\*sont-s-*: Skt *sant-*, Gk ὄν and the like (*MEYER Wb.* 139). ◊ *MAYRHOFER* III 425-426; *FRISK I* 463-464; *POKORNY I* 341; *ÇABEJ St. VII* 201, 212; *HULD* 69; *JANSON Unt.* 27-28; *DEMIRAJ AE* 188.

**gjëlpërë ~ gjylpanë** f, pl. *gjëlpëra ~ gjylpana* 'needle'. Goes back to *\*salpanā* further connected with *gjalm* and its cognates. The Geg vocalism in *gjylpanë* is secondary. ◊ *MEYER Wb.* 143 (borrowed from Rom *\*acūcula pani*); *BARIĆ ARSt. I* 34 (to IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>el-* 'to stick, to prick'); *TAGLI-AVINI Dalmazia* 131-132; *MANN Language* XVII 20-21 (from *\*saūil-pətno-* 'eye-thread').

**gjëmoj** aor. *gjëmova* 'to resound, to rumble, to thunder, to shout'. As the variant *glëmoj* shows, there was *gl-* in the anlaut. Borrowed from Lat *clāmāre* 'to cry, to shout', with the voicing of the initial group *cl-*. The noun *gjëmë* 'thunder, shout, illness' is a deverbative. ◊ *MIKLOSICH Rom. Elemente* 30 (from Lat *gemere* 'to cry, to shout'); *MEYER Wb.* 139-140 (same as *MIKLOSICH*); *MIHĂESCU RESEE* IV/1-2 16; *HAARMANN* 128.

**gjëmoj** aor. *gjëmova* 'to run after, to hurry after'. A dialectal form of



*gjurmoj*, derivative of *gjurmë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 140 (to *gjuaj*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048, 1052.

**gjëmtoj** aor. *gjëmtova* ‘to collect bit by bit, to gather’. Borrowed from Lat *collimitāre* ‘to draw boundaries’, \*‘to unite’.

**gjëndër ~ gjandër** f, pl. *gjëndra ~ gjandra* ‘gland’. Borrowed from Lat *glandula* ‘gland of the throat’ with the dissimilation of *liquida* (HELBIG 120; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 22). Tosk variants *glëndër* and *grëndël* reflect the anlaut *gl-* and thus exclude the Italian etymology. Rum *ghindură* id. continues the same Lat *glandula*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 140 (from Ital *ghiandola* ‘gland’); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042, 1050, 1054 (follows MEYER); PUŞCARIU *EWB* 62; SKOK *ZfromPhil* XLIV 332-334 (from Rum *ghindură*, Arum *glindură* id.); JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 605 (from Rom \**glandura*); MANN *Language* XVII 23; HAARMANN 128; ÇABEJ *St.* I 227 (follows JOKL); LANDI *Lat.* 47, 145-146.

(T) **gjër** m ‘soup’. Corresponds to Geg *gjanë* ‘mudbed, alluvium’. Goes back to PALb \**jausna* related to Skt neut. *yūṣ* ‘soup’ (cf. in particular gen. sg. *yūṣnāḥ*), Lat *jūs* id., Lith *jūšė* ‘fish soup’ (if not from Prussian, cf. BIGA I 478-479), OPrus *iuse* ‘soup’ and the like (CAMARDA I 80). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 308 (to Lat *jentāre* ‘to breakfast’), *Alb. St.* III 39; JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 734; PISANI *Saggi* 248; FRAENKEL 191, 199; MAYRHOFER I 26; WALDE-HOFMANN I 734; MINSHALL *Language* XXXII 629; POKORNY I 507; HAMP *Laryngeals* 134; KARALIŪNAS *Baltistica* I 116; ÇABEJ *St.* I 227-228 (derivative of *gjë*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 183 (borrowed from Slav \**glěnz* ‘silt’).

**gji ~ gjî** m, pl. *gji ~ gjî* ‘breast, chest’. From PALb \**sina* identical with Lat *sinus* ‘curve, fold’ (MEYER *Wb.* 140, *Alb. St.* III 67). ◊ JOKL *IF* L 45; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 130, *Stratificazione* 89; WALDE-HOFMANN II 546; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 252.

**gjije** f ‘stable, house’. A singularized plural of a form attested in Geg as *gjê* ‘stable, pen’. Goes back to \**saina* identical with the Baltic word for ‘wall’: Lith *siena*, Latv *siēna* further derived from IE \**sēi-* ‘to bind’ (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262). ◊ PISANI *Saggi* 129; FRAENKEL 782-783; POKORNY I 891-892; ÇABEJ *St.* I 228 (important lexical material but no etymology).

**gjinde** pl. 'people'. Borrowed from Lat *gentem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30; CAMARDA I 42; MEYER *Wb.* 141). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1044, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 131; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 128; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 83, 116, 146.

**gjithë** adj. 'all'. The dialectal variant *gjithë* (cf. also *gjillë* < *gjithë*) seems to be a direct continuation of PALb *\*sem̥dza*, with the cluster *\*-em-* reflected as *-i-*, cf. *mish*. The Proto-Albanian form goes back to IE *\*sem-gho-*, a suffix derivative of IE *\*sem-* 'one' attested in Arm *ez* < *\*sem-gho-* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIX 414). IE *\*sem-* is also attested alone in the same meaning, in Dalmatian Alb *gji* [dži] 'all' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 130), with *-i* as in *një* ~ *nji*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 140 (comparison with Germ *ganz* 'all' and Kurd *gi*, *giš* id.); FAY *IF* XXXII 330-332 (to Germ *ganz*); AČAREAN *HAB* II 4-5; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (to Gk ἰσχύς 'strength'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 106 (from *\*g-li-shi*); POKORNY I 902-903; ÖLBERG *Gedenkschr. Brandenstein* 111; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217; HULD 69-70; DEMIRAJ *AE* 188-189 (from *\*siH-ko-*, to Gk ἰός).

**gjizë** ~ **gjizë** f 'goat cheese'. A derivative of an unattested *\*gjin-* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 228-229). Taking into account the cheese-making technology in the Balkans (putting cheese into an animal stomach and tying the latter), *\*gjin-* may be derived from PALb *\*sina* identical with OIr *sin* 'chain', ON *sin* 'sinew', OHG *senawa*, Av *hinu-* 'band' and further related to IE *\*sē(i)-* 'to bind'. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 28, *LKUBA* 89 (to Lat *serum* 'watery part of curdled milk'), *Sprache* IX 153; BARIĆ *AarbSt* I 158 (comparison with *urdhë*); LIDÉN *KZ* LXI 1-4 (to Lith *gaižus* 'rancid, bitter'), *AASF* XXVII 115-117; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; PISANI *Saggi* 102 (to Gk ζύμη 'leaven'); VASMER *KZ* L 247 (to Ir *seig* 'milk'); MINSHALL *Language* XXXII 628; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 124 (suffix *-zë*); POKORNY I 891-892; VENDRYES [S] 112-113; OREL *Ētimologija* 1983 137 (borrowed from Slav *\*gliza* 'swelling', cf. SCr *gliza* 'calf's stomach used for cheese making'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 189-190 (to W *hufen* 'cream' and the like).

**gjobë** f, pl. *gjoba* 'fine, penalty'. Borrowed from Slav *\*globa* having the same meaning in its South Slavic forms, Bulg *globa* and SCr *globa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 19; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 296). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 144, 181; SVANE 207, 234.

**gjoc** m, pl. *gjoca* 'aphid, greenfly, pine-weevil'. As another variant of

this word, *gjonth*, shows, it is a deminutive of *gjon* historically identical with *gjon* 'night-owl' and going back to the Latin proper name *Jōannes* > *Gjon*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 141 (on *gjon* < *Jōannes*).

**gjollë** f, pl. *gjollë* 'clearing or pasture where salt is strewn for sheep; patch of ground for sowing'. From PALb \**sālā* based on IE \**sal-* 'salt': Gk ἄλας id., Lat *sāl* and the like (HAMP *GjA* VI 45). The Albanian *ā*-stem may well replace the Indo-European athematic stem with a long vowel in nom. sg. (OREL *IF* XCIII 106, *ZfBalk* XXIII 144). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 29 (to OE *selma* 'bed', Lith *súolas* 'bench'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148; MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (to Ir *stól*, Lith *sėkla*); FRISK I 78-79; WALDE-HOFMANN II 465-466; POKORNY I 878-879; DEMIRAJ *AE* 190.

**gjorë** adj. 'poor, miserable, wretched'. A suffixal derivative of *gjuaj*. Thus, the original meaning of the adjective is 'chased, persecuted'. ◊ HAHN 30 (to *djeg*); MEYER *Wb.* 141 (from Turk *kör* 'blind'); JOKL *Studien* 109, *IF* XXXVII 113 (borrowed from Slav \**gor'e* 'grief'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193, 324; XHUVANI *KLetr* I/6 6 (related to *djerr*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 229 (agrees with XHUVANI).

**gju** ~ **gjû** m, pl. *gjunjë, gjunj* 'knee'. Dialectal forms preserve the initial cluster *gl-*. Goes back to PALb \**gluna* dissimilated from \**g(a)nuna*. The latter is a secondary *n*-derivative based on IE \**ǵenu-* 'knee': Hitt *genu*, Skt *jānu-*, Gk γόνυ, Lat *genū* and the like (CAMARDA I 39). As to the phonetics of *gju*, it is close to OIr *glúin* id. < \**glūno-* with a similar dissimilation of sonants (MEYER *Wb.* 142, *Alb. St.* III 9, 67). ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 156; JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* 237 (on the inaccuracy of the Albanian - Celtic parallel), *Sprache* IX 156; PETERSSON apud DEMIRAJ (to Gk γίγγλυμος 'joint'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 127, *Stratificazione* 89; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34; PISANI *Saggi* 131; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 275-276; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 159; MAYRHOFER I 429; WALDE-HOFMANN I 592-593; POKORNY I 380-381; FRISK I 321; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 102 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 229, 231; HULD 70; ÖLBERG *Studi Pisani* II 685; BORGEAUD *RRL* XX 4; JANSON *Unt.* 28-29; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 263; KÖDDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 62; DEMIRAJ *AE* 190-191.

**gjuaj** ~ **gjuej** aor. *gjova, gjuajta* ~ *gjujta, gjojta* 'to hunt'. Goes back to PALb \**jāgnja* based on the noun \**jagu* > *gjah* 'hunt, hunting'. Further

etymological connection is OHG *jagōn* 'to hunt' (HAMP *Laryngeals* 134). ◊ CAMARDA I 122 (to Gk δίζημαι 'to seek'); MEYER *Wb.* 136 (to Slav \*ženŏ, \*gъnati 'to drive away', Lith *genù, gĩnti* id.), *Alb. Studien* III 7; THUMB *IF* XXVI 18; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 330-331; KLUGE 329; VASMER I 419 (follows MEYER); HULD 70-71; DEMIRAJ *AE* 191-192 (to Lat *sāgiō* 'to feel, to suspect', OIr *saigim* 'to go towards, to seek').

**gjuhë** f, pl. *gjuhë* 'tongue, language'. Dialectal forms reflect the initial *gl-*: Cham *gluhë*, Calabr *gl'uyę*. From PALb \**glusā*, further connected with the Indo-European dialectal word for 'sound' \**golso-*: ON *kall* 'shout', Lith *gaĩsas* 'echo', Slav \**golsъ* 'voice'. PALb \*-*ul-* (> Alb -*ul-*, -*lu-*) seems to go back to \*-*l-* so that the source of the Albanian form should be reconstructed as IE \**glso-*, a zero-grade opposed to the full grade of Balto-Slavic and Germanic. ◊ CAMARDA 26 (connection with Gk γλωσσα 'tongue, language'); MEYER *Wb.* 142 (to *gjuaj* 'to call, a secondary variant of *quaj* id.); BARIĆ *ARSt.* 35 (to the Indo-European word for 'tongue', with *gjuhë* < \**gl'undh(μā)* < \**dlonghμā*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 89-90; LA PIANA 94 (compares with Gk γλωσσα); PISANI *Saggi* 102, *IF* LXI 146 (borrowed from Gk γλωσσα); POKORNY I 350; FRAENKEL 131; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 34 (reconstructs \**dlŋghuā*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 132 (borrowed from Gk γλωσσα), *Stratificazione* 89-90; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VI 219-220; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193, 268; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 427-429 (to IE \**gelə-* ~ \**g'elə-* 'to swallow'); HULD 71 (from \**ghnud-sk-*!).

**gjumë** m 'sleep'. From PALb \**supna* identical with a nominal derivative of IE \**sleep-* 'to sleep' - \**sup-no-*: Gk ύπνος 'sleep', Slav \**sznъ* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 142, *Alb. St.* III 32). In other Indo-European languages another ablaut variant \**sleep-no-* is represented. ◊ CAMARDA I 55 (to Gk κῶμα 'deep sleep'); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 94; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 90; MANN *Language* XVII 15, XXVI 387; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 132; PORZIG *Gliederung* 179; PISANI *Saggi* 117, 127; VASMER III 716-717; FRISK II 970-971; CHANTRAINE 1160; POKORNY I 1048-1049; HULD 71-72; DEMIRAJ *AE* 192.

**gjurmë** f, pl. *gjurmë, gjurma* 'trace'. From PALb \**surma*, a zero-grade variant of IE \**sor-mo-* reflected in Skt *sárma-* 'flow', Gk ὄρμη 'assault, attack', further connected with IE \**ser-* 'to flow' (OREL *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 262). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* II 59 (borrowed from Romance

via NGk γοῦρμα id.), *Wb.* 142 (uncertain link to Ital *orma* ‘footmark’, Rum *urmă* id.); BARIĆ *ARSt* 103 (to Lat *serpō* ‘to crawl’); MAYRHOFER III 471; FRISK II 419; POKORNY I 909-910; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216, 227.

**gjuvengë** f ‘harlot’. Borrowed from Lat adj. fem. *juvenca* ‘young’, also ‘young cow’ (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16). ◊ HAARMANN 131; ÇABEJ *St.* I 229.

**gjykoj** aor. *gjykova* ‘to judge, to try’. Borrowed from Lat *jūdicāre* id. (CAMARDA I 99; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 142-143). As to *gjq* ‘trial, court’, it continues Lat *jūdicium* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 229-230). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 74; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046-1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 131; LANDI *Lat.* 101, 109, 112.

**gjymtë** adj. ‘defective, incomplete, cripple, stunted’. Borrowed from Rom *\*junctus* ‘joined’ or secondarily derived from *gjymtyrë*. ◊ OREL *RRL XXXI/1* 3 (comparison with *gjysmë*).

**gjymtyrë** f, pl. *gjymtyrë* ‘joint, limb’. Borrowed from Lat *junctūra* ‘juncture, joint’ (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 143). Note the East Romance treatment of Lat *-nkt-* > *\*-npt-* > *-mt-*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 267; HAARMANN 131; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 49-50; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 89, 101, 121.

**gjysmë** f, pl. *gjysma* ‘half’. A metathesis from a widespread dialectal form *gjym(ë)së*. The latter represents a formation in *-ësë* < *\*-atja* derived from *\*gjym* < PALb *\*jūmi-* or *\*jūma*, to be further compared with Latv *jumis* ‘double fruit’ (with an unexpected *-u-* reminiscent of the unclear Alb *-y-* < *\*-ū-*) and other continuants of IE *\*jemo-*: Skt *yamá-* ‘duplicate; twin’, Mlr *emon* ‘twins’, Lat *im-āgō* ‘imitation, copy’ (HAMP *Numerals* 920; OREL *RRL XXXI/1* 3-4, *FLH VIII/1-2* 43). Rum *jumătate* was borrowed from Proto-Albanian. ◊ CAMARDA I 93 (to Gk ἡμισὺς ‘half’ with unsurmountable phonetic difficulties); MEYER *BB* VIII 192 (to Lat *semi-* ‘half’), *Wb.* 143 (follows CAMARDA but treats *gjysmë* as a Greek loanword with *gj-* filling hiatus in ὁ ἡμισὺς); SPITZER *MRIW* I 322 (from *\*jumos* ‘bound together’); BARIĆ *ARSt.* 35-36 (supports MEYER *BB*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 3244; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278;

MAYRHOFER III 8; WALDE-HOFMANN I 680; POKORNY I 505; IVANOV *Bsl. Etnojaz.* 81.

**gjysh** m, pl. *gjyshë, gjyshër ~ gjyshën* ‘grandfather’. From PALb \**sūsa* identical with Skt *sūśā* ‘progenitor’ further derived from IE \**seu-* ‘to give birth’ (WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 243). Borrowed to Rum *ghiuj* ‘old man’. ◊ CAMARDA I 72 (from \**gēlysh*, related to Gk γάλως ‘sister-in-law’); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 5 (from Rom \**avūsīus*); MEYER *Wb.* 143; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 176 (from Rom \**aviūsīus*); JOKL *LKUBA* 28-37 (agrees with WIEDEMANN), *Sprache* IX 152; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 115; MAYRHOFER III 492; POKORNY I 913-914; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 330 (to γυγάι· πάπποι, Hes.); ROSETTI *ILR* I 277; NEROZNAK *Paleob.* 198 (to Hitt *hūḫḫas*, Lyc *χuga* ‘grandfather’); OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; HULD *KZ* CVII 168; LIUKKONEN *SSF* X 58 (from \**sauisja-* related to Lith *sāvas* ‘own’); DEMIRAJ *AE* 192-193.

## H

**ha** aor *hëngra ~ hangra* ‘to eat’. Reflects PALb \**eda* derived from IE \**ed-* id. (HAMP *St. albanica* VIII/2 153-154). In Albanian, it is an accidental archaism with a stressed thematic vowel in 1 sg. pres. \**edá* < IE \**edóm* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 341). Pretonic \**-d-* > *-h-*, *-ø-* is regular (OREL *SBJa Kont.* 22-23), as well as the apheresis. The *nti*-participle *ngrënë ~ ngranë* is derived from IE \**gʷer(ə)-* ‘to swallow’ (BOPP *Alb.* 82). The aorist *hëngra ~ hangra* is a secondary formation based on the original \**ngra* and contaminated with the paradigm of *ha* (OREL *Ētimologija* 1982 154), cf., typologically, ME *geode* contaminated from *gān* ‘to go’ and *ēode* ‘went’ (KONECKAJA *Suppl.* 421-423). ◊ CAMARDA 132 (compares with Gk χαίνω ‘to yawn, to gape’); MEYER *Wb.* 144 (from IE \*(*s*)*khed-*, Skt *khādati* ‘to eat, to devour’), *Alb. St.* III 59; BRUGMANN *Grundriß* I 759 (from \**ghz-*, cf. Skt *ghas-* ‘to eat’); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 341 (compares *hëngra ~ hangra* with Arm 1 sg. aor. *eker* ‘(I) ate’ and analyzes *hë-* as a continuation of the augment \**e-*); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 139-142; BARIĆ *ARSt* 26, 73 (agrees with MEYER), *Hymje* 43 (follows PEDERSEN in his etymology of *ha*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 70; LA PIANA *Studi* I 34, 96; PISANI *Saggi* 110, *Paideia* XXVIII 183 (repeats BRUGMANN’s etymology); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 196-198; POKORNY I 287-289, 474-475; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 47; KLINGEN-

SCHMITT *Verbum* 279-280; ÇABEJ *St.* I 306; BADER *BSL* LXXI/1 97 (archaic thematic formations of \**ed-*); OREL *Ètimologija* 1982 151-156, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 359; IVANOV *Slav.* 92-93, 185 (to Tokh A, B *śwā-* 'to eat'); HULD 72 (to Lat *avere* 'to enjoy, to be well'); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (*ngrēnē* - to OE *grindan* 'to grind'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 297-298.

**habit** aor. *habita* 'to surprise, to astonish'. Borrowed from Slav \**xabiti* 'to destroy', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *xab'a*, SCr *habiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 144). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 191; OREL *Ètimologija* 1983 133; SVANE 234.

**hajmë** adj. 'thin, lean'. Another derivative of the same root is *hajthëm* id. Both forms are based on *halë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 231).

**hakël** f 'fish bone'. Metathesis from \**halkë*, a deminutive of *halë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 231 (to *hokoç*).

**hakrri** f 'readiness for copulation (of pigs)'. From \**harkrri*, derived from \**hark*, see *hokoç*. From *hakrri* the verb *hakërrohem* 'to threaten, to frighten' is derived (ÇABEJ *St.* I 231-232).

**halë** f, pl. *hala* 'fish bone, splinter; pine'. From PALb \**skalā* etymologically related to Lith *skalà* 'stick of firewood', Latv *skala* 'splinter (used to furnish light)'. This word is further connected with IE \**skel-* 'to split' (MEYER *Wb.* 144, *Alb. St.* III 59). ◊ JOKL *IF* XXX 192, XXXVII 99, *WuS* XII 70 (agrees with MEYER); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 77; PISANI *Saggi* 122; FRAENKEL 792-793; POKORNY I 923-926; HAMP *Laryngeals* 130 (to Gk ἀλέω 'to grind'); HULD 151 (to Lat *alnus* 'alder'); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148 (same as HULD, to Lith *alksnis* 'alder'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 233 (reconstructs \**skolnā*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 193-194 (to *elb*).

**halbë** f 'scab on the bark'. From PALb \**skalbā* close to Latv *skalbs* 'sharp, shrill' with a further link to IE \**skel-* 'to split', see *halë*. ◊ POKORNY I 923-926; ÇABEJ *St.* I 233 (to *halë* and *helm*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

**hall** m, pl. *halle* 'trouble, misery, plight, sorrow'. From PALb \**skalna* connected with Gmc \**skallaz* 'thin, dry, shallow' (E *shallow* and the like) ~ \**xallaz* 'weak, tired' (MHG *hel, hellec*). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 145 (from

Turk *hal* 'state, situation'; BARIĆ *ARSt* 26 (to Skt *khilá-*); ONIONS 816; OREL *IF XLIII* 107-108 (from *\*edolos* based on IE *\*ed-* 'to eat').

**hamull** f, pl. *hamulla* 'stubble-field'. A derivative in *-ull* based on *ha*. Thus, the stubble-field is described as 'eaten up'.

**hap** aor. *hapa* 'to open'. From PALb *\*skapa* connected with IE *\*skep-* 'to cut, to split, to dig' (MEYER *Wb.* 146, *Alb. St.* III 31, 59). Note *hapë* 'step' derived from *hap*. ◇ POKORNY I 366-368; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII/1* 72; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200; HAMP *Laryngeals* 125 (to Hitt *apa* 'afterwards').

**harabel** m, pl. *harabela* 'sparrow'. Borrowed from Slav *\*vorbyľ* id., a form unattested in South Slavic where we only find *\*vorbyľь* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 17). ◇ SVANE 144.

**harc** m, pl. *harca* 'rocky landscape'. A nominal derivative of *harr* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 233).

**hardhël** f, pl. *hardhla* 'lizard'. Other variants are *hardhje*, *hardhicë*, *hardhucë*, *hardhushkë*. The source of all these derivatives must have been *\*hardhë*. Since other words for 'lizard' are safely etymologized as 'diggers' (cf. Slav *\*aščerъ* id., *\*guščerъ* id.), *hardhë* continues PALb *\*skardā* to be further compared with Lith *skerdzīù*, *skeřsti* 'to slaughter, to prick', Latv *šķērzu*, *šķērst* 'to split', and with the *o*-vocalism - Lith *skardūs* 'steep', Latv *skārdīt* 'to divide'. ◇ STIER *KZ XI* 223 (to Gk *χαρδοῦν ζῶον ὁμοιον κροκοδείλω*); MEYER *Wb.* 147 (a transformation of Lat *lacerta* id.); JOKL *IF XXXVII* 110 n. 1 (related to Slav *\*aščerъ* id.); SCHUCHARDT *ZfromPhil XLI* 700-701 (to Arag *fardacho*); SPITZER *IF XXXIX* 105-106; BARIĆ *ARSt.* 26 (to Gk *ἑσχαρός* 'kind of fish'), *AArbSt.* III 217; MLADENOV *RFV LXXI* 454-458; PETERSSON *LUÁ XVI/3* 40-41 (to Gk *κορδύλος* 'triton'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 239, *Stratificazione* 137; FRAENKEL 797, 803; VASMER IV 572 (follows JOKL); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* I 88; DEMIRAJ *AE* 194-195.

**hark** m, pl. *harqe*, *herq*, *herqe* 'bow'. Variant of *ark* id., borrowed from Lat *arcus* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 15).

**harlis** aor. *harlisa* 'to bring into high spirits (of a horse)'. Borrowed from NGk *\*χαραλίζω*, a derivative of *χαρίζω* 'to do something agreeable'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 234 (derivative of *harlë*, variant of *harrje*).



**harmĚshor** m, pl. *harmĚshorĚ* 'stallion, stud-horse'. Borrowed from Rom \**armessārius*, also preserved in Rum *armĚsar*, a phonetic variant of Lat *admissārius* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 148). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; PUŞCARIU *EWB* 11; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 111.

**harmoĵ** aor. *harmova* 'to destroy, to exhaust'. Together with another derivative, *harmi* 'broken wind, pursiness (in horses), goes back to \**harm* continuing PALb \**skarima*. The latter is based on IE \**sker-* 'to cut', cf. *harr* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 234-235). Note *harmoç* 'crumbled plaster; stone-pine' and Geg *hartinĚ* 'kind of pine' also belonging to this root (ÇABEJ *St.* I 235). ◊ POKORNY I 938-947.

**harr** aor. *harra* 'to weed, to cut down'. From PALb \**skarna*, a denominative related to IE \**sker-* 'to cut', cf. Goth *us-skarjan* 'to tear out', Lith *skiriù*, *skirti* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 148, *Alb. St.* III 59, 73). ◊ CAMARDA I 36-37 (to Gk *χαράσσω* 'to sharpen'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 167 (to Lat *sariō* 'to hoe'); LEWY *ZfslavPh* I 416 (the same); JOKL *LKUBA* 156; BARIĆ *ARSt* 27 (from IE \**sker-*); FEIST *Goth.* 534; FRAENKEL 808; POKORNY I 938-947; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 43; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224; HAMP *Laryngeals* 129-130 (to Hitt *arnumi* 'to bring'); ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 126; DEMIRAJ *AE* 196-197.

**harrje** f, pl. *harrje* 'midge'. Historically identical with *harlĚ* 'kind of mite'. A deminutive of \**harr*, *herr* 'small creature'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 234 (to *harr*).

**harroĵ** aor. *harrova* 'to forget'. Borrowed from Lat *aberrāre* 'to forget (for a time)'. Note prothetic *h-*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224.

**harrok** m, pl. *harrokĚ* 'he-goat'. A suffixal derivative of unattested \**harr* related to Lith *skerÿs* 'ram', Latv *šĵĕris* id., further connected with Gk *σκαίρω* 'to spring, to dance'. ◊ FRAENKEL 801-802; FRISK II 714-715; POKORNY I 934.

**hedh** aor. *hodha* 'to throw, to shoot'. Another variant is *hjedh*. From PALb \**skeuda* connected with ON *skjóta*, OHG *sciozan* and other continuants of Gmc \**skiutan* 'to shoot' < IE \**skeud-* 'to throw, to shoot' (MEYER *Wb.* 150, *Alb. St.* III 28, 59). ◊ LIDĚN *Studien* 43; SPITZER *IF* XXXIX 111; BÜGA II 200; BARIĆ *ARSt* 27 (to Lith *šáuju* 'to shoot');

PISANI *Saggi* 122; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251; POKORNY I 955-956; HAMP *Laryngeals* 129 (to Gk ἄγω), *St. Whatmough* 88, *Ētimologija* 1971 268-269 (reconstructs \**skēud-*), *St. albanica* X/2 86-88; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 126 (against HAMP *Laryngeals*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 219, 250; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (metathesis of IE \**sk-* > PALb \**ks-*); HULD 72-73; DEMIRAJ *AE* 197-198 (reconstructs \**skedho-*).

**hedhe** f, pl. *hedhe* 'dandruff'. Singularized plural of \**hedh(ē)*, derivative of *hedh*. For the semantics cf. Russ *syp* 'rash' related to *sypat* 'to throw, to drop'.

**hejë** f 'food supply (for a year)'. From PALb \**skaljā* identical with Lith *āt-skala* 'supply, stock' etymologized as a derivative of *skalà* 'stick of firewood', see *halë*. ◊ FRAENKEL 792.

**hejzë** f, pl. *hejza* 'water-shed'. Derived from *hejë* 'spear', see *hell* (GAZULLI 173-174). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 237.

**hekë** f 'agony'. From PALb \**skakā* etymologically connected with Lith *šokti* 'to jump, to dance', Slav \**skokъ* 'jump', OIr *scén* 'horror' < \**skekeno-*. ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 125; FRAENKEL 1021-1022; VASMER III 645; POKORNY I 922-923; VENDRYES [S] 40-41.

**hekur** m, pl. *hekura* 'iron'. Plausibly borrowed from Gk ἄγκυρα 'anchor' (JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 236), cf. *hekur i anijes* 'anchor', lit. 'iron of the ship'. However, some phonetic details remain obscure. Initial *h-* may be secondary. As for *-e-*, it could well appear as a result of umlaut in plural and then in singular - a process widely spread in Albanian. This leads to the reconstruction of PALb \**akura*. However, *-nk-* should yield Alb *-ng-*. ◊ CAMARDA 90 (comparison with Gk χαλκός 'copper'); MEYER *Wb.* 150 (compares with Skt *siñcati* 'to pour out, to sprinkle'), *Alb. St.* III 5, 43; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (to Arm *erkat*); IVANOV *SBJa Antič.* 21 (a farfetched hypothesis close to that of CAMARDA); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; HAMP *Laryngeals* 130 (to Goth *aiz* 'ore'), *StF* XXII (V) 121-122; IVANESCU *SAO* VIII 274-276; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 359.

**helm** m, pl. *helme* 'poison; grief, sorrow'. From \**skal(i)ma* connected with *hall*. (OREL *IF* XC 107-108) ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 107 (compares with OHG *scalmo* 'pestilence, epidemic', *scelmo* id.), *Alb. St.* III 59, 64; JOKL

*Erf. Idg.* 142 (to Thr σκόλημ 'sword'); ; BARIĆ *ARSt* 27; LA PIANA *Studi* I 94 (to Gk χάλιμος· φαρμάκος, Hes.); ÇABEJ *St.* I 236-237 (to *hell*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 198 (compared with Skt *āla-* 'poison'; borrowed to Greek as χάλιμος).

**hell** m, pl. *helle, heje, hej* 'spear, spit'. Another form of the same word, *hejë*, is derived from plural. From PAIb \**skōla* identical with Gk σκῶλος 'pointed stake, thorn' (JOKL *IF* XXXVI 124). Further related to IE \**skel-* 'to cut, to split' (MEYER *Wb.* 151). ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 386; HAMP *St. albanica* VI/1 125-126 (to OPr *aycolo* 'needle'), *StF* XXII (V) 119-120; FRISK II 745-746; POKORNY I 923-927; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; ÇABEJ *St.* I 237; DEMIRAJ *AE* 199.

**hep** m, pl. *hepa* 'furrow, scratch'. From PAIb \**skapā* etymologically connected with *hap* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 237-238; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 72).

**heq ~ hek** aor. *hoqa ~ hoka* 'to draw, to pull'. In dialects, a more conservative form *helq* is attested. It goes back to PAIb \**skalkja*, a causative identical with Gk \*ὀλκέω < \**solkeiō* based on ἔλκω 'to draw' (CAMARDA I 81; MEYER *Wb.* 150-151). The initial *h-* in Albanian is irregular (HULD 73) so that an assimilative development \**salkja* > \**skalkja* must be reconstructed. ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 43; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 278; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133; ERNOUT-MEILLET 664; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (*heq* as a borrowing from Gk ἔλκω); PISANI *Saggi* 120; PORZIG *Namen* 236 f. (Greek data for the reconstruction of \*ὀλκέω), *Gliederung* 172; FRISK I 497-498; CHANTRAINE 340; POKORNY I 901; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227; HAMP *Laryngeals* 132 (suggests \**H<sub>u</sub>olkeiō*); HULD 73 (groundless comparison with OE *ealh* 'temple, sanctuary').

**herdhe** pl. 'testicles'. From PAIb \**ardzai* related to IE \**orǵhi-* ~ \**rǵhi-* id.: Av dual. *arəzi*, Gk ὄρχις, Arm *orjik*, Mİr *uirgge* id. (CAMARDA I 42; MEYER *Wb.* 151, *Alb. St.* III 18, 72, 86). The initial *h-* is a secondary prothetic consonant. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 67, 275; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 90; PISANI *Saggi* 132; FRISK I 433-434; CHANTRAINE 831; HAMP *Laryngeals* 129 (*h-* as a continuant of the Indo-European laryngeal); POKORNY I 782; VENDRYES [V] 20-21; HAMP *Laryngeals* 129; RIX *Münch. St. Spr.* XXVII 93 (reconstructs \**H<sub>r</sub>ǵhiā*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 238, 251; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 126; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; HULD 73-74; DEMIRAJ *AE* 199.

**herdhe** f, pl. *herdhe* 'nest'. A singularized plural of an unattested \**hardh* < \**skordhos* related to Skt *sárdhas-* 'herd, crowd', W *cordd* 'crowd' < \**kordho-*, Goth *hairda* 'herd', Slav \**čerda* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 151). These forms reflect a root with the alternation of \**k-* ~ \**k̂-* in the anlaut. In Albanian, the initial \**sk-* must be reconstructed. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* 27; JOKL *AArbSt* I 38-40 (specially on W *cordd*); KLUGE 310; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 113, *Stratificazione* 144; MAYRHOFER III 310; POKORNY I 579; FEIST *Goth.* 234; TRUBAČEV *ËSSJa* IV 60-63.

**herë** f, pl. *herë* 'time, moment of time, hour'. Borrowed from Lat *hōra* 'hour' (MEYER *Wb.* 151). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 113; MANN *Language* XXVI 387; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200, 280; HAARMANN 129.

**hermoj** aor. *hermova* 'to dig'. Initial *h-* is due to prothesis. Borrowed from Rom \**exrīmārī* 'to hoe, to dig out', cf. Lat *rīmārī* 'to hoe'.

**herr** m, pl. *herra* 'dwarf'. From PALb \**skarna* derived from IE \**sker-* 'to cut', see *harr* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 238).

**hesht** aor. *heshta* 'to stay silent'. Derived from the interjection *hesht* 'hush' (MEYER *Wb.* 151). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 113; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 220.

**heshtë** f, pl. *heshta* 'spear'. A derivative in *-shtë* based on *hell* (JOKL *IF* XXXVI 124, *LKUBA* 214, 330). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 151 (from Lat *hasta* id.); ÇABEJ *St.* I 238 (follows JOKL).

**hetoj** aor. *hetova* 'to search, to inquire, to discover'. The initial *h-* is prothetic. Borrowed from Lat *ēdictāre* 'to announce'. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Lith *skaitýti*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 273.

**hë ~ hê** adv. 'now', interj. 'well'. From PALb \**skainai*, dative-locative of a noun related to Goth *skeinan*, OHG *skīnan* 'to shine', with a semantic development similar to that of E *in a twinkling*. ◊ FEIST *Goth.* 431; KLUGE 640.

**hëpërhë ~ hêpërhê** adv. 'just, actually, in fact'. A univerbation of *hë për hë*, a sequence including the adverb *hë*.

**hënë ~ hanë** f *hëna ~ hana* 'moon'. From PALb \**ksandā* further com-

pared with Skt *cándati* '(he) shines, is bright', *candrá-* 'shining; moon' (MEYER *Wb.* 151, *Alb. St.* III 59). From the point of view of word-formation, the Albanian word is particularly close to Celt *\*kando-*: W *cann* 'white', MBret *cann* 'full moon'. ◊ SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 208 (to Av *sand-* 'to be visible'); GÜNTERT *Ablaut* 91-92; BARIĆ *ARSt* 27 (to Skt *chandati*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 69-70 (reconstructs *\*skand-nā*); HASDEU *EMR* II 37; ERNOUT-MEILLET 92; MAYRHOFFER I 372-373; POKORNY I 526; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 57 (on the development of *-nd-* > *-n-*); HULD 74; SCHRIJVER *Latin* 428; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (metathesis of IE *\*sk-* > PAIb *\*ks-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 199-200 (to *hie* or to Lat *annus* 'year').

**hi** ~ **hî** m 'ash'. From PAIb *\*skina*, a form with *s* mobile related to Lat *cinis* 'dust, ash' (MEYER *Wb.* 152, *Alb. St.* III 59, 67). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* 27-28; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 132 (reconstructs *\*skino-*); WALDEHOFMANN I 217-218; HAMP *Laryngeals* 126 (to Skt *edhas-* 'firewood'); HAMP *Laryngeals* 126 (groundless reconstruction of *\*Hidh-no-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 210; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 124; HULD 74.

**hidhët** adj. 'bitter, sad'. Derived from *hidhem* 'to jump, to overflow, to walk over', reflexive of *hedh*. The verb *hidhëroj* ~ *hidhënonj* 'to sadden' has the same source. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 157 (to Pol *jędza* 'fury' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 16; JOKL *Studien* 29-30 (to Gk αἶθω 'to burn'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 28; LOEWENTHAL *WuS* XI 60 (to αἶξ 'goat'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 134; HAMP *Laryngeals* 127 (to *hi*); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Lat *scindō* 'to split'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 200-201.

**hidhës** m, pl. *hidhës* 'stinging nettle'. Related to *hidhët* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 238). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 152 (uncertain connection with Gk κνίδη id.); BARIĆ *ARSt* 28; JOKL *Studien* 29-30 (to Gk αἶθω 'to burn').

**hije** f, pl. *hije* 'shadow'. Singularized plural of an archaic *hë* going back to PAIb *\*skijā*. This form is connected with IE *\*skāi-* ~ *\*skī-*: Skt *chāyā* id., Gk σκιά id. (CAMARDA I 71; MEYER *Wb.* 149-150, *Alb. St.* III 59). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 60-63; PISANI *Saggi* 119 (separates *hije* from *he*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 439; HAMP *Laryngeals* 131; FRISK II 730-731; CHANTRAINE 1017; MAYRHOFFER I 407; POKORNY I 917-918; ÇABEJ *St.* III 139, VII 277; HULD 74-75; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 33, 61; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46; *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (metathesis of IE *\*sk-* > PAIb *\*ks-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 201.

**hikërr** f, pl. *hikrra* 'sour milk; buckwheat'. This form, with a secondary prothetic *h-*, goes back to PALb \**eikrā*, an *r*-derivative of *ik*, *ikëj*. For the semantic development of the Albanian word cf. Germ *gerinnen* 'to coagulate' < *rinnen* 'to run'.

**hime** pl. 'bran'. From PALb \**skeidma*, a morphological innovation based on IE \**skeid-men-*, further connected with Goth *skaidan* 'to divide', Lith *skīdžu*, *skīesti* 'to make thin' and, in particular, with Lith *skiemuō* 'opening used to insert the shuttle' < \**skeid-men-*. ◇ KLUGE 641; FRAENKEL 805-806; POKORNY I 921; FEIST *Goth.* 427; ÇABEJ *St.* I 239 (identical with *imtë*).

**himtë** adj. 'grey'. Derived from *hi*.

**hingël** f, pl. *hingla* 'girth'. Borrowed from Rom \**hinnicula*, derivative of Lat *hinnus* 'mule'.

**hingëlloj** aor. *hingëllova* 'to whinny, to neigh'. Borrowed from Rom \**hinniculāre*, an expressive form based on Lat *hinnire*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 151-152 (connected with Lat *hinnire* 'to whinny, to neigh'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 221.

**hinje** interj. 'behold, now, there'. A sequence of two interjections: *hi* identical with *hë* and *nje*, a form of *njoh* (CAMARDA II 156; MEYER *Wb.* 314). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 239 (follows CAMARDA but also compares *hinje* with *inj*).

**hip(ëj) ~ hypi** aor. *hipa ~ hypa* 'to go up'. From PALb \**skūpa*. If *s* mobile can be suggested here, the verb with its unusual long grade could be compared with Lith *kūpti* 'to rise', Latv *kupt* 'to gather, to build up'. ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* 17 (to IE \**upo* 'over, up'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 135; FRAENKEL 314; POKORNY I 591; HAMP *Laryngeals* 127-128 (to Skt *úpa* 'up, hither'), *St. Whatmough* 88, *SCL* XXVIII/1 74.

**hir** m, pl. *hire* 'grace, favor, mercy'. From PALb \**skīra* etymologically connected with Goth *skeirs* 'clear', Slav \**ščirъ* 'clean' (MEYER *Wb.* 152, *Alb. St.* III 59, 71). ◇ CAMARDA I 70 (identifies *hir* with *χάρις* 'favor, grace'); MIKLOSICH *Bulg. Siebenb.* 123 (from Gk *χάρις*); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 167 (to Gk *σκίρον* 'white parasol born by a priestess'); JOKL *LKUBA* 67 (follows BUGGE); LA PIANA *Studi* I 66-67 (similar

to CAMARDA); KLUGE 647-645; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (agrees with MEYER); FEIST *Goth.* 432; POKORNY I 917-918; VASMER IV 507-508; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (borrowed from Gk  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ ); ÇABEJ *St.* I 239-240 (singularized plural of \**her* which, in its turn, is an umlauticized form of \**har*; the latter comes from Gk  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ ); DEMIRAJ *AE* 201-202 (possibility of *hir* borrowed from Gk  $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  'holy').

**hirrĕ** f 'whey'. From PAIb \**ksirā* to be compared with Skt *kṣīrā*- 'milk', Osset *æxšir* id. (PEDERSEN *IF* V 45; *KZ* XXXVI 277). Note that Alb *-rr-* seems to reflect an intervocalic \**-r-*. ◊ CAMARDA I 47 (to Gk  $\acute{o}\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  id., Skt *sarā*- 'flowing'); MEYER *Wb.* 152 (to Slav \**syrъ* 'cheese' - phonetically impossible), *Alb. St.* III 43 (to Lat *serum*); BARIĆ *ARSt* 28 (to Lith *kartūs* 'bitter'), *AArbSt* I/1-2 145-146; JOKL *LKUBA* 273 (follows PEDERSEN); LIDÉN *KZ* LXI 9-10 (to ON *skyr* 'sour milk' < Gmc \**skurjan*); PORZIG *Gliederung* 132; PISANI *Saggi* 132 (follows LIDÉN); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 148-149; MAYRHOFER I 290; MILLER *Osset.* 15; HUBSCHMID *XII LFR* II 978 (connected with Mantuan *scaron* id. borrowed from Messap \**skar-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234; HAMP *LB* XXIV/4 49 (links *hirrĕ* to *urdhĕ* and reconstructs \**skerHinā*); HULD 75; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; DEMIRAJ *AE* 202-203.

**hisĕll ~ hisĕll** m, pl. *hisĕlla ~ hisĕlla* 'burning nettle'. Goes back to \**hithĕll*, a derivative of *hith*. Another form belonging here is *hiskull* id. influenced by *hisk* 'sharp and long (of bull's horns)'. Nasalization in Geg is secondary. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 240 (connection between *hisk* and *hiskull*).

(G) **hitas** aor. *hiteta* 'to hurry'. Borrowed from Slav \**xytati*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *xitam* id., SCr *hitati* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 240). ◊ SVANE 256.

**hith** m, pl. *hitha* 'blight, burning nettle'. Apparently, from \**hidh* with an irregular auslaut unvoicing (but cf. *gjeht!*), further connected with *hedh*, see JOKL *Stud.* 29-30. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 152 (to Gk  $\kappa\upsilon\iota\delta\eta$  id.).

**hjedhĕt** adj. 'slim, long and thin'. Derived from *hjedh*, a phonetic variant of *hedh*. Note also *hjedhĕ* 'chaff' coming from the same source.

**hjekĕs** m, pl. *hjekĕs* 'mediator, accessory, receiver of stolen goods'. Derivative of *hjek*, a dialectal variant of *heq* (MANN *HAED* 160).

**hobe** f, pl. *hobe* ‘catapult, sling’. A dialectal form of *bahe* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 240).

**hoje** f, pl. *hoje* ‘honeycomb’. A singularized plural of *huall* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 240). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 146 (to *halë*).

**hokë** f ‘joke, jest’. An onomatopoeia imitating laughter. ◇ LA PIANA *Studi* I 95 (borrowed from Lat *jocus* ‘jest, joke’); ÇABEJ *St.* I 240 (identifies *hokë* with *okë* ‘measure of weight’, from Turkish).

**hokoç** m ‘uncastrated boar’. Other variants are *hakoç*, *harkoç*. A suffixal derivative of *\*hark* ~ *\*hork* imitating pig’s grunting. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 153 (to Pers *xuk* ‘pig’); ÇABEJ *St.* I 232 (related to *harr*).

**hollë** adj. ‘thin, fine, slender, slim’. From PAIb *\*skāla* further compared with IE *\*skel-* ‘to cut’: Lith *skeliù*, *skélti* ‘to split, to divide’, MlR *scáilim* ‘to let go’ and the like (JOKL *IF* XXXVII 99). ◇ LEWY *ZfslavPh* I 416 (to Slav *\*xoliti*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 210 (follows JOKL); BARIĆ *ARSt* 72 (to Gk σκῶλος ‘picket, stake’), *Hymje* 34; FRAENKEL 800; HAMP *Laryngeals* 130 (to Gk ἄλεω ‘to grind’); ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 126 (against HAMP); VENDRYES [S] 28-29; POKORNY I 924-925; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 199, 227; HULD 75-76; CLACKSON *LR* 219; DEMIRAJ *AE* 203 (to Gk ἀύλος ‘reed flute’).

**hop** m, pl. *hope* ‘instant, moment; jump’. A descriptive stem, cf. E to *hop* (MEYER *Wb.* 153).

**horr** m, pl. *horra* ‘villain, scoundrel, rogue, pauper, miser’. Together with fem. *horre* ‘shameless woman, whore’, it represents a pair of Germanic loanwords, cf. Goth *hors* ‘adulterer’ - ON *hóra* ‘whore’, OHG *huora* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 153 (borrowed from Turk *hor* ‘bad, small’); KLUGE 321; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234; OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

**hu ~ hû** m, pl. *hunj* ‘picket, stake, pole, penis’. Continues PAIb *\*skuna* with a secondary nasal suffix, going back to the earlier *\*skuja* identical with Slav *\*xujь* ‘penis’. Further parallels are represented by OIr *scé* ‘hawthorn’, Lith *skuja* ‘pine-needle’, Latv *skuja* id., Slav *\*xvoja* id. (PEDERSEN *Zb. Jagic* 218). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 29; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 83-84 (to Gk ξύλον); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 90; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 15; VENDRYES [S] 37; FRAENKEL 821; POKORNY I 958;



TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* VIII 114; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (metathesis of IE \**sk-* > PALb \**ks-*).

**huaj** ~ **huej** adj. 'foreign, strange'. From PALb \**ksānja* further connected with an isolated Gk ξένοσ, Dor ξένσοσ 'stranger, guest' (MEYER *Wb.* 154, *Alb. St.* III 59-60). ◊ CAMARDA II 204 (to Lat *hostis* 'stranger, foreigner, guest'); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 124; PEDERSEN *IF* V 59; BARIĆ *ARSt* 29 (based on *ha*, cf. Lat *hostis* - Skt *ghāsati* 'to eat'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 106; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 93 (follows MEYER), L 55; PORZIG *Gliederung* 178; PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRISK II 333-334; HAMP *Laryngeals* 131, *Anc. IE* 116; ÇABEJ *St.* I 240-241 (adduces OAlb *uoj* as an argument against MEYER's etymology); HULD 76; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282; DEMIRAJ *AE* 203-204 (semantically unacceptable hypothesis: from \**ouos* 'that' → 'other' → 'strange').

**huall** ~ **huell** m, pl. *hoje* 'honeycomb'. Goes back to PALb \**skāla* further related to *hollē* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 241).

**hudhër** f, pl. *hudhra* 'garlic'. A more archaic phonetic form is represented by the variant *hurdhë* continuing PALb \**skurdā*, etymologically connected with Gk σκόροδοσ id. (CAMARDA I 50; MEYER *Wb.* 154, *Alb. St.* III 28, 59, 72). ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 160, 331; BARIĆ *ARSt* 29; JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 78-80, *LKUBA* 230, *Sprache* IX 121; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 273; FRISK II 738; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 30, 121; CHANTRAINE 1021; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 344; HAMP *LB* XX 116-117 (reconstructs *o*-grade); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237; DEMIRAJ *AE* 204-205.

**hudhëroj** aor. *hudhërova* 'to throw, to fling'. Derived from *hudh-*, a morphological variant of *hedh*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

**hukas** aor. *hukata* 'to shout'. Borrowed from Slav \**xukati* id. (SVANE 257).

**hulumtoj** aor. *hulumtova* 'to follow up, to track out, to investigate'. A parallel form *hulmëtoj* is phonetically closer to the source which is Rom \**inventāre* based on Lat *inventire* 'to find out'. The complicated phonetic history of this word includes the assimilation of *-v-* to the preceding *-n-* and then the dissimilation of two nasals and the loss of the second one. Finally, a prothetic *h-* was added. The irregularities may reflect an unusual way of the word acquisition (via hunters' slang?).

**hulli** f, pl. *hulli* 'furrow'. Another variant is *holli*. A derivative of *hollē* (ÇABEJ St. I 241). ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 14 (to Lith *skilvis*).

**humb** aor. *humba* 'to leave, to lose, to spoil, to miss', to drown. From a nasal present *\*skumba* compared with IE *\*skeubh-*: Goth *af-skiuban* 'to push away, to reject', Lith *skumbù, skùbti* 'to hurry, to hasten' (PISANI *Saggi* 109). As to *hup* 'to lose, to spoil, to miss', it may be a back formation based on *humb*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 154 (connects *humb* with *hup*); BARIĆ *ARSt* 36-37 (*hup* to Lat *sūpō* 'to upset, to overturn'); PISANI *Saggi* 124; FRAENKEL 820; POKORNY I 955; HAMP *Laryngeals* 128 (to *hipēj*), *SCL* XXVIII/1 75; FEIST *Goth.* 9; ÇABEJ St. VII 217, 232; OREL *IF* XCIII 109 (compares with *hup* and reconstructs *\*skupa ~ \*skumpa* further connected with Slav *\*čupati* to pinch, to tear, to break'), *TBK* 192.

**hundē** f, pl. *hundē* 'nose'. Goes back to PAIb *\*skun-tā* derived from *\*skuna* > *hu* (MEYER *Wb.* 152-153). The verb *hundohem* 'to sneer, to turn up nose' is derived from *hundē* (CAMARDA II 143-144). ◊ SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 16; BARIĆ *ARSt* 103 (to Lat *sentio* 'to feel'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 276, *Stratificazione* 90; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 127 (accepts MEYER's etymology); HULD 76 (fantastic comparison with IE *\*nas-* 'nose'); ÇABEJ St. I 240 (on *hundohem*); OREL *Ētimologija* 1985 180 (against HULD).

**huptē** aor. 'stale (of bread); forming a hard crust (of snow)'. Derivative of *hup*, see *humb*.

**hurbē** f, pl. *hurba* 'swallow, mouthful'. Another variant is *hurp* which also functions as a verb 'to swallow'. From PAIb *\*skurbā* etymologically linked to Lith *skerbiù, skeřbti* 'to cut deep', Latv *šķiřba* 'fissure, slot', Slav *\*ščьrba* id. ◊ FRAENKEL 801, 807; VASMER IV 503-504; ÇABEJ St. I 242 (onomatopoeia).

**hurdhe** f, pl. *hurdhe* 'ivy'. The parallel form is *urdhe*. A singularized plural going back to PAIb *\*wurdā* connected with other reflexes of IE *\*urdho-*: OE *word* 'thorn-bush', Lat *rubus* 'bramble-bush'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 154 (to Skt *prśni-* 'spotted'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 445-446; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 405; ÇABEJ St. VII 236.

**hurdhē** f, pl. *hurdha* 'pond, pool'. Another variant is *urdhē*. Continues PAIb *\*wurdā*, a derivative in *\*-dh-* further related to Slav *\*virь* 'whirlpool', *\*variti* 'to cook', Lith *vėrdu, virti* id. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 30-

31 (to Skt *vár-* 'water'); PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRAENKEL 1263; VASMER I 275; POKORNY I 1166; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 236-237; DEMIRAJ *AE* 205.

(G) **hut** adj. 'vain, empty'. The initial *h-* is prothetic. From PALb *\*uta*, an adjective in *\*-to-* based on IE *\*euə-* : *\*uā-* 'empty', cf. similar formations in *\*-no-*: Skt *ūná-* 'missing', Lat *vānus* 'empty' and the like. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 31 (to Gk *αῦτος* 'vain, empty'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 731-732; CHANTRAINE 382; POKORNY I 345; KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 262; HAMP *Laryngeals* 126; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 124 (onomatopoeia); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 44; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227; DEMIRAJ *AE* 205.

**hutě** f, pl. 'vulture, owl'. Another variant is *utě*. Borrowed from MGk *ὠτος* 'horned owl'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 460 (borrowed from Lat *otus* 'horned owl' < Gk *ὠτος*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31 (from Lat *otus*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227.

**hutloj** aor. *hutlova* 'to deceive'. Together *hutrrohēm* 'to be astonished', derived from unattested nouns *\*hutěl* and *\*hutěrr* (cf. *hutrrojě* 'silly old woman'), both of them based on *hutoj*.

**hutoj** aor. *hutova* 'to astonish, to daze'. Derived from *hutě* figuratively denoting 'fool, dolt' (MANN *HAEW* 164). ◊ HAMP *Laryngeals* 126 (to Geg *hut*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 206, 227.

**hyj** m, pl. *hyja, hyj* 'god'. Singularized plural of *yll, hyll* 'star' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 438) coined by BOGDANI (ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 150 (connects *hyj* with *hije*); KRISTOFORIDHI 135, 139 (same as MEYER); JOKL *LKUBA* 64-65 (reconstructs *\*hye* continuing IE *\*skēini-*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (to ON *skuggi* < IE *\*skuŷi-*); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 88.; DEMIRAJ *AE* 205.

**hyj ~ hÿj** aor. *hyra ~ hyna* 'to enter'. The anlaut *h-* is prothetic. Goes back to a denominative PALb *\*eiwinja* or *\*eiwanja* based on *\*eiwi-* ~ *\*eiwa*, related to IE *\*ei-* 'to go, to walk' and etymologically close to Skt *éva-* 'speedy', Lith *at-eĩvis, at-éiva* 'newcomer, stranger', *pér-eiva* 'tramp, vagrant'. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 17-18 (reconstructs *\*sūpniō*, further to Lat *sub* 'under' and the like); FRAENKEL 119; MAYRHOFER I 129; POKORNY I 293-297; HAMP *Laryngeals* 125-126 (to Skt *ava-* 'off'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 242 (connects *hyj* with *-y-*, reflecting a contraction of *\*-oi-* < *\*-odi-*, to IE *\*sed-* 'to go').

## I

**ijë** f, pl. *ijë* 'hip, side'. Borrowed from Lat pl. *ilia* 'groin, flank' (CAMARDA I 70-71; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 158). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 130; ÇABEJ *St.* I 243; LANDI *Lat.* 126.

**ikëj** aor. *ikëna* 'to go away, to run away'. A more archaic form of present is *ik*; there exists also a form with a secondary initial *h-*. Continues PALb *\*eika* further belonging to IE *\*ei-* 'to go' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 243). Similarly to Slav *\*jьdъ* '(I) go' based on *\*idhi*, an old imperative of *\*ei-* (POLIVANOV *IORJaS* XXIV/2 349-350), Albanian present forms *ik*, *ikëj* are derived from the imperative *ik* which can be compared with Lith *eĩk*, *eĩki* 'go!' (OREL *Lingv. issled.* II 35-36, *Baltistica* XXI/2 156-157), with the suffix of imperative *-k-* of dubious origin (STANG *Norw. J. Ling.* XXX 127-131). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 158; BRUGMANN *IF* XXIX 404-412; LA PIANA *Studi alb.* I 193 (compares *ik* with Gk *ἵκω* 'to come'); BUGA *RFV* LVII 240 (on Lith *eĩki*); POKORNY I 293-294; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 205, 227; OREL *ZfBalk* XXII/1 82, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352.

**ikra** pl. 'spawn, caviar'. Borrowed from Slav *\*ikra* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *ikra*, SCr *ikra* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 170; SVANE 149.

**ilqe** f, pl. *ilqe* 'holm-oak'. A singularized plural of *\*ilqë* borrowed from Lat *ilicem* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 158). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1048; HAARMANN 130.

**im** pron. 'my'. A unverbated sequence consisting of the demonstrative pronoun *\*is* (see *ay*) and unstressed 1 sg. pronoun *\*me*.

**imshtë** f, pl. *imshta* 'oak grove'. Another variant is *ipshtë*. Derived from *imë*, *imtë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 244).

**imtě** adj. 'tiny, small'. Another variant is *imě*. Reflects PALb *\*īma* continuing *\*Is-mos*, cf. Skt *īśát* 'little, a little, slightly', Lith *įsas* 'short', Latv *īss* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 158 (to IE *\*em-* 'to seize'); FRAENKEL 187; MAYRHOFER I 96; POKORNY I 299-300; ÇABEJ *St.* I 239 (derived from *hi*), 244 (to *hime*).

**inj** prep. 'up to'. A ghost word registered only by MITKO and being, in fact, a phonetic variant of *hinje* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 244). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 159 (to IE \**eni* 'in'), *Alb. St.* III 66; HAMP *Laryngeals* 136; DEMIRAJ *AE* 207.

**irë** adj. 'dun'. Related to *err*, with *i-* resulting from the paradigmatic alternation *e ~ i* in nouns. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 244-245 (links *irë* to *irëmadh* 'heroic' but the latter is a compound of *irë* 'heroism' and *madh*).

**irë** f. 'wrath, heroism'. Borrowed from Lat *ira* 'wrath'.

**iriq** m, pl. *iriqë, iriqa* 'hedgehog'. Borrowed from Lat *ēricius* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 141; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 159). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; LANDI *Lat.* 84, 112, 139.

**iskër** f, pl. *iskra* 'spark'. Borrowed from Slav \**jьskra* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *iskra*, SCr *iskra* (MEYER *Wb.* 159). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 135; SVANE 57.

**ishull** m, pl. *ishuj* 'island'. Borrowed from Lat *insula* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 245). As to *ishull* 'sunny place', it is the same word influenced by the analogy with *shullë*. ◇ XHUVANI *KLetr* II 14 (etymological connection between *ishull* 'sunny place' and *shullë*).

**ith** prep. 'behind'. From PALb \**its*, a form of IE \**eǵhs* 'from, out of' (MEYER *Wb.* 158, *Alb. St.* III 16). The change of meaning is a part of a wider semantic shift in the system of prepositions (see *nga*); the old meaning is preserved in the prefix *sh-* < \**is-* < \**its-* (partly influenced by a homonymous prefix of Latin origin continuing Lat *dis-*). The vowel of *ith* makes it extremely close to Slavic (\**jьz*) and Baltic (OPrus *is*, Lith *įš*, dial. Latv *iz*). Cf. normal vocalism of the same root in *jashtë*. ◇ MEYER *BB* XIV 53; PISANI *Saggi* 125; I 98 f.; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVIII 421 (\**i-* as the original vowel in this root); KARSTIEN *Festschr. Vasmer* 213; ENDZELIN *Latyš. predl.* I 98; FRAENKEL 188; WALDE - HOFMANN I 423 (reject the connection between *ith* and \**eǵhs*); PISANI *Saggi* 125; POKORNY I 292-293; POLÁK apud KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 82; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 359.

**ivě** f, pl. *iva* 'embroidery pattern'. Borrowed from Slav \**iva* in the same meaning as represented by Bulg *iva* and SCr *iva* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 11). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 245-246; SVANE 99.

**izbě** f. 'cellar'. Borrowed from Slav \**istr̥ba* 'house, cellar' attested in South Slavic in Bulg *izba* and SCr *izba* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 149). ◇ SVANE 54.

## J

**ja** interj. 'behold, here, now'. A shortened form of *javo*, *javua* id., an early borrowing from Slav \**avьnъ* 'manifest, obvious' in its adverbial function, with *-o*, *-ua* continuing \**-ьnъ*. For South Slavic continuants of \**avьnъ* cf. Bulg *javen*, SCr *javan*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 160 (uncertain connection with Slav \**aviti se* 'to appear'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 246 (from NGk γιά in γιά δέξ id.); OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

**jakë** interj. 'come'. An isolated imperative form in *-k* (cf. *ik*) based on IE \**ǵā-* 'to go'. ◇ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 191 (compound consisting of *ja* and pronominal *kë-*); POKORNY I 296; ÇABEJ *St.* I 247 (transformation of the phrase *eja këtu* 'come here').

**jam** aor. *qeshë* 'to be'. From PALb \**es-mi* further connected with IE \**es-* id. and identical with Skt *ásmi*, Gk εἰμί (BOPP 460, 472, 526; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 36; MEYER *Wb.* 160-161). The aorist may be tentatively explained as a sigmatic formation based on IE \**k<sup>h</sup>el-* 'to turn, to revolve' (CAMARDA I 45), cf. Gmc \**werdan* 'to become' in its connection with IE \**uert-* 'to turn, to revolve'. ◇ STIER *KZ* VII 9; MEYER *Alb. St.* III 63, 85; LA PIANA *Studi* I 86; JOKL *LKUBA* 83; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; PISANI *KZ* LXXI 64 (aorist compared with Latv *kļūt* 'to become'), *Saggi* 103; MAYRHOFER I 67; FRISK I 463-464; POKORNY I 340-342; HAMP *Festschr. Beeler* 337-346 (derives 3 sg. *ēshtë* ~ *āsht* from \**en esti* to be compared with Gk εἶναι); ÇABEJ *St.* I 247-248; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 113; OREL *Lingv. issled.* II 31-33 (nasalization in 3 sg. *ēshtë* ~ *āsht* < PALb \**ensti* explained by the influence of 3 pl. *janë* < \**enti* < \**es(o)nti*), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (accentual opposition between 1 sg. *jam* and 1 pl. *jemi* in Proto-Albanian); HULD 76-77; DEMIRAJ *AE* 207-208.

**jap** aor. *dhashë* 'to give'. A parallel form is *ap*. Geg *nap* results from PAIb *\*en-apa* while *j-* in *jap* is explained as filling hiatus (PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 247) or resulting from the analogical influence of *jam* (DEMIRAJ AE 79). Thus, for Proto-Albanian, *\*apa* should be reconstructed as a parallel for IE *\*ap-* ~ *\*ēp-* 'to seize, to take': Skt *āpnōti* '(he) reaches, overtakes', Gk *ἄπτω* 'to fasten, to bind', Lat *apīscor* 'to grasp' and the like (BOPP 469; MEYER *Wb.* 13, *Alb. St.* III 31). Semantically, the Albanian word is particularly close to Hitt *epzi* '(he) gives' (HULD 77). For the paradoxical semantic development replacing one conversive with another cf. Hitt *da-* 'take' < IE *\*dō-* 'to give'. The aorist *dhashë* < PAIb *\*e-das-a* is based on the zero grade of IE *\*dō-* 'to give' (CAMARDA I 73, 127; MEYER *Alb. St.* III 14). ◊ CAMARDA I 73, 127 (*jap* compared with Gk *ιάπτω* 'to send, to drive on'; *dhashë* derived from *\*dō-*); JOKL *Studien* 32, *LKUBA* 26, *IF* XLIII 51-52, *Sprache* IX 118 (augment in *dhashë*); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* II 475; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 168; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 240; LA PIANA *Vocale* 25, *Studi* I 23; MAYRHOFFER I 76; FRISK I 126-127; WALDE-HOFMANN I 57-58; POKORNY I 50-51, 223-226; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 30; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82, *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 4 (< IE *\*epi-d(o)H-ǵō*, cf. Gk *ἐπιδίδωμι* 'to give freely'); HULD 150; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 42 (reconstructs *\*dodHs-* as the source of *dhashë*); KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 123 (reconstruction of the aoristic paradigm); OREL *Ētimologija* 1982 154 (parallelism of *dhashë* < *\*e-dās-ŋ* and Slav *\*daxъ*; traces of the augment), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 349, 352; HAMP *KZ* CIII 291 (repeats JOKL and OREL in reconstructing the anlaut augment); DEMIRAJ AE 154-155.

**jargë** f, pl. *jarga* 'spit, phlegm'. From PAIb *\*ergā* related to Av *ərəzant-* 'bad', OHG *arg* 'bad, evil', Lith *aržūs* 'lusty'. ◊ POKORNY I 338; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 212, 243.

**jarickë** f, pl. *jaricka* 'pullet, chick'. Another variant is *jarickë*. Borrowed from Bulg *jaricka*. ◊ POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 78 (derived from Slav *\*jarica* 'one year old creature'); SVANE 140.

**jarinë** f 'ripe fruit'. Borrowed from Slav *\*jarina* 'harvest', cf. in South Slavic continuants: SCr *jarina* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 160.

**jarm** m 'yoke'. Borrowed from Slav *\*arъmъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *jarъmъ*, Bulg *jarem*, SCr *jaram* (MEYER *Wb.* 161). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 156; SVANE 28.

**jashtë** adv. 'outside'. From PALb *\*(k)šta* derived from IE *\*eǵh-s* 'out': Gk ἔξ, Lat *ex* and the like (CAMARDA I 36, 87; ÇABEJ *St.* I 248-249). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24 (from Lat *extra*); MEYER *Wb.* 161 (from Rom *\*extus* parallel to Lat *intus*), Alb. *St.* IV 49; LA PIANA *Studi* I 85 (reconstructs *\*eǵhs-to-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133 (follows MEYER); MANN *Language* XXVI 383; FRISK I 527; WALDE-HOFMANN I 423; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 232, 257; HULD 77.

**javë** f, pl. *javë* 'week'. Borrowed from Lat *hebdomas* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 162) treated as a nominative in *-a*. The group *-bdm-* yields Alb *-v-*. ◇ SKOK *A ArbSt.* II 343 n. 3; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 129; HAMP *GJA* XVII (8) 121-129.

**jaz** m, pl. *jaza* 'mill-stream'. Borrowed from Slav *\*ězъ* 'dam, weir', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *jaz*, SCr *jaz* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaimstv.* 11). ◇ SVANE 44.

**je** f. 'permission'. A phonetic variant of *leje*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 162 (to Skt *yós-* 'welfare, happiness' and the like), Alb. *St.* III 40, 63; PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 253 (against MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 32 (to Skt *ávi-* 'favorable'); ERNOUT-MEILLET 330; ÇABEJ *St.* I 249 (*je* as a variant of the particle *le* semantically misinterpreted by MEYER).

**jeh** m. 'echo'. A scholarly borrowing from Lat *ēcho* id. Used as a basis for the formation of *jehoj* 'to echo' and *jehonë* 'echo'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 249 (Greecisized Ital *eco* id.).

**jerm** m 'delirium, absent-mindedness'. Goes back to PALb *\*erma* etymologically identical with Lith *eřmas* 'monster', Latv *ēřms* 'wonderful apparition', *ēřmi* 'wonders, miracles'. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 32; FRAENKEL 122; POKORNY I 58; DURIDANOV *Trakite* 56, 75 (to Thr *\*ermas*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 250, VII 205, 247; DEMIRAJ *AE* 208.

**jes** aor. *jeta* 'to remain'. From PALb *\*etja*, a denominative of *jetë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 163 (suggests IE *\*et-* or *\*ed-* but without any meaning); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 76 (to IE *\*sed-* 'to sit'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 134, 186; XHUVANI *KLetr* I 5; ÇABEJ *St.* I 250-251 (to Phryg εἰτου, 3 sg. opt. 'let him be').



**jetě** f, pl. *jetě* 'life'. Goes back to PALb \**eta*, related to the isolated group of Gk ἐτεός 'true, real', ἐτά· ἀληθῆ, ἀγαθά (Hes.), ἐτάζω 'to test'. ◇ CAMARDA I 122 (to *jes*); MEYER *Wb.* 163 ( from Rom \**aeta* > Arum *eta* 'world, life', a back-formation of Lat *aetās* 'age'), *Alb. St.* IV 12; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1056; PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 156 (follows CAMARDA); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* I 216; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 23 (reconstructs IE \**ai̯motā* > MW *oed* 'world'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 133-134; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 242; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 9; ÇABEJ *St.* I 251-252; FRISK I 578-581; HAMP *ERPh.* 41-43 (supports MEYER); HULD 78; LANDI *Lat.* 71; OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

**jezull** m 'cloud of dust or smoke; ashes'. A secondary formation based on *jezer* id. - a metaphoric usage of Slav \**ezerь* 'lake' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 252). ◇ MANN *Comp.* 7 (to Gk αἴθραλος 'soot').

**jo** part. 'no'. Borrowed from Germ *ja* via Slavic languages of Austro-Hungary (FRIEDRICH *IF* LX 164). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt* 37 (from IE \**eneu*: Goth *inu* 'without', Skt *ano* 'not'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227.

**joně** f, pl. *jona* 'echo'. Phonetic transformation of *jehoně*, see *jeh*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 249 (secondary attraction of *joně* and *jehoně*).

**josh** aor. *josha* 'to curl, to fondle, to caress'. From PALb \**jāudsja* etymologically connected with IE \**ieudh-*: Skt *yúdhya* 'to fight, to struggle', Tokh A *yutk-* 'to take care of, to trouble about', Lith *jáudinti* 'to excite, to arouse' (OREL *FLH* VIII 44). ◇ FRAENKEL 195-196; POKORNY I 511; MAYRHOFER III 19-20; VAN WINDEKENS I 612; ÇABEJ *St.* I 252-253 (identifies *josh* with *osh* 'skimming', from Turkish *hoş* 'pleasant'); KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (against OREL).

**joshě** f, pl. *josha* 'grandmother'. Originally an element of the nursery vocabulary, this word is based on *josh* and identical with *joshě* 'caress' (DEMIRAJ *AE* 209). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 163 (to *gyjsh*); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 37-38 (same etymology); JOKL *LKUBA* 37-39 (to \**āt-sjā* derived from *atě*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 115; ÇABEJ *St.* I 253; DEMIRAJ *AE* 209.

**ju** pron. 'you'. From PALb \**ju* identical with Lith *jūs* id., Goth *jus* id., Gk ὑμεῖς id., Skt acc. *yusmán* id. (BOPP 464; CAMARDA I 95; MEYER *Wb.* 163, *Alb. St.* III 40), with the short vowel generalized from the oblique stem. ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 291; PEDERSEN

*Festschr. Thomsen* 252-253 (eliminates the hiatus *j-* and reconstructs \**u* < \**ues*), *KZ* XXXVI 103; *JOKL IF XLIX* 275; *TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia* 135 (follows PEDERSEN); *MANN Language XXVIII* 38 (reconstructs \**jūs*); *MANN Language XXVIII* 38; *PISANI Saggi* 132 (agrees with MEYER); *MINSHALL Language XXII* 627; *MAYRHOFER III* 24; *FEIST Goth.* 305; *FRAENKEL* 199; *FRISK II* 963-964; *POKORNY I* 513-514; *HULD* 78-79, *JIES VII* 203-207 (rejects MEYER's etymology because of the short vocalism reflected in Albanian, and reconstructs *ju* < \**ues*); *OREL FLH VIII/1-2* 43; *KORTLANDT SSGL XXIII* 174 (cliticized form of IE \**juH*); *DEMIRAJ AE* 209 (from \**usm-* present in oblique cases based on \**ues*).

**jud** m 'mythological monster'. Borrowed from Slav \**judъ* ~ \**juda* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *juda*. ◇ *LAMBERTZ Alb. Märchen* 26 n. 8 (links *jud* with the name of Judas); *ÇABEJ St. I* 253 (agrees with LAMBERTZ).

**jug** m 'South, Southern wind'. Borrowed from Slav \**jugъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *jug*, *SCr jug* (MEYER *Wb.* 164). ◇ *TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia* 135; *SELIŠČEV Slav. naselenie* 197; *SVANE* 175.

## K

**ka** m, pl. *qe* 'ox'. From PAIb \**kaxa* going back to \**koso-*, a nominal derivative of IE \**kes-* 'to scratch, to cut'; cf. Slav \**volъ* 'ox' ~ \**valiti* 'to throw down' > 'to castrate' (OREL *LB XXVIII/4* 52-53). ◇ *BOPP* 491 (from IE \**g'ōu-*); *STIER KZ XI* 150 (same as BOPP, adduces Venet *ceva* 'cow'); *GIL'FERDING Otn.* 22 (same as STIER); *MEYER Wb.* 164 (compares *ka* with Lith *kárvė* 'cow', Slav \**korva* id. and the like); *JOKL WuS XII* 68-69, *Sprache IX* 150; *TAGLIAVINI Stratificazione* 137; *MANN Language XVII* 22 (to Goth *auhsa*); *PORZIG Gliederung* 175; *POKORNY I* 585; *SGGJa I* 58; *HAMP St. Whatmough* 86, *Münch. St. Spr.* 59; *ÇABEJ St. VII* 201; *ÖLBERG Festschr. Pisani II* 684; *OREL Balcanica* 114 (a substratum loanword reflecting IE \**g'ōu-* 'bull'), *LB XXVIII/4* 52-53, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360; *TRUBAČEV Živ.* 43-44, *ÈSSJa XI* 108; *TOPOROV PJa IV* 47 (repeats MEYER's etymology); *DEMIRAJ AE* 210 (to Gk κερμός 'deer's calf').

**kabisht** m, pl. *kabishta* 'earwig'. A derivative in *-shtě* based on an unattested \**kab* continuing PAIb \**kaba*. The latter is related to Lith *kabėti*

'to hang', *kabà* 'crooked tree' and the like. ◇ FRAENKEL 200-201; POKORNY I 918.

**kacabu** ~ **kacabû** pl. *kacabunj* 'beetle, stagfly'. A compound consisting of *kaca* and *bu* < PALb \**buna*, a word of descriptive nature for 'beetle'. As to *kaca*, it is a form of *kac* 'goat' (see *kec*). In several words, it appears as an expressive prefix (cf., for example, *kacafik* 'hut', *kacafytem* 'to fight'), occasionally meaning 'up, over'.

**kacadre** ~ **kacadrê** m 'stagbeetle, grasshopper'. A compound of *kaca* (see *kacabu*) and *dre* 'deer'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 178 (a variant of *karkalec*).

**kacagjel** adv. A part of an idiom *rri kacagjel* 'to brag'. Represents a compound of *kaca* (see *kacabu*) and *gjel*.

**kacamit** m 'stag'. The word *kacamic* 'roebuck' is obviously a phonetic variant of *kacamit*. A compound of *kaca-* (see *kacabu*) and *mitë*. For the meaning of the latter cf. dialectal *mitëz* 'roe' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 254). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 182 (*kacamitë* 'deer, roe' borrowed from Ital \**camozzetta* 'chamois', cf. *camozza* id.).

**kacarroj** aor. *kacarrova* 'to climb, to clamber'. A compound of *kaca* (see *kacabu*) and *rroj*.

**kacarrum** aor. *kacarruma* 'core of corn-cob, corn-cob'. A compound of *kaca* (see *kacabu*) and *rrum*.

**kacek** m, pl. *kacekë* 'wineskin'. Back-formation based on *kaciq* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 254).

**kacë** f, pl. *kacë* 'butt, barrel, bin'. Borrowed from Slav \**kadъsa* 'barrel', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kaca*, SCr *kaca* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 154). ◇ SVANE 68.

**kaciq** m, pl. *kaciq* 'kid, wineskin'. Borrowed from NGk κωτίκι id. (MEYER *Wb.* 185). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 254 (related to *kec*).

**kaç** m, pl. *keç*, *keçër* ~ *keçën* 'weaver'. Borrowed from Slav \**тъкаць* id., cf. South Slavic continuants in Bulg *тъкач* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 182). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 171.

**kaçel** adj. 'lame'. A prefixal derivative based on *çal*. The prefix *ka-* has also a variant *kë-* (see below).

**kaçile** f, pl. 'basket, hand-basket'. Another, and more archaic, variant is *kashile*. Borrowed from Lat *quasillum* 'small basket' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 254-255). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 202 (borrowed from Slav *\*košul'a* 'basket'); KRISTOFORIDHI 147 (to Gk κύστις 'bag, pouch'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat.* 85, 104, 110.

**kaçorr** m 'leveret'. A phonetic variant of *kafshor* ~ *kafshuar*, derivative of *kafshë*. For the source of *-ç-* cf. *kaçile*.

**kaçorre** f, pl. *kaçorre* 'hut, hovel'. A phonetic variant of *kashtore* 'straw hut', derivative of *kashtë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 254).

**kaçubë** f, pl. *kaçuba* 'bush'. An early Slavic loanword, from *\*kočubъ/\*kočuba* 'crest, tuft' (OREL *Ëtimologija* 1983 138-139). See *kaçubël*. ◇ HAAS *LB* I 37, 46 (to Skt *kakubh-* 'peak, summit'); MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387 (to Gk κόσυμβος); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 105 (prefix *ka-*); VARBOT *Ëtimologija* 1968 68; ÇABEJ *St.* I 256-257; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

**kaçubël** m 'kind of a small bird'. An early Slavic loanword from *\*kočubejъ/\*kočubelъ* 'lark' attested only in Ukr *kočubej* and derived from *\*kočubъ/\*kočuba* 'crest, tuft' (VARBOT *Ëtimologija* 1968 68). Cf. also such Albanian derivatives as *kaçybet* 'vulture' (MEYER *Wb.* 183: erroneously compares with Slav *\*kobьць* 'kind of bird'). ◇ OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

**kaçul** m 'shock (of hair or feather), crest; penis (of infants)'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kočulъ/\*kačulъ*, a prefixal derivative of *\*čulъ* 'hornless; piece of wood; penis', cf. Bulg *kačul* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaimstv.* 13). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 183 (*kaçul* 'penis' borrowed from Ital *cazzo* id.); SVANE 147.

**kaçule** f, pl. *kaçule* 'hood'. Phonetically developed from *\*kashulë*. Borrowed from Lat *casula* 'hut', later 'hooded coat'. ◇ MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* XIX/1 48-65 (from NGk κατσοῦλα 'hood, cap').

**kaçup** m, pl. *kaçupe* 'skin (for wine or oil)'. A masculine form of *kaçubë* with the unvoicing of the auslaut *-b*.

**kaçurrel** adj. 'frizzy, curly'. A derivative of *\*kaçurrë*, an early borrowing from Slav *\*kočura* 'hummock', otherwise unattested in South Slavic.

**kade** f, pl. *kade* 'barrel'. A singularized plural of *\*kadě* borrowed from Slav *\*kada* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *kada*, SCr *kada* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 164). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8 (from Lat *cadus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1041; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 154; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 276; SVANE 68; MURATI *Probleme* 131.

**kadis** aor *kadita* 'to burn incense'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kaditi* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *kad'a*, SCr *kaditi* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 186). ◊ SVANE 209, 234.

**kadoriqe** f, pl. *kadoriqe* (bot.) 'layer, runner'. A singularized plural of *\*kadorik* borrowed from MGk *κατῶρυξ* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 256).

**kadh** m 'sty'. Another variant is *kath*. From PALb *\*kadza* related to Lith *kėštù, kėžti* 'to swell' *kėžėti* 'to widen, to spread'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 165; FRAENKEL 248-249; ÇABEJ *St.* I 271 (deminutive of *ka*).

**kadhë** f, pl. *kadha* 'pruning-knife, billhook with long handle'. From PALb *\*kadā* etymologically connected with IE *\*(s)ke(n)d-*: Skt *skhadate* 'to split', Gk *σκεδάννυμι* 'to scatter, to disperse' and their cognates. ◊ FRISK II 721; MAYRHOFER III 507; POKORNY I 919.

**kafkë** f, pl. *kafka* 'skull'. Borrowed from MGk *καῦκος* 'kind of dish or bowl, patera' (MEYER *Wb.* 165-166). ◊ CAMARDA I 54 (to MGk *καύκαλον* 'dish, skull').

**kafshë** f, pl. *kafshë* 'animal, thing'. A relatively late loanword from West Balkan Romance continuant of Lat *causa* (CAMARDA I 53-54; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 12; MEYER *Wb.* 166). A direct borrowing from Latin would have reflected as *\*kashë* (HULD 79). ◊ MEYER *Neugriech. St.* III 29 (with insurmountable semantic obstacles, from Lat *capsa* 'chest, box'); JOKL *LKUBA* 19 (from Lat *capsa*); MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; ÇABEJ

*St. I 256-257* (follows MEYER *Wb.*); HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat. 73*, 110.

**kafshoj** aor. *kafshova* 'to bite'. Another variant is *kapshoj*. Borrowed from Lat *capessere* ~ *capissere* 'to seize, to snatch at' (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1055). ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 176 (from Rom \**capsāre* based on Lat *capere* 'to take'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1052 (from Rom \**captiāre* 'to grasp'); JOKL *LKUBA* 19 n. 1 (to Gk κόπτω 'to snap, to snatch', Slav \**xapati* 'to seize, to grasp'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 115; ÇABEJ *St. I 257* (agrees with JOKL and also adduces *kap*).

**kah** prep. 'from, out, out of'. Immediately connected with *nga* id. Both prepositions require nominative. The underlying Proto-Albanian phrase must have been \*(*en*) *kaxa* continuing \*(*en*) *k'o(d) so* '(in) which (is) this'. The original meaning, therefore, may be reconstructed as 'in' or 'wherein' but the whole system of prepositions was semantically transformed in Albanian, cf. *ith*. ∅ CAMARDA I 66-67 (to Gk πη 'in some way, to some place'); MEYER *Wb.* 304 (to Gk κατά 'down'), *Alb. St. III 4*; VON BLANKENSTEIN *IF XXI 112* (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St. VII 201*.

**kakë** f 'excrements'. A usual *Kinderwort* (MEYER *Wb.* 166). ∅ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8 (from Lat *cacāre* 'to defecate').

**kakërdhi** f, pl. *kakërdhi* 'dung (of sheep or goat)'. A modified sequence consisting of *kakë* and *dhi*. ∅ MANN *Language XXVI 386-387* (*kakër-* to Gk κόπρος).

**kakërdhiçë** f, pl. *kakërdhiça* 'lizard'. Based on *kakërdhi*, a compound consisting of *kakë* and *rdhi* (to *hardhi*), cf. a similar formation in *hardhje*. Other compounds of the same type are *kakëzorrë*, *kakërdhok* 'frog (to *kakë* and *zorrë*) and *kakëzog* 'blindworm' - to *kakë* and *zog*, i.e. a creature excreting its children: the blindworm is viviparous. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 147 (variant of *hardhje*), 166-167 (on *kakëzog* and *kakëzorrë*); SCHMIDT *KZ L 242-243* (borrowed from Gk κροκόδειλος 'crocodile').

**kakole** f, pl. *kakole* 'hip bone'. A phonetic variant of *kokall* 'bone' borrowed from NGk κόκκαλον id.

**kakrruk** m, pl. 'stone-fruit, hard nut'. A suffixal derivative of *kokërr* with a dialectal change of the unstressed *-o-* > *-a-* (MURATI *Probleme* 79). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 195 (to Slav \**orěxъ* 'nut').

**kalakiç** adv. 'piggyback'. A compound of of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (see *kalaveshi*) and *kiç*.

**kalaman ~ kalamâ** m, pl. *kalamaj, kalamanë* 'child (till the age of 8-9)'. A compound of of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (see *kalavesh*) and \**man*, derivative of *maj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 170 (to Slav \**kalъ* 'dirt', \**kal'avъ* 'dirty'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 94-95; ÇABEJ *St.* I 257-258 (from Bulg *kalimana* 'female witness at a wedding').

**kalamend** aor. *kalamenda* 'to entangle, to confuse'. A compound of of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (see *kalavesh*) and *mend*.

**kalaqafë** adv. 'piggyback'. A compound of of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (see *kalavesh*) and *qafë*.

**kalavesh** m, pl. *kalavesha* 'grape'. A compound consisting of an expressive prefix *kala(n)-* (cf. *kalamend, kalangërç* 'cramp' ~ *gërç* id.) and *vesh*, cf. *vesh rrush* 'grape' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 258). As far as the origin of *kala-* is concerned, with its original meaning 'upside down', 'topsy-turvy', it may continue PAIb \**kala* related to IE \**k<sup>h</sup>el-* 'to turn'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 167 (*kala-* to Turk *kara* 'black'); JOKL *LKUBA* 214 (*kala-* to Turk *kalan* 'rest, surplus'); POKORNY I 639-640; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 102 (prefixes *ka-la-*).

**kalb** aor. *kalba* 'to let rot'. A denominative derived from PAIb \**kalba*, see the singularized plural *qelb*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 221-222 (to *qelb*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 53 (reconstructs IE \**golbh-* and compares *kalb* with Slav \**žely* 'tumor'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 137; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203, 284.

**kalecë** adv 'gently, quietly'. Other variants are *kalehtazi* and *kaletas*. The original form must have been \**ka-leht-az*, consisting of the prefix *ka-* and \**leht-az* derived from *lehtë*.

**kalesh** adj. 'hairy'. A prefixal derivative of *lesh* (MEYER *Wb.* 170). ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 104.

**kalě** m, pl. *kual, kuaj* 'horse'. Borrowed from Lat *caballus* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 146; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 7; MEYER *Wb.* 167). ◇ CAMARDA I 66 (to Gk *καβάλλης* 'working horse'); GIL'FERDING *Orn.* 22 (to Skt *khāra-* 'donkey'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1050; PISANI *AAL* VIII 345 (back formation of pl. *kuaj* borrowed from Slav *\*kon'ь*); TAGLI-AVINI *Origini* 190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 113; LANDI *Lat.* 97, 137-138.

**kalibe** f, pl. *kalibe* 'hut'. A relatively early borrowing from Slav *\*kolyba* id. Cf. *kolihe*. ◇ OREL *Sov. slav.* 1985/5 79-84.

**kalibobě** f, pl. *kaliboba* 'lote, nettle-tree'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kalibobъ*, a compound of *\*kaliti* 'to make dirty' and *\*bobъ* 'bean' unattested in South Slavic.

**kaliboç** adv. 'on one's back'. A compound of an expressive prefix *kali-* (a variant of *kala-*, see *kalavesh*) and *boçě*. ◇ XHUVANI - ÇABEJ *BShkSh* 1956/4 74 (on *kali-*).

**kalihum** adv. 'downwards, over and over'. A compound of an expressive prefix *kali-* (see *kaliboç*) and *hum* < *humb* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 258).

**kalis** aor. *kalita* 'to sharpen, to cleanse (of metal)'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kaliti* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *kal'a*, SCr *kaliti* (DESNIČKA-JA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 155, 386 (from NGk *σκαλίζω* 'to carve'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 258; SVANE 234.

**kalivaç** adv. 'in a group of three on a stem (of fruit and the like)'. Derivative in *-ç* of *kalivare* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 258).

**kalivare** adv. 'trickling down'. A compound of an expressive prefix *kali-* (see *kaliboç*) and *var* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 258-259).

**kaloj** aor. *kalova* 'to pass, to go past'. Borrowed from Rom *\*coalläre* < Lat *coambuläre* 'to go with'.

**kalptoj** aor. *kalptova* 'to fill with tow, to plug, to caulk'. A denominative based on a Turkish loanword *kallp, kallěp* 'form, model'.

(T) **kaltěr** adj. 'blue, sky blue'. From Rom *\*calthinus* 'yellow, yellowish',



based on Lat *caltha* 'Calendula officinalis', cf. *calthula* 'yellow robe' (MEYER *Wb.* 170-171). ◊ OREL *Balcanica* 113-114 (from a substratum reflex of IE \**ǵhel-* 'yellow'); HAARMAN 114; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 218.

**kall** aor. *kalla* 'to insert, to thrust, to place, to incite, to set on fire'. From PALb \**kalna*, a denominative based on \**kala*. The latter continues IE \**k<sup>h</sup>olo-* and must be related to *sjell* (JOKL *LKUBA* 266 n. 1). ◊ CAMARDA I 149 (to Gk κέλλω 'to urge, to drive on'); MEYER *Wb.* 168 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 3; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 329; PISANI *Saggi* 123; ÇABEJ *St.* I 259 (follows JOKL); JANSON *Unt.* 161; HULD 106-107; DEMIRAJ *AE* 210-211.

**kalla** pl. 'slander, calumny'. Literally, 'incitation'. Derivative of *kall* (CAMARDA II 67; MEYER *Wb.* 168). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 259 (to *kalli*).

**kallëz** aor. *kallëzova* 'to slander, to tell stories'. Derived from an unattested \**kallëz*, a collective form of *kalla*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 168 (to *kall*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 260-261 (identifies this verb with *kallëz* 'to put ears of corn together', derived from *kallëz* 'ear of corn').

**kalli** m, pl. *kallinj*, *kallëza* 'ear of grain'. An archaic variant *kall* 'straw, chaff' is attested in Italo-Albanian. From PALb \**kalsa* related to Slav \**kolъ* 'ear of grain' (MEYER *BB* XIV 53; *Wb.* 168). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 124, *Sprache* IX 151; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 79; PISANI *Saggi* 123; ÇABEJ *St.* I 270; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* X 152-153; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 203; DEMIRAJ *AE* 211-212 (to Slav \**kolъ* 'picket, stake').

**kallm** m, pl. *kallma* 'reed, straw'. Borrowed from Lat *calamus* 'reed, cane' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 261). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 168-169 (together with *kallam* 'reed' borrowed from NGk καλάμι id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 113; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 138-139.

**kam** aor. *pata* 'to have'. From PALb \**kapmi*, an athematic verb based on IE \**kap-* 'to seize, to grasp', cf. Lat *capiō* id., Goth *haban* 'to have'. The aorist is etymologically related to Lat *potior* 'to take possession of' and its cognates (MEYER *Wb.* 171, *Alb. St.* III 36). ◊ CAMARDA I 69 (to Gk ἔχω 'to possess, to have'); MEYER *Wb.* 171 (to Goth *haban* and Lat *habēō* 'to have'), *Alb. St.* III 6; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 93, *KZ*

IXXXVI 308 (derives the aorist form *\*pot-to-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 261; JOHANSON *IF XIX* 115; TREIMER *Slavia III* 455; SCHMIDT *KZ LVII* 27-28; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 216; ERNOUT-MEILLET 97; PISANI *Saggi* 98, 130; KLUGE 278; WALDE-HOFMANN I 159-160, II 350-351; POKORNY I 408, 842; FEIST *Goth.* 229; CAMAJ *Beitr. SOE* 41-44 (from *\*kĕ-am*, to *\*es-* 'to be'); HULD 167; JANSON *Unt.* 149-151; ÇABEJ *St.* III 130, VII 253; HAMP *KZ LXXVII* 252; KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 230; HULD 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 212, 313-314 (*pashĕ* treated as a denominative derived from *\*poti-*).

**kamare** f 'cobweb'. A metaphoric usage of *kamare* 'vault' borrowed from NGk *καμάρα* id. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 171-172 (borrowed from Lat *cammarus* 'sea-crab, lobster' or Gk *κάμματος* id.); ÇABEJ *St.* I 263 (follows MEYER).

**kandĕr** f, pl. *kandra* 'jar, vessel'. Borrowed from Lat *cantharus* 'large drinking vessel, tankard, pot' (LANDI *Lat.* 116, 145). ∅ MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/3-4* 350 (from Gk *κάνθαρος*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 264 (borrowed directly from Gk *κάνθαρος* 'drinking cup').

**kandĕrr** f, pl. *kandrra* 'insect'. Borrowed from Lat *cantharis* 'beetle, worm'. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 173 (to Ital *canterella* 'Spanish fly'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/3-4* 350 (from Greek); ÇABEJ *St.* I 263-264 (from Gk *κάνθαρος* 'beetle, scarab').

**kanĕ** f 'reed, rush'. Borrowed from Lat *canna* 'reed, cane' (MEYER *Wb.* 173-174), with the geminate preventing rhotacism in Tosk. ∅ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1041, 1051; HAARMAN 114.

**kangjel** m 'song'. Borrowed from Rom *\*canticellum* reflected in Rum *căntecel* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 187). Cf. *këngĕ*. ∅ ÇABEJ *St.* I 264 (Albanian derivative in *-el-* based on *këngĕ*).

**kanushĕ** f, pl. *kanusha* 'stork'. Borrowed from Rom *\*cănōsus*, derivative of Lat *cānus* 'white' MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 21; ÇABEJ *St.* I 265). ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 174 (from Ital *cicogna* 'stork'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 24 (to SCr *kanja* 'vulture' and the like); SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 198; HELBIG 90 (follows MEYER); HAARMAN 114; LANDI *Lat.* 63, 110, 114.

**kap** aor. *kapa* 'to seize, to grasp'. From PAIb *\*kapa* connected with IE *\*kap-* 'to seize': Gk κόπτω to 'snap', Lat *capiō* 'to seize, to take', Goth *haban* 'to hold, to have' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 34). See *kam*. ◇ MEYER *BB* VIII 185, *Wb.* 174 (from Turk *kapmak* 'to catch'); TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 139-140; MANN *Language* XXVI 380; FRISK I 783-784; FEIST *Goth.* 229; WALDE-HOFMANN I 159; POKORNY I 527-528; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; DEMIRAJ *AE* 212-213.

**kapasë** f, pl. *kapasa* 'oil-barrel'. Borrowed from NGk κάπασα id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 265). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 33-34 (to *kap*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 206, 266; DEMIRAJ *AE* 213.

**kapë** f, pl. *kapë* 'armful of corn; shock, pile'. From PAIb *\*kapā* identical with Gk κόπη 'manger, crib', further related to *kap* (KRISTOFORIDHI 141). ◇ MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Slav *\*kuryъ*, Lith *kaūpas*); FRISK I 783-784; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 73.

**kapërcej** aor. *kapërceva* 'to cross, to jump over'. A prefixal derivative of *ecëj*, *\*ka-për-ecëj*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 175 (from Rom *\*capitiäre*).

**kapërdij** aor. *kapërdiva* 'to swallow'. A prefixal derivative in *ka-* based on *përdij*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242, 244.

**kapërdhij** aor. *kapërdhiva* 'to overturn, to subjugate'. A prefixal derivative in *ka-* based on *përdhe*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 175 (from Ital *capovol-gere* 'to turn upside down').

**kapërthej** aor. *kapërtheva* 'to entangle, to entwine'. A prefixal derivative in *ka-për-* based on *thyej*.

**kapinë** f 'bramble, blackberry'. A recent loanword from Maced *kapina* 'blackberry' with *-a-* < *\*-ǝ-*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 266 (from Bulg *кърпина* or SCr *kupina* id.).

**kapis** aor. *kapita* 'to exhaust, to wear out'. Often in passive - *kapitem*. Borrowed from Slav *\*kapiti* ~ *\*kapati* 'to get tired', cf. Bulg *kap'a* id., SCr *kapati* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 176 (based on NGk κόπος 'toil, suffering'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 24; JOKL *Studien* 34 (to *qem*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 266 (to *kap*); SVANE 247; DEMIRAJ *AE* 213.

**kapruall ~ kapruell** m, pl. *kaproj, kaprej, kaprenj* 'roebuck'. Borrowed from Lat *capreolus* id. with an innovative penultimate stress (STIER *KZ* XI 136; MEYER *Wb.* 176). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239; HAARMANN 115; LANDI *Lat.* 78-80, 118.

**kapt** m, pl. *kapte* 'irrigation ditch'. A parallel form *kaptë* 'lee-side of mountain' also belongs here. An adjective in \*-to- based on *kap* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 266). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 175 (to *kaptoj*).

**kaptoj** aor. *kaptova* 'to cross, to pass through'. A more conservative form is *kapërtoj*. A phonetic variant of *kapërcej*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 175 (from Ital *capitare* 'to arrive, to turn up'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 266-267 (derivative of *kap*).

**kapth** m, pl. *kaptha* 'path, mountain path'. A derivative in -th based on an unattested \**kap* continuing PALb \**kapa*. The latter is related to Lith *kāpas* 'grave', *kopà* 'dune', Latv *kāpa* 'dune' continuing IE \*(s)kep-. ◇ FRAENKEL 217; POKORNY I 932.

**kapua ~ kapue** m, pl. *kaponj* 'rooster'. Borrowed from Lat *cāpōnem* 'capon' (MEYER *Wb.* 176). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 11 (from Ital *capone* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1047 (same as MIKLOSICH); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 115; LANDI *Lat.* 143-145.

**kaq** adv. 'so, so much, so many'. For the structure of this adverb see *aq*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 167 (related to *aq*).

**kar** m 'penis'. Borrowed from Gypsy *kar* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 176). ◇ TREIMER *MRIW* I 366; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 141.

**karabobe** f, pl. *karabobe* 'lote, nettle tree'. Variant of *kalibobë* (MANN *HAED* 185).

**karabush** m, pl. *karabusha* 'corn-cob'. A prefixal derivative of *rabush*. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 141 (from Turk *kara baş* 'black head'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

**karavelě** f, pl. *karavela* 'small round bread'. Another variant is *kravelě*. A singularized plural of the original \**karavalě* borrowed from Slav \**korvajb* 'round bread', cf. in particular SCr *kravaj* (MEYER *Wb.* 177). The group -*ara-* < South Slavic -*ra-* is explained by the analogy with Turk *kara* 'black'. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 155; ÇABEJ *St.* I 268; SVANE 92.

**karbě** f 'vulture'. From PALb \**kar(i)bā* related to Lith *kārti* 'to hang' and its cognates, cf. the semantic development of Slav \**kobьсь* 'vulture' - to Lith *kabėti* 'to hang'. In both cases, the basis of the semantic motivation is the well-known hunting position of the vulture "hanging" in the sky. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 178 (to Bulg *kraguĵ*, SCr *kraguĵ* 'hawk'); JOKL *LKUBA* 304 (to *shkabě*, with an inorganic -*r-*); FRAENKEL I 224-225; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* X 101-102 (on the etymology of \**kobьсь*).

**karkalec** m, pl. *karkaleca*, *karkalecě* 'grasshopper'. A transformation of Bulg *skakalec* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 178), probably, under the influence of *karkal* 'excrements' and similar descriptive forms.

**karkashině** f, pl. *karkashina* 'lean sickly sheep; pottage of pulse and grain'. Derived from SCr *karkaša* 'carcass'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 179 (the word for pottage - from SCr adj. fem. *kokošinja* 'belonging or related to hen').

**karkas** aor. *karkata* 'to quack'. Borrowed from Slav \**kъrkati* 'to caw, to croak, to quack', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kъrkam*, SCr *krkati*. ◇ TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XIII 216.

**karmě** f, pl. *karma* 'rock'. From PALb \**karpnā* further related to *karpě* (JOKL *Studien* 35). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 269.

**karpě** f, pl. *karpa* 'rock'. From PALb \**karpā* related to Lith *kerpù*, *kīrpti* 'to cut', Latv *cīrpt* 'to shear, to clip', ON *harfr* 'harrow' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 34-35). ◇ KRISTOFORIDHI 144 (related to the name of the Carpathian mountains, Καρπάτης ὄρος); ROZWADOWSKI *JP* II 161-162; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 24-26 (same as KRISTOFORIDHI); FRAENKEL 257-258; POKORNY I 944; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 119 (suffix -*pě*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 268-269, IV 74; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; DEMIRAJ *AE* 213.

**karsh** m, pl. *kersh* 'rocky area'. A parallel form is *kērshë*. Continues PALb \**kar-usa*, a derivative of IE \*(s)*ker-* 'to cut', semantically similar to *karpë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 207 (from SCr *krš* id.); POKORNY I 938-947; ÇABEJ *St.* I 269.

**kartë** f 'measure of grain'. Borrowed from Lat *quarta* 'fourth part' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 269-270). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 144; LANDI *Lat.* 134.

**karthi** f, pl. *karthi* 'dry firewood'. The same root is represented in *karthë* 'laburnum, golden rain'. A derivative in *-th-* based on \**karë* from PALb \**karā* etymologically identical with Slav \**kora* 'bark', Lith *kerù, kérti* 'to become separated' and further with IE \*(s)*ker-* 'to cut'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 178 (from NGk κάρφος 'brushwood'); FRAENKEL 245; POKORNY I 938-947; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XI 44-45.

**karrabisht** m, pl. *karrabishta* 'earwig'. A compound of an expressive morpheme *karra-* (a variant of *kala-*) and *bisht*.

**karrapuc** adv. 'squatting'. A compound of an expressive *karra-* and an unidentified morpheme. Unclear.

**karravesh** m, pl. *karraveshë* 'stick'. A variant of *kalavesh*.

**karrem** m, pl. *karrema* 'rainworm'. A prefixal derivative of *rime*.

**karrë** f, pl. *karra* 'cart'. Borrowed from Lat *carrum* 'two-wheeled wagon' (MEYER *Wb.* 180). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1044; HAARMANN 115; LANDI *Lat.* 46, 128, 139.

**karrigë** f, pl. *karriga* 'chair'. Borrowed from Lat *quadrīga* 'set of four' (here, of four legs). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 12 (from Ital *cadrega, carega* 'chair'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1047 (from Ital Venet *carega* 'chair'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 280.

**karroqe** f, pl. *karroqe* 'bushel, milk-can'. A parallel form is *krroqe* 'measure made of bark, bucket'. Borrowed from Gmc \**krūk-* 'jug', cf. OHG *krüche*, OE *crúce*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 180 (uncertain comparison with Germanic and Celtic names of vessels); BÜGA III 721; KLUGE 407; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 61.

**karrup** m, pl. *karrupa* 'fish-trap'. An early borrowing from Slav \**korupъ* attested in Bulg *korup* (BER 648). ◇ KLEPIKOVA *Sb. Bernštej-na* 419-427.

**karrutë** f, pl. *karruta* 'fermenter'. An early borrowing from Slav \**koryto* 'trough', see *koritë* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 78, 142). ◇ SVANE 67.

**kasnec** m, pl. *kasnecë, kasneca* 'herald'. Borrowed from Slav \**kazньсь* id., cf. SCr *kaznac* (JOKL *LKUBA* 56-58). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 179, 286; SVANE 193.

**kastravec** m, pl. *kastravecë, kastraveca* 'cucumber'. Borrowed, with a metathesis, from Slav \**kostrovьсь* id, cf. Bulg *krastavec, krastavica*, SCr *krastavac* (MEYER *Wb.* 180). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 286; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; SVANE 106.

**kashër** f, pl. *kashra* 'reed, rush'. From \**kashtër* related to *kashtë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 270).

**kashnjet** m, pl. *kashnjete* 'chestnut grove'. Borrowed from Lat *castanëtum* id. See *gështenjë*.

**kashtë** f 'straw'. From PALb \**kalstā*, derivative of *kalli* (JOKL *IF XXXVI* 124, *LKUBA* 214, 274). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 180 (to Gk κοστάι· κριθαί or ἀκοστή· κριθή παρὰ Κυπρίοις, Hes.); TREIMER *MRIW* I 366-367 (borrowed from Gypsy *kašt* 'wood'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 26-27 (to Slav \**kostь* 'bone'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 143; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 104 (prefix *k-* and equivalent of Slav \**ostь*); HAMP *St. albanica* X/2 87-88, *Ëtimologija* 1971 270-271; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 283; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 236; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 221; DEMIRAJ *AE* 213-214.

**kashtup** m, pl. *kashtupë* 'skin of corn-cob'. A derivative in *-up* based on *kashtë*.

**katër** num. 'four'. From PALb \**katur(a)* etymologically related to IE \**k<sup>h</sup>etur-* ~ \**k<sup>h</sup>etuer-* id.: Skt *catvāra-*, Gk τέσσαρες, Lat *quattuor* and the like (CAMARDA I 169; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; MEYER *BB* VIII 185). The vocalism of the second syllable is generalized according to the form of accusative \**k<sup>h</sup>eturm*. The vowel in the first syllable presents serious

difficulties. It may be explained by reduction similar to that of Lat *quattuor* (MANN *Language* XVII 17; HULD 79) and Slav \*čьtyre co-existing with \*četyre (but cf. TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* IV 97). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 181 (from Lat *quattuor*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 144 (agrees with MEYER *Wb.*); MANN *Language* XVII 17; PISANI *Saggi* 102; FRISK II 883-884; MAYRHOFER I 371-372; WALDE-HOFMANN I 400-401; POKORNY I 642-644; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 228, 244; LANDI *Lat.* 75, 79; HAMP *Numerals* 907-910.

**katua** ~ **katue** m, pl. *katonj* 'stable, basement, cellar'. Borrowed from NGk κατώγι < κατώγειον id. (MEYER *Wb.* 183). ◇ OREL *Subst.* 12 (from Iran \**xata*- 'basement').

**katund** m, pl. *katunde* 'village'. A prefixal derivative of *tund* representing a calque of Slav \**kolyba* 'hut' as based on \**kolybati* 'to tremble, to shake' (cf. OREL *SOV. slav.* 1985/5 79-84). From Albanian, the word - originally, a name of a hut - was borrowed to other Balkan languages. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 10 (from Ital *cantone*); MEYER *Wb.* 183; BRÜCKNER *KZ* XLVIII 168; JOKL *IF* XXXIII 421-424 (from *ka-* and *tund* < \**tnto-*, participle of *ndej*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 28-30 (from Proto-Bulgarian); TREIMER *ZfromPhil* XXXVIII 388; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 144; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 102; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 339; ROSETTI *ILR* I 275; TANAS, OCA *RESEE* XXVII/1-2 139-144; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200, 230; MOUTSOS *KZ* LXXXVIII 59-73 (from MGk κατοῦνα 'suppellex, impedimenta, aedes in qua quis habitat'); MURATI *Probleme* 81; DEMIRAJ *AE* 214-215.

**kazhup** m, pl. *kazhupë* 'peasant coat'. An early borrowing from Slav \**kožuxъ* 'coat made of skin', cf. *gozhup*.

**ke** prep. 'to, at'. From PALb \**kō* continuing the pronominal form \**k<sup>o</sup>ōi* or \**k<sup>o</sup>ōd* (MEYER *Wb.* 218, *Alb. St.* III 2). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 326 (analogical formation based on *ku*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 272 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

**kedh** m, pl. *kedhë, kedha* 'kid'. Other variants are *kec* and *keç*. An umlauticized form of PALb \**kadza* related to Slav \**koza* 'she-goat' (*Alb. St.* III 4, 16; CIMOCHOWSKI *LII* 231). ◇ POTT *KZ* IV 70 (to Lat *hoedus*); MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21 (from SCr *keca* 'sound used to call goats'); MEYER *Wb.* 185 (borrowed from Gmc \**kidjaz* 'kid' or Turk *käçi* 'goat');



TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 137-138; MLADENOV *Ist.* 192; PISANI *Saggi* 130; TRUBAČEV *ËSSJa* XII 19-21; MURATI *Probleme* 131.

**kem** m 'incense'. Another form is *qem*. From PALb *\*kapna* etymologically identical with Gk κᾰπνός 'smoke' and its cognates reflecting IE *\*kuēp-* (JOKL *Studien* 37, *IF* XLIV 14). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 222 (from *\*kedmo-* and to Slav *\*čadъ* 'fumes, smoke'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 31; FRISK I 781-782; POKORNY I 596-597; ÇABEJ *St.* I 272-273 (borrowed from Gk θυμίαμα 'incense' or Lat *thymiama* id.); DEMIRAJ *AE* 215-216.

**kep** aor. *kepa* 'to hew'. The basic deverbative is *kep* 'quarry; tip, point'. Continues the umlauticized PALb *\*kapa* etymologically related to Gk κόπτω 'to hit, to hew', Lith *kapiù, kàpti* 'to hew' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 185, *Alb. St.* III 4, 31). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 39-40 (connects *kep* with *sqep*); MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRISK II 914-915; FRAENKEL 218; POKORNY I 931; ÇABEJ *St.* I 272-273 (dialectal form of *qep*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 216.

**keq** adj. 'bad, evil'. From PALb *\*kakja* related to Gk κακός 'bad' (BOPP 490; CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 184-185, *Alb. St.* III 3). The disyllabic *keiq, këeq* seems to be an artefact going back to KAVALLIOTIS. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 85 (borrowing from Rom *\*cadōcus*), *Gr. Gr.* 258; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 327; JOKL *Studien* 35-36 (divides *këeq* > *keq* into a prefix *kë-* and the root *-eq* compared with Latv *īgns* 'sour', Lat *aeger* 'ill, sick'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 145 (rejects JOKL's etymology for phonetic reasons); CIPO *BIShk* III/1 113-116; LA PIANA *Studi* I 94; PISANI *Saggi* 128 (follows MEYER); MANN *Language* XXVI 380, 385 (follows MEYER *Wb.*); FRISK I 758-759; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 100 (from *kë + eq* = Latv *īgns*); ÖLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 565; ÇABEJ *St.* I 273-274 (borrowing from Gk κακός > Alb *\*kak*, pl. *\*qeq* with the consequent analogical transformation into *keq*); HULD 79-80; DEMIRAJ *AE* 216-217.

**kerrmë** f, pl. *kerrma* 'thorn-bush'. The umlauticized form of *karmë*, variant of *karmë*.

**kerrnjoj** aor. *kerrnjova* 'to purr (of cat)'. As it becomes obvious from *kerrmëz* 'purr', the verb continues an earlier form *\*kerrmnjoj* which, therefore, is a loanword from Lat *carmināre* 'to sing, to make verses'.

**ketër** m, pl. *ketra* 'squirrel, dormouse'. Other variants are *ketërr, kitër*

and *kitërr*. From PAIb *\*kōk-ter* related to Lith *\*kuokas* 'dance' (reconstructed from *kuokinë* 'dancing party') and Slav *\*skakati* 'to jump, to spring'. At an early stage, borrowed to dialectal South Slavic *\*katerь*, attested in Bulg *katerica* 'squirrel' (OREL *Ėtimologija* 1980 60-61). ∅ FRAENKEL 311-312; POKORNY I 922-923; ÇABEJ *St.* I 274 (derivative of SCr *kita* 'tuft, cluster', Bulg *kita* id.); GEORGIEV *Vъprosi* 41-42 (Bulg *katerica* from Thracian, with the ultimate reconstruction of *\*skōk-ter-*); STANG *LS* 86; *BER* 271-272 (agrees with GEORGIEV); GINDIN, KALUŹSKAJA, OREL *Blssl.* 251; MURATI *Probleme* 83.

**këzë** f 'woman's head-dress, bonnet, hair-net'. Another variant is *kesë*. Derivative in *-zë* of an unattested PAIb *\*kaxā* 'plaited hair' etymologically related to Slav *\*kosa* id., ON *haddr* 'woman's hair' and the like. ∅ CAMARDA I 114 (to Gk *χαίτη* 'long hair'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 274 (from *\*krezë*, derivative of *krye*); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XI 131-133.

**këlboqe** f, pl. *këlboqe* 'sputum'. A suffixal derivative of *kalb* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 275).

**këlqere** f 'lime'. Borrowed from Lat fem. adj. *calcāria* 'pertaining to lime' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8; MEYER *Wb.* 186). ∅ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1047, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 114; LANDI *Lat.* 46, 81, 111-112.

(G) **këlshëjt** m 'communion cup, chalice'. Borrowed from Lat *calicem sanctum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 221) both parts of which are preserved in *qelq* and *shenjtë*. ∅ ÇABEJ *St.* I 272 (believes the compound to be formed in Albanian rather than in Latin).

**këlthas** aor. *këlthita*, *klitha* 'to cry'. Together with *këlcas* 'to make noise', this form reflects a strong secondary influence of *kërcas*. However, originally, these verbs go back to a different source, Slav *\*klicati* ~ *\*klikati* 'to shout, to call'. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 189 (identifies *këlcas* with *kërcas*); ANTTILA *Schw.* 100.

**këlysh** m, pl. *këlyshë*, *këlysha* 'young of animal, cub'. A derivative in *-ysh* of an unattested *\*kul* related to Gk *κύλλα· σκύλαξ*. 'Ἡλείοι, Hes. further connected with *σκύλαξ* 'young dog, cub' (ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ). ∅ STIER *KZ* XI 145 (borrowed from Lat *catulus* 'cub'); MEYER *Wb.* 186 (to Lith *kalė* 'dog, bitch' or W *colwyn* 'young dog, cub'); JOKL

**LKUBA** 259-264 (prefix *kē-* followed by *lysh* < \**ludh-sjo-*, to IE \**leudh-* 'to grow'); **TREIMER MRIW** I 357-358 (to Lat *lutum* 'dirt'); **TAGLIAVINI Stratificazione** 149; **CAMAJ Alb. Wortb.** 105 (prefix *kē-*); **FRISK** II 741; **MOUTSOS ZfBalk XXV/2** 154-156 (from MGk *κουλούκι(ον)* 'puppy, young dog'); **DEMIRAJ AE** 218- 219.

**këllas** aor. *këllita*, *kalla* 'to put into, to insert, to dig, to instigate'. Derivative of *kall*. Note various deverbatives based on *këllas*, such as *këllëç* 'case' and *këllëf* id. ◊ **ÇABEJ St.** VII 257.

**këllk** m, pl. *këllqe* 'hip bone'. Borrowed from East South Slavic continuants of \**кѣлкѣ* 'hip': Bulg *кѣлк*, Maced *kolk*, *кѣлк*.

**këmbë ~ kambë** f, pl. *këmbë ~ kambë* 'leg, foot'. From Rom \**camba ~ \*gamba* 'leg' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9; MEYER *Wb.* 178). Note that there are no traces of the variant *camba* in Balkan Romance. ◊ **CAMARDA** I 55 (compares with Gk *καμπή* 'bend'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 138; MANN *Language XVII* 19 (from IE \**kampā*, cf. **CAMARDA**); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 114; OREL *Balcanica* 114-115; COROMINAS *DEC* II 645-646; ROHLFS *Spr.* 93-94 (borrowed from Gk *καμπή* 'foot joint of a horse'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 279; HULD 80 ("the direction of borrowing is uncertain"); LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 115.

**këmborë ~ këmbonë** f, pl. *këmborë, këmbora ~ këmbonë, këmbona* 'bell'. Borrowed from Rom \**campona*, a secondary variant of Lat *campana* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9; MEYER *Wb.* 186: directly from *campana*). ◊ **CAMARDA** I 57 (to Gk *κύμβη* 'drinking vessel'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; JOKL *Litteris* IV 197 (from Dalm *canpuone*), *Slavia* XIII 287.

**këmishë** f, pl. *këmishë* 'shirt'. Borrowed from Lat *camisia* 'linen shirt, night-gown' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9; MEYER *Wb.* 187). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 114.

**kënaq** aor. *kënaqa* 'to please, to satisfy'. From PALb \**ka-nakja* closely related to Goth *ga-nah* 'to be enough', OHG *gi-nah* id. (OREL *Fort.* 79). These forms are based on IE \**nek-*: Skt *násati* 'to reach' and the like. Note the development of IE \**-k̑j-* > Alb *-q-* that seems to be phonetically regular.

◇ JOKL *Studien* 36 (to Lith *nókti* 'to become ripe', Latv *nākt* 'to come'); WEIGAND 36 (prefixal derivative of *ēndē*); KLUGE 248; MAYRHOFER II 145; POKORNY I 316-318; FEIST *Goth.* 194; ÇABEJ *St.* I 275 (supports WEIGAND); DEMIRAJ *AE* 219.

**kēnd** ~ **kand** m, pl. *kēnde* ~ *kande* 'corner, angle'. An early borrowing from Slav \**кѣтъ* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 174 (from Ital *canto* id.); MANN *Language* XVII 19 (to Gk *κωνθός*).

**kēnd** pron. 'somebody'. From PAIb \**kan tan*, a sequence of two pronouns continuing IE \**k'o-* and \**to-* in acc. sg. See *kush*. ◇ JOKL *AArbSt.* I 35 (related to *kē*, acc. sg. of *kush*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 275-276 (follows JOKL).

**kēndell** ~ **kandell** aor. *kēndella*~ *kandella* 'to make red-hot, to revive'. A denominative of *kēndellē* (MANN *HAED* 193). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 40 (analyzes a dialectal variant *knell* as a prefixal form related to Goth *ganisan* 'to be healthy'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 276 (repeats MANN's explanation); DEMIRAJ *AE* 219.

**kēndellē** ~ **kandellē** f, pl. *kēndella* ~ *kandella* 'lamp'. Borrowed from Lat *candēla* 'wax-light, tallow-candle' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 10). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 114; ÇABEJ *St.* I 276; LANDI *Lat.* 81, 116.

**kēndē** ~ **kandē** f 'pleasure, appetite'. A prefixal derivative from *ēndē* (MEYER *Alb. St.* V 85). The verb *kēnditem* 'to be satiated' is derived from *kēndē* as well as *kēndis* 'to deceive', literally, 'to satiate somebody (with lies)'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 187 (*kēndis* 'to deceive' - to Turk *kı namak* 'to torment' or to *gēnjej*); JOKL *Studien* 33 (to *gdhij*).

**kēndirr** aor. *kēndirra* 'to choke, to suffocate'. A prefixal derivative of *djerr*: *kē-n-dirr*.

**kēndo**j aor. *kēndova* 'to sing'. Borrowed from Lat *cantāre* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 10; MEYER *Wb.* 187). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 139; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 115; HULD 80; LANDI *Lat.* 40, 155.

**kēnetē** f, pl. *kēneta* 'marsh, valley'. Borrowed from Lat *cannētum* 'reeds, thicket of rushes'.

**këngë ~ kangë** f, pl. *këngë ~ kangë* 'song'. Borrowed from Lat *canticum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 187). As to *këngjelë ~ kangjelë* id., it continues Rom \**canticella*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; MANN *Language* XVII 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 236; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 115.

**këpucë** f, pl. *këpucë* 'shoe'. Derived from *këputë* 'sole', see *këpus*. ◇ CAMARDA I 67 (from NGk παπούτσι 'slipper'); MEYER *Wb.* 188 (from Turk *papuş* 'slipper'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 214, 216.

**këpujë** f, pl. *këpujë, këpuja* 'round fruit, drop'. Borrowed from Slav \**kapul'a*, derivative of \**kapati* 'to drip'.

**këpurdhë** f, pl. *këpurdha* 'fungus, mushroom'. Another variant is *kërpudhë*. A derivative in *-dhë* of an unattested \**këpur* related to Lith *këpurė* 'cap', Latv *çepure* id. Thus, the mushroom is described as having a cap. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 187 (borrowed from Bulg *peçurka* id., SCr *peçurka* id.); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 163-165 (prefixal form related to Gk παρδακός); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 105 (prefox *kë-*); FRAENKEL 241; NEPOKUPNYJ *BSS* 40 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 221.

**këpus** aor. *këputa* 'to tear off, to pluck'. Another variant is *kërpuc* 'to pinch, to pluck'. From PAIb \**karputja*, a derivative verb based on an adjective in \**-uta* reflected in *këputë* 'sole'. As to PAIb \**karputa*, it is further related to *karpë*. ◇ CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk κόπτω 'to strike, to hew'); MEYER *Wb.* 187-188 (from Rom \**carputið*, to Lat *carpō* 'to pick, to pluck'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

**këpushë** f, pl. *këpusha* 'tick, cattle-tick'. Other variant, with an unorganic *-r-*, is *kërpushë*. Derivative of *kap* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 276-277). Borrowed to Rum *căpuşă*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 188 (to SCr *krpelj* 'sheep louse'); PUŞCARIU *Dacoromania* II 594 (from Rum *căpuşă* id. based on *cap* 'head'); JOKL *IJ* XXIII VII 176 (derived from Lat *capere* 'to take'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 338; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274-275; DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13 (from Bulg *kapuš* id.).

**këqyr** aor. *këqyra* 'to look, to observe'. A prefixal derivative of *qyr* (MEYER *Wb.* 230). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 22; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

**kërbaç** m 'whip'. Borrowed from Slav \**кѣрбачь*, a derivative of \**кѣрбати*

'to scratch, to break', cf. SCr *korbač* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 11). ◊ SVANE 48.

**kērbē** f, pl. *kērba* 'tub, barrel'. From PALb *\*karhā* related to Lat *corbis* 'basket', Lith *kařbas* id., Latv *kārba* 'birch bark vessel', Slav *\*korbъ* 'basket'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 188 (to SCr *krbulja* 'small basket for berries' and the like); FRAENKEL 220; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XI 52-54.

**kērbisht** m 'sacrum, sacral bone'. A derivative of *bisht* with a prefix containing an unorganic *-r-* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 277). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 123 (to *gērbē*).

**kērc** m 'stump'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kъrčъ* id. (Czech *krč* id., Slovene *krč* 'stubbled area, area cleaned of trees and stumps'). Note Alb *-c-* reflecting Slav *\*-č-*. Alb *kērci* 'shinbone' and *kērcē* 'cartilage, gristle' belong to the same root. Cf. also *kērcu*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 189; BARIĆ *ARSt* 39 (compares *kērci* with Lith *kārka* 'pig's foreleg'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 90-91; VASMER II 340; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XIII 210-211; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 191; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

**kērcas** aor. *kērcita, kērcisa* 'to cry, to shout, to rattle, to thunder, to sound'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kričati* 'to cry, to shout' (MEYER *Wb.* 189; JOKL *LKUBA* 93). An early loanword with Alb *-c-* reflecting Slav *\*-č-*. Note that the verb *\*kričati* is not attested in this meaning in South Slavic where we have only SCr *kričati* 'to warn' (Slovene *kričati* 'to shout' could not be the source of the Albanian word). ◊ OREL *Ėtimologija* 1980 61 (connects *kērcas* with *kērcelj*), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

**kērcelj** aor. *kērcēja* 'to dance, to jump; to pour'. Further phonetically developed to *kēcej*. This verb is derived from *kērc* 'stump', the main element of the Albanian pre-Christian sacral rite similar to South Slavic *badnjak*. The original meaning was 'to dance, to take part in a ritual dance'. The meaning 'to pour' is secondary - for a similar semantic development in Rom *\*saltre* see BUCK 677-678; ANIKIN *Ėtimologija* 1982 67-69. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 189 (from Slav *\*skočiti* 'to jump'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 192; GEORGIEV *Vъprosi* 41-42 (derives *kērcelj* from *\*katerj-*), *Trakite* 253-254; OREL *Ėtimologija* 1980 61 (mistakenly connects *kērcelj* with *kērcas*), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 360.

**kērcēlloj** aor. *kērcēllova* 'to grind one's teeth, to crack, to creak'. Based

on *kĕrcyell* 'stem, stalk' which is, in its turn, derived from *kĕrc*. ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 107 (analyzes *kĕr-cyell* as a prefixal form); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 199, 239.

**kĕrcĕnoj** aor. *kĕrcĕnova* 'to threaten'. A recent derivative of *kĕrcej*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 277 (identical with *kĕrcĕlloj*).

**kĕrcu** ~ **kĕrcû** m, pl. *kĕrcunj* 'stump, block, log, root'. Derived from *kĕrc* (JOKL *LKUBA* 264). Used in semi-pagan Christian rites (TOPOROV *Ētimologija* 1974 3 f.; ROSETTI *Rom. slav.* 1960 65-70; ZOJZI *BUSht* 1949 49 f.), *kĕrcu* as a name of a sacral log was borrowed into Slav \**korčunъ* 'Christmas day, winter solstice' from where it was passed on to Rum *crăciun* 'Christmas; ritual bread baked at Christmas' (DESNICAJA *Slav. jaz.* 1978 169-171). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23 (from Slavic); ÇABEJ *St.* I 277-278 (reconstructs \**kortjo-*); VAILLANT *JF* XXIV/1-2 72-76 (*kĕrcu* < Rum *crăciun* < Lat *quartum jejūnium*); MLADENOV 256 (Rum *crăciun* < Lat *calātiōnem*); DENSUȘIANU *Hist.* I 262 f. (Rum *crăciun* < Lat *creātiōnem*); PUȘCARIU *EWR* 35-36; SCHUCHARDT *AfslPh* IX 526 (Rum *crăciun* < Lat *Christi jejūnium*); MELICH *MNr* XXXVII 177 f. (Slav \**korčunъ* from \**korkъ* 'leg', \**korčiti* 'to walk'); PREOBRAZHENSKIJ I 361 (Slav \**korčunъ* from \**korčiti* 'to walk' as a calque of Lat *adventus*); ROSETTI *Etudes* 204-206; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 106 (prefix *kĕr-*); ROHLFS *Spr.* 191-196; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 361.

**kĕrçep** m, pl. *kĕrçepĕ* 'stump, log, branch'. A derivative of *kĕrc*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 278 (reconstructs the original sg. \**kĕrçap* and explains it as a prefixal derivative of *çapĕ*).

**kĕrdhokull** f, pl. *kĕrdhokulla* 'hip bone'. See *krrokull*.

**kĕrkoj** aor. *kĕrkova* 'to look for, to seek'. Borrowed from Rom \**circăre* id. with the assimilation of velars in the original \**qĕrkoj* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 188). ◊ MEYER-LÛBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 158-159; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 253; HAARMANN 117.

**kĕrlesh** aor. *kĕrlesha* 'to stand on end (of hair)', refl. *kĕrleshem* 'to quarrel'. A derivative of *lesh* with a prefix *kĕ(r)-* (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 104). Cf. also *ngĕrleshem* 'to bristle, to stand on end (of hair)'.

**kërmë** f 'carcass, carrion, cadaver'. From PAIb \**karp-nā*, related to Skt *kṛp-* 'shape, beautiful appearance', Lat *corpus* 'body', OHG *hrēf* 'belly, body' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 188 (to a Turkish loanword *kērdis* 'to butcher'); KRISTOFORIDHI 154 (from NGk κορμί, κουρμί 'cadaver'); MAYRHOFER I 260; WALDE-HOFMANN I 277-278; POKORNY I 620; ÇABEJ *St.* I 278 (from Bulg *kърма* 'forage, fodder'?!), IV 76.

**kërmill** m, pl. *kërmij* 'snail, slug'. Other variants are *kërmi* and *kërminj*. Connected with *krimb* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22) as its singularized plural (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 165-168). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 182 (to Portugese *caramujo* 'sea snail' and other Romance names of snail), 525 (to ἀκρομύλα 'snail', Hes.); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 27 (from late Lat *ceramida* id.); BARIĆ *A ArbSt.* I 214 (agrees with VASMER); ÇABEJ *St.* I 278-279 (follows CIMOCHOWSKI).

**kërnac** adj. 'miserly'. A derivative based on Slav \**kъrnъ* 'hornless, broken', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *krъn*, SCr *krn*.

**kërp** ~ **kanp** m, pl. *kërpe* ~ *kanpe* 'hemp'. Borrowed from Rom \**can-napis* (> Ital *canape*, Rum *cănăpă*) for Lat *cannabis* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 174). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9 (from Ital *canape*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1039; JOKL *LKUBA* 232, *IF* XLIV 39; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 114; JANSON *Unt.* 51-52; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 83.

**kërpë** f 'stain, patch, spot'. Borrowed from Slav \**kъrpa* 'patch', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kъrpa*, SCr *krpa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 189). Derived from here is *kërpij* 'to revive, to refresh, to patch'.

**kërqabë** f 'peg on animal's neck preventing it from passing through hedges'. A derivative based on \**kërk*, loanword from Slav \**kъrkъ* 'neck', cf. Bulg *kъrk*, SCr *krk*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 278 (deals with a secondary phonetic variant *kërçabë* which he compares with *kërçëp*).

**kërqelë** f, pl. *kërqela* 'large knife worn at the belt'. A variant of *kurqel* 'dagger' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 279-280) borrowed from Ital *coltello* 'knife', dial. *cortello*. ◇ WEIGAND 36 (from Lat *circellus* 'small ring'); SKOK *Zh. Rešetar* 429-432 (follows WEIGAND).



**kërshëndella** pl. 'Christmas'. Borrowed from Lat *Christi nātāle* (PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 539) or *Christi nātālia* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 189). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 159; HAARMANN 117; ÇABEJ *St.* I 280; LANDI *Lat.* 49, 85, 146.

**kërshnjët** m 'kind of tree, arbutus'. A derivative of *kriřshë* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 280).

**kërtole** f, pl. *kërtolë* 'big bone'. A lexicalized variant of *kërtollë* ~ *kar-tollë* 'potato, lump' borrowed from Germ *Kartoffel*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 279.

**kërtyl** aor. *kërtyla* 'to fill up, to satiate'. A prefixal derivative of an unattested *\*tyl* reflecting PALb *\*tāla*. The latter is related to Lith *tūlas* 'many', Gk *τύλος* 'corn' and the like. ◊ FRAENKEL 1136-1137; FRISK II 942-943; POKORNY I 1081.

**kërth** adj. 'crosswise, askew'. Other derivatives of the same root are *kërthiz* 'navel' and *kërthi* 'tiny; baby' (originally, *\*'small as a navel'?*). Attested in a phonetically advanced form *kithi* 'crosswise'. An adverbial form in *-th* based on a loanword from Lat *crucem* 'cross'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 188 (*kërthiz* as a deminutive of Lat *cortīna* 'circle, arch'); HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 88, 99.

**kërthndezem** refl. 'to blush'. A compound of *kërth* and *ndez*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 280-281 (identifies the first component as a prefix *kër-*).

**kërveshem** refl. 'to grin, to pull faces'. A compound of the prefix *kër-* and *vesh* 'to put on', cf. in particular *veshem* ~ *vishem* 'to get dressed'. As far as the meaning is concerned, the underlying metaphor must have been 'putting on faces', as in E *to pull faces*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 281 (identifies the second part with *vesh* 'ear').

**kërr** m 'donkey, ass, foal', adj 'grey'. From PALb *\*kara* identical with Skt *khāra-* 'donkey', Av *xarō* id., Scyth *\*xara*, Osset *xæræg* id. (OREL *Ētimologija 1986-1987* 220-222). The Indo-Iranian unvoiced aspirate seems to correspond to PALb *\*k-*. Note derivatives: *kërriç* 'foal', *kriç* id. and *kiç* id. ◊ PISANI *Saggi* 132; BARTHOLOMAE 532; MAYRHOFER II 302-303; ABAEV *Skif.* 309; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350-361.

**kĕrrabĕ** f, pl. *kĕrraba* 'hook, staff'. A suffixal derivative of an unattested PAIb \**kara* further related to *karthi*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 129 (to *grop*).

**kĕrris** aor. *kĕrrita* 'to grunt (of pigs), to gurgle'. A descriptive stem imitating corresponding sounds.

**kĕrrlĕ** f 'sloppy mud, slime'. Another variant is *kĕrlĕ*. From PAIb \**karilā* related to ON *horr* 'snivel', OHG *horo* 'excrement', Gk κόρυζα 'snivel'. A derivative *kĕrrnjotĕ* 'mucus from nose, snivel' also belongs here. ◇ FRISK I 924; POKORNY I 573.

**kĕrrus** aor. *kĕrrusa* 'to bend'. From PAIb \**karnutja*, based on a nominal derivative in \*-*ut*- further connected with Gk κυρτός 'curved, bent', Lat *curvus* id. (CAMARDA I 178; MEYER *Wb.* 190). The original nominal form is represented by *krrutĕ* 'hunch-backed old woman'. ◇ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 248 (to Lat *curvō* id.); MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to ON *hnjópa* < \**kneudhō*); FRISK II 55; WALDE-HOFMANN I 317-318; POKORNY I 309, 935; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; DEMIRAJ *AE* 220 (to ON *hverfa* 'to turn').

**kĕrrutĕ** f, pl. *kĕrruta* 'ewe with horns'. Borrowed from Lat fem. adj. *cornūta* 'horned' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 190, *Alb. St.* III 73). ◇ CAMARDA I 178 (to Gk κερατίας 'horned one'); KRISTOFORIDHI 155 (to Gk κυρτός 'curved, crooked'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1049; BARIĆ *AArbSt* I/1-2 148 (from \**ko-kru-to*- 'horned'); PASCURE 40 (from Rumanian); KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 75 (from Arumanian); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 76; HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 88, 99, 114.

**kĕsen** impers. 'to ache (of the stomach), to have griping pains'. Based on PAIb \**kantša* < \**kankja* related to Lith *kenkiù*, *keñkti* 'to damage, to harm', ON *há* 'to torment' < Gmc \**xanxōn* and the like (BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 39-40). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 190 (from Turk *kı smak* 'to pinch'); FRAENKEL 240; POKORNY I 565; ÇABEJ *St.* I 281 (dialectal form of *kĕcej* ~ *kĕrcej*).

**kĕsulĕ** f, pl. *kĕsula* 'bonnet, cap'. Borrowed from Rum *căciulă* 'cap', with *-ci-* > PAIb \**-tš-* > *-s-*. The Rumanian word itself goes back to Alb *kaçule*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 190-191 (from Lat *casula* 'hooded coat' via Gk κασοῦλα 'thick coat'); PUŞCARIU *EWR* 21; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 338; ROSETTI *ILR* I 274; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* XIX/1 48-65 (from NGk κασοῦλα).

**këshete** pl. 'bran'. A prefixal derivative of *shete* (CAMARDA I 70).

**këshill** m, pl. *këshilla* 'council'. Borrowed from Lat *consilium* id. (CAMARDA I 80; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 208-209). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 119; LANDI *Lat.* 87, 99, 117.

**kështallë** f, pl. *kështalla* 'splint (in medicine)'. From PALb *\*ka-stalā*, a derivative related to Goth *stols* 'chair', Lith *stālas* 'table', Slav *\*stolъ* 'table, pole'. ◇ VASMER III 764-765; FRAENKEL 893; KLUGE 761; FEIST *Goth.* 455-456.

**kështër ~ kështën** adj. 'Christian'. Borrowed from Lat *christiānus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 13). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117.

**kështjellë** f, pl. *kështjella* 'castle, fort'. Borrowed from Lat *castellum* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 281-282). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 191 (from Ital *castello* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 50, 81.

**këshyre** f, pl. *këshyre* 'mountain path, path in the ravine'. Borrowed from Lat *clausūra*, *clūsūra* 'lock, bar, bolt; castle, fort' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 282). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; HAARMANN 117; LANDI *Lat.* 68, 103, 110.

**këtu** adv. 'here'. From PALb *\*ka tu* including a pronominal stem *\*ka* < IE *\*k'o-* and adverbial *\*tu*, cf. Skt *tú* 'now, but' (BOPP 496-497; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 5-6). While the prevailing form for 'there' is *aty*, certain dialects preserve *atu* (ELEZOVIĆ *A ArbSt.* II 249). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 161; MAYRHOFER I 507; ÇABEJ *St.* I 282; HULD 80-81.

**kic** aor. *kica* 'to bite'. A descriptive stem.

**kij** aor. *kiva* 'to prune, to trim'. Another variant is *kiej*. From *\*këinj* < PALb *\*kadinja*, a denominative verb related to *kadhë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 282-283). Derived from *kij* is *kizë* 'pruning-hook'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 226 (from Lat *incīdere* 'to cut'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 40 (to *shqyey*, from *\*klednĭō*); AJETI *ZfBalkV/2* 139-140 (to Slav *\*kyjъ* 'stick').

**kikë** f, pl. *kika* 'top, tip; mane'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kyka* 'tuft of hair,

plaited hair', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *kika*, SCr *kika* (SVANE 181).

**kinse** conj. 'as, just as, as if'. A univerbation of *kini se* 'you (pl.) have that, you assume that' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 283-284). Cf. also *kish* 'if only' from 3 sg. imperf. *kish*, form of *kam*.

**kishë** f, pl. *kisha* 'church'. Another variant is *qishë*. Borrowed from Lat *ecclesia* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 228). ◊ CAMARDA I 46 (to late Gk ἐκκλησία id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 146; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230, 279; HAARMANN 123; LANDI *Lat.* 81, 119, 125.

**kitë** f, pl. *kita* 'icicle'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kyta* 'tuft, bundle, branch', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kita*, SCr *kita*. This Albanian word is historically identical with the singularized form *kite* 'sheaf; ear of grain' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 284). ◊ SVANE 103.

**kith** m 'veil of mist'. A derivative of *kitë*.

**klečkë** f, pl. *klečka* 'splinter, piece of wood'. Borrowed from Slav *\*klěčka* id., cf. Bulg *klečka*, SCr *klečka* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172, 308). ◊ SVANE 81.

**klekë** f, pl. *kleka* 'kind of mountain pine'. From PALb *\*klakā* related to Slav *\*klokъ* 'tuft, tow'. ◊ VASMER II 252.

**kllabë** f 'pick, pick-axe'. Borrowed from Slav *\*klapa*, a derivative of *\*klapati*, with an irregular substitution of *\*-p- > -b-*. A more phonetically regular reflex of the same loanword is *kllapë* 'fetter, chain' (BER 419). Note a derivative *kllabëz* 'door-bolt'. ◊ TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* IX 184.

**kllanë** f 'last day of the year, New Year eve, first snow'. Other variants are *kullana*, *kollanë*, *këllanë*, *kllandë*. Borrowed from Rom *\*calandae*, a form of Lat *calendae* 'first day of a month' attested in Romance and borrowed to Celtic (ÇABEJ *St.* I 296-297). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8; MEYER *Wb.* 196 (from Slav *\*kolęda* 'New Year day'); MEYER-LÜBKE *REW* 115; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMAN 113; LANDI *Lat.* 98, 116.

**klapë** f, pl. *klapë* ‘puddle’. From \**kë-llapë* further related to *llap*. As to *kllaçë* id., it continues \**kllapçë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 208.

**klapit** aor. *klapita* ‘to eat like a dog’. Either derived from *llap* or borrowed from Slav \**klapiti* ~ \**klapati* ‘to sound, to clatter’, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *klapam*, SCr *klapati* (SVANE 222).

**klashë** f, pl. *klasha* ‘cape of sheep and goat wool’. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *klašn’a* ‘woolen shawl’, SCr *klašnje* ‘kind of cloth’.

**kloçis** aor. *kloçita* ‘to brood, to cluck’. Borrowed from Slav \**klociti* ‘to cluck’, cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *klocam*, Slovene *klociti*. As to *kllukas* id., it is a local borrowing from dialectal Bulg *klukam* < *klokam*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 191 (adduces various Balkan forms but is uncertain of the actual source of the Albanian verb); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 31 (from Bulg *kloča* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 147; SVANE 236.

**klupit** aor. *kllupita* ‘to gulp’. From a dialectal form of Bulg *klupam* < *klopam* ‘to clap, to beat, to quack’ belonging to Slav \**klopati* ~ \**klopiti*, cf. also SCr *klopati* id.

**kmesë** f, pl. *kmesa* ‘billhook, sickle’. Another form is *kamesë*. Derived from *kamë*. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 9 (to *kep*, suffix *-esë*); HULD 145, 154 (reconstructs \**Hekmḡ-tjeH*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 220-221 (crossing of *kizë* id. and *kamë*).

**kobë** f ‘theft, augury, deception, disaster’. Borrowed from Slav \**kobъ*, \**koba* id., cf. Bulg *koba*, SCr *kob*, *koba* (MEYER *Wb.* 193, but treats *kobë* ‘theft’ as an Italian loanword). ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 149, 493; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 32; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 185; SVANE 222, 236.

**koc** m, pl. *koca*, *kocinj* ‘bone, skull’. Borrowed from Slav \**kostъ* id. with a metathesis in the consonantal cluster \**-st-* > *-ts-* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195). The Slavic deminutive \**kostъka* id. is the source of Alb *kockë* id., *koskë* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 202-203 (from Ital *coccio* ‘cracked pot’); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203.

**kocë** f, pl. *koca* ‘black goat; girl from 8 to 10 years old’. An allegro

form of Slav \**kozьlica* '(young) she-goat', cf. CS *kozьlica*, SCr *kozlica*.

**kočě** f, pl. *koca* 'rush-trap for fish'. Borrowed from Slav \**koťььь* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *koce*, SCr *kotac*.

**koç** m 'penis'. Another form is pl. *koçet* 'testicles'. Borrowed from Bulg *koč* 'ram'. ◊ MIKLOSICH Slav. *Elemente* 22 (from Slav \**kočanъ* 'head of cabbage'); SELIŠČEV Slav. *naselenie* 162, 194; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 149 (to *kokĕ*); OREL *Ètimologija* 1983 140-141.

**kodër** f, pl. *kodra* 'hill, angular stone, corner'. Borrowed from Rom \**codrum* < Lat *quadrum* 'square' on which also Rum *codru* 'forest' is based (SCHUCHARDT *Vokalismus* II 510). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 193 (compares *kodër* with Rum *codru*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XL 212-213 (from Rum *codru*); CAPIDAN *Dacoromania* I 509 (follows PEDERSEN); SCHEFTELOWITZ *BB* XXVIII 157 (to Alb *katar* 'peak'); PUŞCARIU *EWB* 34; TAGLIAVINI *RivAlb* II 185 (repeats PEDERSEN's etymology); SKOK *AfslavPhil* XXXVIII 83-84 (agrees with SCHUCHARDT); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 40 (to Lat *castrum* 'castle, fort'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 340; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29-30; HAMP *SCL* XXXI 664 (from early Rumanian); PICCILLO *RLiR* XLV 146-157 (from Rumanian); ÇABEJ *St.* I 284-285 (follows SCHUCHARDT).

**kofshĕ** f, pl. *kofshĕ* 'hip, thigh'. Borrowed from Lat *coxa* 'hip' (CAMARDA I 65; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 193). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 246, 366; HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 99, 124, 134.

**kohĕ** f, pl. *kohĕ* 'time'. From PALb \**kāxā* etymologically related to Slav \**časъ* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 194, *Alb. St.* III 3). ◊ PEDERSEN *BB* XX 279, *KZ* XXXVI 279; JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 144, *Sprache* IX 151; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 148; SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 209 (reconstructs an inlaut cluster \*-sĕ-); MLADENOV *Ist.* 226; MANN *Language* XXVI 383, XXVIII 35; PORZIG *Gliederung* 174; PISANI *Saggi* 124 (follows SCHEFTELOWITZ and reconstructs \**kĕškā*), *REIE* IV 6; ECKERT *ZfSlav* VIII 890; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 567; HAMP *StFil* XXVII (V)/3 68 (reconstructs \**kĕškā* or \**kĕksā*), *St. albanica* X/2 86-87, *Ètimologija* 1971 268-269; HULD 81; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279, *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; SCHMALSTIEG 265; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 66; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X

222; DEMIRAJ AE 221-222 (to OPrus *kīzman*, reconstructs *kohĕ* < \**kēsūā*).

**koj** aor. *kova* 'to feed (children or animals)'. A phonetic variant of *mĕkoj*.  
 ◇ CAMARDA II 73 (to Gk *κοπέω* 'to hasten'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

**kokĕ** f, pl. *kokĕ, koka* 'head, bulb, berry, grain'. Borrowed from Lat *coccum* 'berry' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; WEIGAND 37). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 165 (from Rom \**coca*, Lat *cauca* 'kind of dish, bowl'), 194 (on *kokĕ* 'berry, grain'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 149; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117; ÇABEJ *St.* I 285-286 (agrees with WEIGAND).

**kokĕrr** f, pl. *kokrra* 'berry, grain'. Derived from *kokĕ* (JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 29). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 195 (from Ital *coccola* 'globular fruit (of plants)'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 149 (to *kokĕ*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 286-287 (agrees with JOKL).

**koleshkĕ** f, pl. *koleshka* 'cart'. An early borrowing from Slav \**kolesъka* id. otherwise unattested in South Slavic.

**kolibe** f, pl. *kolibe* 'hut'. Borrowed from Slav \**kolyba* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *koliba*, SCr *koliba*. Cf. *kalibe* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 165). ◇ OREL *Sov. slav.* 1985/5 79-84; SVANE 52.

**kolmĕ** adj. 'pretty, winsome'. From PALb \**kālīma*, a suffixal derivative of IE \**kal-*: Skt *kalyā-* 'healthy', Gk Hom *κάλος* 'beautiful'. The long vowel in Proto-Albanian remains unclear. ◇ FRISK I 766-767; POKORNY I 524; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 202.

**koll** m 'plow-beam'. Borrowed from Slav \**kolъ* 'pole', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kol*, SCr *kolac*.

**kollĕ** f 'cough'. From PALb \**kāslā* identical with Slav \**kašlъ* id., Lith *kosulys* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 195, *Alb. St.* III 2, 63). These forms are derived from IE \**k'ās-* 'to cough'. ◇ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 79; JOKL *Sprache* IX 117-118; VASMER II 214-215; FRAENKEL 284; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 150; MANN *Language* XXVI 380, XXVIII 35-36; PISANI *Saggi* 125; POKORNY I 649; HULD 81; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 220; DEMIRAJ AE 222.

**kom** m 'mane'. Another variant is *komë*. Borrowed from Lat *coma* 'hair' (JOKL *Studien* 110). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 40-41 (from \*(s)kēp-no-, related to Germ *Schaf* 'sheep'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 118; ÇABEJ *St.* I 287 (agrees with JOKL).

**kongjill** m, pl. *kongjij* 'charcoal'. A variant of *thëngjil* with a different prefix \*k-. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

**kopër** f, pl. *kopra* 'fennel'. Borrowed from Slav \**koprъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kopъr*, SCr *kopar* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 287). ◊ SVANE 109.

**kopicë** f, pl. *kopica* 'moth'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav \**kopica* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 198).

**kopil** m, pl. *kopilë, kopila* 'lad, chap, bastard'. Borrowed from Slav \**kopylъ* 'shoot, sprout, bastard', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *kopil, kopile*, SCr *kopil*. Rum *copil* is of the same origin. ◊ CAMARDA I 162 (to Gk κόπος 'toil and trouble'); MEYER *Wb.* 198 (from Rom \**cōpīlis* 'son born from *cōpa*, tavern-keeper'); VASMER *IORJaS* LXXXVI 96 (from Gk κοπέλλα 'girl'); OŠTIR *WuS* V 220 (prefix *ko-* and *-pil* related to *pjell*); JOKL *LKUBA* 6, 14, 311 (follows OŠTIR), *Ijб* XXIII 227 (from Modern Greek); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 116-117; SCHÜTZ *WSI* III 17-18; REICHENKRON *Dakisches* 112-113 (from Dacian \**kolpīlos*, to IE \**guelbh-* 'cub, uterus'); HUBSCHMID *ZfBalk* XVI 61-63, *ZfromPh* XCIX/5-6 497-511; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 340; ROSETTI *ILR* I 276; ABAEV II 279 (to Osset *qæbūl* 'child'); TRUBAČEV *Ètimologija* 1979 129-130, 177; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230.

**kopsht** m, pl. *kopshte, kopshtinj, qipshte* 'garden'. A derivative in *-sht* based on PAIb \**kāpa* identical with Gk κήπος id., OHG *huoba* 'plot of land' (MEYER *Wb.* 198-199, *Alb. St.* III 4, 31). ◊ JOKL *Sprache* IX 118; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 153; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 123; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRISK I 842; KLUGE 318; POKORNY I 529; ÇABEJ *St.* III 275-276; DEMIRAJ *AE* 222.

**koqe** f, pl. *koqe* 'corn, berry'. A singularized plural of *kokë* (CAMARDA I 112; ÇABEJ *St.* I 287-288). The latter is the source of Rum *coacăză*. ◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 249 (from Rom \**cocceum*, based on Lat *coccum*, or from Ital *coccia*); MEYER *Wb.* 194-195, 210 (repeats SCHUCHARDT's



etymology); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1045 (the same explanation); SKOK *ZfromPhil* XLVIII 398-400 (from Rom \**cocceum*); ROSETTI *ILR* I 276; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 238.

**korb** m. pl. *korbë, korba* 'raven'. Borrowed from Lat *corvus* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 136; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18; MEYER *Wb.* 200). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 268; HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 139-140.

**korbull** f. pl. *korbulla* 'keg, cask, wooden pail'. Borrowed from Lat *corbula* 'little basket'.

**kordhë** f. pl. *kordha* 'gut string'. Borrowed from Lat *chorda* 'gut, catgut' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 119).

**kordhë** f. pl. *kordha* 'sword'. Borrowed from Slavic, cf. CS *korȓda* id., SCr *korda* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 199). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1052 (from Romance); MURATI *Probleme* 131.

**korë** f. pl. *kora* 'crust, bark'. Borrowed from Slav \**kora* 'bark', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *kora*, SCr *kora* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 199). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173; SVANE 94, 121.

**kore** f. pl. *kore* 'chicory'. Borrowed from Lat *cichorëum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 201). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 117.

**koris** aor. *korita* 'to shame, to dishonor'. Borrowed from Slav \**koriti* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *kor'a*, SCr *koriti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 200). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 153-154; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 191; SVANE 236.

**koritë** f. pl. *korita* 'trough'. Borrowed from Slav \**koryto* id., cf. Bulg *korito*, SCr *korito* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 22-23; MEYER *Wb.* 200). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 142, 170-171; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; SVANE 67.

**corp** m. pl. *korpe* 'body'. Borrowed from Lat nom. *corpus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1045). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 84.

**korsēm** adv. 'perhaps, as if'. Another variant is *korse*. A univerbated phrase *kur se* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 288-289). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 89 (from \**kosrem* based on \**kosē* < IE \**kʷā-kʷe*).

**kortě** f 'quarter of a slaughtered animal; liquid measure'. Borrowed from Lat *quarta* 'fourth part, quarter' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 289). Cf. *kartě*.

**korube** f, pl. *korube* 'beehive'. Borrowed from Slav \**koruba* 'hollow trunk, beehive', cf. Bulg *koruba*, SCr *koruba* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 167). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 170 (connected with *kolibe*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 289 (agrees with SELIŠČEV); SVANE 159.

**korr** aor. *korr* 'to reap, to harvest'. Goes back to PAIb \**kāsra*. Related to Lith *kasù, kàsti* 'to dig', Slav \**kosa* 'scythe' (MEYER *Wb.* 200). The name of July *korrik* as well as *korriqe* 'measure of grain' are derived from *korr*. ◇ PEDERSEN *IF* V 46 (follows MEYER); JOKL *IF* XXXVII 100-102 (to IE \**sker-* 'to cut'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 153; PISANI *RIL* CXII 12 (from Ital *corre* < *cogliere* 'to reap'); FRAENKEL 226-227; POKORNY I 585; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XI 133-135; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Bonfante* 567; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (from IE \**kēr-nō*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 222-224.

**korropitet** refl. 'to become tired'. A prefixal derivative related to *rropatet* 'to strain'.

**korropesh** adj. 'dark, dark-haired'. A compound of *korr* and *peshě* structurally similar to *korrozi* id., a compound of *korr* and *zi*.

**korrovesh** m, pl. *korroveshě* 'jug with a handle; grape', adj. 'without ears'. A compound of *korr* and *vesh*.

**kos** m 'yogurt, clotted curds'. Borrowed from Slav \**kvasъ* 'sour substance', cf. in South Slavic: OCS *kvasъ*, Bulg *kvas*, SCr *kvas* (MEYER *Wb.* 201). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 149; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 14.

**kosě** f, pl. *kosa* 'scythe'. Borrowed from Slav \**kosa* id., cf. South Slavic: Bulg *kosa*, SCr *kosa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 201). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 157; SVANE 236.

**kosě** f, pl. *kosa* 'plait'. Borrowed from Slav \**kosa* id., cf. South Slavic: Bulg *kosa*, SCr *kosa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 201). ◇ SVANE 181.

**kosis** aor. *kosita* 'to mow'. Borrowed from Slav \**kositi* id., cf. South Slavic: Bulg *kos'a*, SCr *kositi* (MEYER *Wb.* 201). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 157; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 155; SVANE 236.

**kosore** f, pl. *kosore* 'small scythe'. Borrowed from South Slavic \**kosorъ* 'scythe, pruning knife': Bulg *kosor*, SCr *kosor* (SVANE 33).

**kosh** m, pl. *kosha*, *koshe* 'basket'. Borrowed from Slav \**košъ* id.: Bulg *koš*, SCr *koš* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 201-202). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 151, 154; SVANE 67, 159.

**koshēz** f, pl. *koshēza* 'bot-fly'. Another form is *koshas* < \**koshaz*. A collective form of \**kosh* borrowed from Lat *cossus* 'kind of larva' (CANDREA *GS* III 430). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 120; ÇABEJ *St.* I 289; LANDI *Lat.* 138.

**kot** m, pl. *kota* 'useless, vain'. From PALb \**kakta* related to Lith *koktiùs* 'disgusting'. The latter is further explained as a derivative of *kóks* 'which', Slav \**kakъ* 'how'. ◇ CAMARDA I 132 (to Gk *κότος* 'rancor'); MEYER *Wb.* 202 (to *kot* 'darkness' and Gk *σκότος* id.); FRAENKEL 280; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* IX 118-119.

**kot** m 'darkness'. From PALb \**kāta* further related to OIr *scáth* 'shadow' < \**skāto-*, Gk *σκότος* 'darkness' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 202). ◇ FRISK II 739-740; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 19; VENDRYES [S] 36; POKORNY I 957.

**kovač** m, pl. *kovačē* 'smith'. Borrowed from Slav \**kovačъ* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *kovač*, SCr *kovač* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 203). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172, 181; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 156; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 268; SVANE 87, 197.

**kozhpup** m, pl. *kozhupe* 'shepherd's fur jacket'. A variant of *kazhpup*.

**krah** m, pl *krahē* 'arm, shoulder, side'. Borrowed from Slav \**krajъ* 'end,

side, extremity'. For the semantic development cf. Bulg *krajnik* 'arm, leg', *kraište* id. (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46). Note the development of *-j-* > *-h-* characteristic of early loanwords from Slavic. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 203 (comparison with Lith *kárka* 'shin, shank' and Slav *\*korkъ* id., morphologically difficult), Alb. *St.* III 6, 71; LIDÉN *Studien* 92, *Arm. St.* 43 (comparison with Skt *kiṣku-* 'forearm'); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 251 (derives *krah* from *\*krok-skā*); SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 209 (reconstructs *\*kar-skā* and compares *krah* with Skt *kará-* 'hand, elephant's trunk'); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 384-385; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 18; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 156 (agrees with WIEDEMANN), *Stratificazione* 91; PISANI *Saggi* 126 (follows LIDÉN); POKORNY I 945-946; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 207, 210, ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (from *\*korok-*); HULD 81-82; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 361; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (against OREL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 224 (to Arm *srunk* 'calf (anat.)', Lat *crūs* 'shank').

**krahëror** ~ **krahnuer** m, pl. *krahërorë* ~ *krahnuerë* 'breast, chest'. Derived from *krah* (CAMARDA II 66; MEYER *Wb.* 203). ◇ WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 250 (to *krehër*); WEIGAND *Grammatik* 55 (follows WIEDEMANN); JOKL *LKUBA* 154 (agrees with WEIGAND); ÇABEJ *St.* I 290 (supports CAMARDA).

**krahinë** f, pl. *krahina* 'region, area'. An early loanword from Slav *\*krajina* id.: OCS *kraina*, Maced *kraina*, SCr *kraina* id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 175). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178, 324; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 205; SVANE 205; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (*-h-* is a hiatus filler).

**krahis** aor. *krahisa* 'to sweep up (wheat); to cut (branches)'. Borrowed from Slav *\*krajiti* 'to cut, to winnow', otherwise unattested in South Slavic.

**krap** m, pl. *krep* 'carp'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *krap* id., SCr *krap* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 204). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 11 (from Lat *carpiō* or Ital *carpa*).

**krap** m 'collar-bone'. From PALb *\*krapa* related to W *craff* 'strong' < *\*krapnos*, ON *hræfa* 'to tolerate, to bear with', Slav *\*krěpъkъ* 'strong, firm' continuing IE *\*krēp-* 'strong'. The same root is found in *krape* 'ovary'. ◇ POKORNY I 620; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XII 135-138.

**krat** m 'back'. Borrowed from Lat *crātis (spinae)* 'spine'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 204 (from SCr *hrbat* id.).

**kredh** aor. *krodha* 'to plunge, to immerse, to steep, to smother, to bespatter'. From PALb *\*krōda* identical with Slav *\*kradq*, *\*krasti* 'to steal', refl. *\*kradq se*, *\*krasti se* 'to sneak, to steal up, to approach unnoticed' (OREL *IF* XLIII 110-111). Further connections of the Slavic verb (including a popular comparison with Latv *krāju, krāt* 'to gather, to collect') are uncertain. The aorist in *-o-* must be secondary as it is, normally, characteristic of presents in *-e-* < PALb *\*-e-*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 204 (to Slav *\*gręznęti* 'to sink', phonetically improbable), *Alb. St.* III 8, 17, 71; PISANI *Saggi* 124; VASMER II 364; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XII 103-105.

**kreh** ~ **kref** aor. *kreha* ~ *krefa* 'to comb'. From PALb *\*krebska* related (with an irregular unvoicing of the anlaut) to Lith *grębti* 'to rake', Slav *\*grebq*, *\*grebti* 'to row, to rake' (MEYER *Wb.* 204-205, *Alb. St.* III 8, 71). Derived from *kreh* are *krehę* ~ *krehęn* 'comb', a singularised plural of *\*krah*, and *kresę* 'curry-comb'. ◇ FRAENKEL 165-166; POKORNY I 455-456; ĆABEJ *St.* I 290 (on *krehę*); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 109-100.

**krej** aor. *kreva* 'to pull out'. From PALb *\*krebnja* connected with *kreh* ~ *kref* (MEYER *Wb.* 205).

**kekę** f, pl. 'maple'. Borrowed from Lat (*acer*) *Cręticum* 'Cretan maple' (MEYER *Wb.* 205).

**krel** m, pl. *krela* 'curl, lock'. From a local variant of Rom *\*cerebellus* 'related to the head' based on Lat *cerebrum* 'brain, skull'. For the semantic development cf. *cerebelläre* 'cap'. Metathesized in *klerę* 'curly, fizzy'.

**kremte** f, pl. *kremte* 'holiday'. A singularized plural of a less usual *kremtę*. In dialects, a form without suffix *kreme* is attested. A suffixal form in *-m-* based on *krye*.

**krepp** m, pl. *krepa* 'rock'. An umlauticized form of PALb *\*krapa* related to *krap*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 205 (to Ital *greppo* 'steep, rocky bank' and the like); JOKL *Studien* 35 (to *karpę*); ĆABEJ *St.* I 268-269; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 150; DEMIRAJ *AE* 225 (reconstructs *\*křHp-* or *\*krop-*).

**krepull** adj. 'inebriated'. Borrowed from Rom *\*crāpulus*, cf. Lat

*crāpula* 'excessive wine-drinking, inebriation' (ÇABEJ *St. I* 290-291, with an alternative link to Ital *crepare* 'to burst, to split').

**kreshkĕ** f 'foliage'. A suffixal derivative in *-shkĕ* of *krĕnd* (attested also as *krend*). As to *kreshk* 'fish scale', it also belongs here. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19 (from Ital *crusca*); JOKL *LKUBA* 166 (to *kreshtë*).

**kreshmĕ** pl. 'fast'. Borrowed from Lat *quadrāgēsima* 'Lent, fast of forty days', cf. Ital *quaresima* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER *Wb.* 205). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1051 (from Ital *quaresima*); HAARMANN 144.

**kreshnik** m, pl. *kreshnikĕ* 'hero, knight'. Borrowed from SCr *krajišnik* 'inhabitant of a border region' (SCHMAUS apud ÇABEJ *St. I* 291). ◊ JOKL *Balkangerm.* 116 (to *kreshtë*).

**kreshpĕ** f, pl. *kreshpa* 'sheep with long and rough wool'. From Lat fem. adj. *crispa* 'curled, crisp, uneven'. The verb *kreshpĕroj* 'to anger' is based on the same Latin adjective in its different meanings - 'quivering, tremulous'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 205 (on *kreshpĕroj*); HAARMANN 120.

**kreshtë** f 'mane, rooster's comb'. Borrowed from Lat *crista* 'rooster's comb, crest of a helmet' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 205). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 120; LANDI *Lat.* 57, 102, 119.

**krĕnd** ~ **krande** m, pl. *krĕnde* ~ *krande* 'foliage; brushwood; leaves used as fodder; chips; branch without leaves'. From PALb *\*ka-randa*, a prefix formation connected with IE *\*rendh-* 'to tear (asunder)' and, in particular, with OHG *rinda*, *rinta* 'rind', OE *rinde* id. and the like (OREL *IF* XLIII 111). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 204 (to OIr *grend* 'side-whiskers', OHG *grana* 'mustache' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 8, 71; JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 240; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (to Gk κράνον); POKORNY I 865; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 261; OREL *IF* XCIII 111 (to IE *\*sker-* 'to cut'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 225.

**kri** ~ **krî** f, pl. *kri* ~ *krî* 'woodworm, moth'. From PALb *\*kriwi-* continuing a dialectal Indo-European form *\*kʷrui-*: Slav *\*čьrvь* 'worm' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46-47). Nazalisation in Geg is secondary. ◊ TRAUT-

MANN *BSIWB.* 134; VASMER IV 335-336; TRUBAČEV *ËSSJa* IV 171-172.

**krife** f, pl. *krife* 'mane'. Borrowed, with the irregular unvoicing of both voiced consonants, of Slav \**griva* id. (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13). The influence of *krinë* 'mane' borrowed from Romance cannot be excluded. ◊ HAMP KZ CVI/2 305-306.

**krikloj** aor. *kriklova* 'to creak (of wheels)'. Borrowed from Rom \**cariculäre* based on Lat *carrus* 'wagon'.

**krimb ~ krym** m, pl. *krimba, kërminj ~ kryma* 'worm'. Reflects PAIb \**krim-* connected with IE \**k<sup>h</sup>ymi-* id.: Skt *k<sup>h</sup>mi-*, Lith *k<sup>h</sup>rmis* and the like (STIER KZ XI 247; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 62; MEYER *Wb.* 206). Geg -y- remains unexplained: could it be a rare case of u-umlaut suggesting PAIb \**krimu-*? ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 64; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 43; JOKL *LKUBA* 23, 191-192, 318, *Sprache* IX 120; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 160; MAYRHOFER I 261-262; FRAENKEL 257; PISANI *Saggi* 132; BARIÇ *Hymje* 36; POKORNY I 649; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227, *Etim.* II 323; HULD 82; OREL *IF* XLIII 116, *ZfBalk* XXIII 148, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (irregular -ry-, -ri- < IE \**-r-*); KÖDDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 64; DEMIRAJ *AE* 225-226.

**kripë ~ krypë** f, pl. *kripëra ~ krypna* 'salt'. From PAIb \**krūpā* connected with ON *hrufa* 'scab', Lith *kraupūs* 'rough', *kraupis* 'scab', Latv *kraūpis* 'frail, brittle', Slav \**krupa* 'groats' (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 31, 71; PISANI *Saggi* 124). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 206 (borrowing from Slav \**krupa*); MLADENOV *Ist.* 220; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 161 (follows MEYER); FRAENKEL 290; POKORNY I 623; OREL *IF* XLIII 106; TRUBAČEV *ËSSJa* XIII 43-45.

**Krisht** m 'Christ'. Borrowed from Lat *Christus* while *krishterë ~ krishtenë* 'Christian' goes back to Lat *christianus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 191). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 158.

**krocë** f, pl. *kroca* 'dogrose'. A derivative in -cë from *kromë*.

**krodhë** f, pl. *krodha* 'bread crust'. Borrowed from Lat fem. adj. \**crūda* < *crūda* 'cru. Je, rough'.

**krodhë** f, pl. *krodha* 'beehive'. Goes back to PAIb \**krādā* related to Goth

*hrot* 'roof', Slav \**krada* 'heap, pile'. ◊ POKORNY I 617-618; FEIST *Goth.* 270-271; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XI 58-60.

**kromě** f, pl. *kroma* 'scabies; dogrose'. Derived from *kruaj*. Another derivative from the same source is *krosě* 'scab'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 130 (to *grij*).

**krongjill** m, pl. *krongjij* 'icicle'. Borrowed from Rom \**corniculus* based on Lat *cornū* 'horn'.

**krua** ~ **krue** m, pl. *kronj, kroje* 'spring, fountain'. From PALb \**krāna* < \**krasna* with compensatory lengthening of the vowel. Related to Gk κρήνη id., OE *hræn* 'wave' < Gmc \**xraznō* (CAMARDA I 50; MEYER *BB* VIII 185, *Wb.* 207). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 71; TORP *IF* V 204; THUMB *IF* XXVI 3-14 (borrowed from Greek); PETERSSON *IF* XXIV 50 (from \**krēnuo-*); HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 146; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 92 (prefix *k-* and root *-rua* identical to that of *përrua*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 81-82 (to *krye* and Skt *khānati* 'to dig'); RIBEZZO *RivAlb* II 137 n. 3 (agrees with THUMB); MANN *Language* XXVI 381; PISANI *Saggi* 120; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 107 (prefix *k-*); FRISK II 16; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 685; ÇABEJ *St.* I 292-293.

**kruaj** ~ **kruej** aor. *krova* 'to scratch'. From PALb \**krābnja* with a long grade of ablaut, further connected with *kreh*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 130 (to *grij*); JOKL *Studien* 23-25 (same identification with *grij*), *IF* XXXVII 99; MANN *Language* XVII 19, XXVI 381 (to Gk κνάω, Lith *knóju*); ÇABEJ *StF* III/1 26; DEMIRAJ *AE* 226.

**krunde** pl. 'bran'. Another form is *grundě*. Derivative of *kruaj* ~ *kruej*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 132-133 (explains *grundě* in connection with OE *grindan* 'to grind'), *Alb. St.* III 8; JOKL *Studien* 23 (reconstructs zero grade *-un-* < \**-ŋ-*); TREIMER *MRIW* I 358 (to Slav \**krupa* 'groats'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 293 (to Gk κρίνω 'to separate').

**krup** aor. *krupa* 'to loathe'. From PALb \**krupa* etymologically related to Lith *kraupùs* 'easily scared', *krupùs* id., *krúpti* 'to scare'. ◊ FRAENKEL 291.

**krushk** m, pl. *krushq* 'bride's man, unmarried relative'. A metathesis of \**kushk(ě)r*, borrowed from Lat *consocer* 'father-in-law' > Rum *cuscru* (MEYER *Wb.* 207). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1039, 1045; PUŠ-



CARIU *EW*R 41; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; HAARMANN 119; LANDI *Lat.* 61, 117-118.

**krybe** f, pl. *krybe* 'oakum, tow'. From PALb *\*krūba*, a derivative in *\*-b-*, connected with Gk κρύπτω 'to hide' (where old *\*-bh-* may be alleged), Lith *kráuti* 'to pile up', Slav *\*kryti* 'to cover, to hide'. ◊ FRAENKEL 291; SCHWYZER I 333 (on the nature of the labial in κρύπτω); FRISK II 29-30; POKORNY I 617; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XIII 71-72.

**krydh** aor. *krydha* 'to plunge; to steal, to rob'. An Elbasan form. Connected with *kredh* (OREL *IF* XLIII 110).

**krye** n, pl. *krerë* ~ *krenë* 'head'. From PALb *\*krānjā* < *\*krasnjā* with a compensatory lengthening of the root vowel. Etymologically identical with Gk κρᾶνίον 'skull, head' (MANN *Language* XXVIII 33) and further related to IE *\*kerəs-* 'head' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23). The word for 'head' is the source of *kryej* 'to finish'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 206 (borrowed from Lat *cerebrum* 'head, brain'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1054; TREIMER *MRIW* I 360 (reconstructs *\*kreunom* connected with Slav *\*krušiti* 'to destroy, to grind'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 81 (comparison with OIr *cenn* 'head'); JOKL *IF* XLIV 47; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 160, *Stratificazione* 91-92; MANN *Language* XVII 16, XXVIII 33; PISANI *Saggi* 120; FRISK II 6-7; POKORNY I 574-577; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 86, *KZ* LXXVI 279-280; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 684; HULD 83 (reconstructs *\*krH-euno-*).

**kryq** m, pl. *kryqe*, *kryqa* 'cross'. Borrowed from Lat *crucem* id. with an irregular substitution of the short Lat *-u-* (CAMARDA II 201; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 207). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 198; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 68, 83, 146.

**kririlë** f, pl. *kririla* 'crane'. Other forms are *koririlë*, *kurrilë* and *kojrrilë*. Borrowed from Gmc *\*kran-ila*, a deminutive of *\*kranaz* id.: OHG *krano*, OE *cran*. ◊ KLUGE 399-400; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 59; ZALIZN'AK *Ètimologija* 1964 179; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 129 (from Rom *\*gruilla*).

**krrok** aor. *krroka* 'to caw'. A descriptive stem similar to Lat *crōciō* id.

**krrokull** f, pl. *krrokulla* 'hip bone, joint, knuckle'. An allegro form of *kërdhokull* id. The latter is a derivative of *\*kërdhok* 'round object' preserved as a singularized plural in *kërdhoq* 'eye-ball'. As to *\*kërdhok*, it reflects a suffixal derivative based on the unvoiced variant of *gardh*.

**krrokull** f, pl. *krrokulla* 'saffron'. Borrowed from Rom *\*croculum*, diminutive of Lat *crocum* id.

**kshetë** f, pl. *kshetë* 'nymph, mermaid'. Identical with *kshetë* 'plait', a variant of *gërshetë*.

**kthej** aor. *ktheva* 'to turn'. A prefixal derivative of *thyej*. ◊ CAMARDA I 101 (to Gk ἐκ-τίθημι 'to set outside'); MEYER *Wb.* 185 (from Lat *convertere* 'to turn round'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1054; JOKL *Studien* 94 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

**kthetër** f, pl. *kthetra* 'claw (particularly, of vulture)'. Derivative in *\*-ter* of *kthej*.

**kthill** aor. *kthilla* 'to make clear, to brighten'. An older Tosk form is *kthiell*. A prefixal derivative (CAMARDA I 101) of unattested *\*thiell* reflected in *thjeshtë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 184 (to Italo-Alb *fjeyonem* 'to clear up'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 191 (from *\*kthej diell*); JOKL *Studien* 37-38 (to IE *\*skēi-* attested in *hije*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 294 (to *fill*).

**ku** pron. 'where'. From PALB *\*ku* identical with Skt *kúha* id., Slav *\*kъ-* id., Lith *kuř* id. and the like, originating from IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>u-*, a variant of the pronominal stem *\*k<sup>h</sup>o-*. ◊ CAMARDA I 67 (to IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>o-*); MEYER *Wb.* 218 (follows CAMARDA); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 317, 326; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 161; PORZIG *Gliederung* 168; FRAENKEL 314; MAYRHOFER I 249; POKORNY I 647-648; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 232, 254; HULD 83-84; DEMIRAJ *AE* 226-227.

**kuar** ~ **kuer** m 'measure, order, free time'. Borrowed from Lat *chorus* 'dance in a ring, harmony, harmonious motion'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 333 (*përkuar* 'moderate' based on *\*përkoj* < Lat *parcere* 'to spare'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 294-296 (to *korr*, IE *\*sker-* 'to cut').

**kuç** m 'dog'. Borrowed from South Slavic *\*kučę* 'dog, cub', cf. Bulg

*kuçe*, SCr *kuče*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 218-219 (various Slavic and Romance parallels); BÜGA II 220; MACHEK *ZfslavPh* XXI 154 (onomatopoeia); MURATI *Probleme* 131.

**kuçedër** f, pl. *kuçedra* 'dragon (with many heads)'. Another variant is *kulshedër*. Borrowed from Lat *chersydrus* 'kind of snake' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 116). ◇ CAMARDA I 192 (compound of *kulish* 'whelp, young' or *kuç* and gen. of ὑδρα 'hydra'); MEYER *Wb.* 219 (from Lat *excetra* 'snake, serpent'); POLÁK *EBTch* V 29-30.

**kuhet** refl. 'to redden (of skin)'. Derived from *kuq*.

**kujtoj** aor. *kujtova* 'to remember, to think'. Borrowed from Lat *cōgitāre* (CAMARDA I 99; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 194). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 41-42 (to OIr *ciall* 'reason'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 162, *Origini* 190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117.

**kuk** adv. 'alone'. From PAIb *\*kuka* continuing IE *\*k<sup>u</sup>-k<sup>o</sup>-* 'whoever, anybody', cf. Lat *quisquam, quisquis* and the like.

**kukas** aor. *kukata* 'to wail, to shriek'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kukati* 'to be alone, to wail', cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *kukam*, SCr *kukati*.

**kukoj** aor. *kukova* 'to make fast, to seal (of a barrel)'. Literally, 'to isolate'. Derived from *kuk*.

**kukur** m 'quiver'. Borrowed from late Lat *cucurum* id. or MGk κούκουρον id. (MEYER *Wb.* 211).

**kukutë** f 'fennel'. Borrowed from Lat *cicūta* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048) ◇ HAARMANN 121.

**kukzoi** aor. *kukzova* 'to bend, to arch over'. Based on *\*kukëz*, a suffixal derivative of *\*kukë* borrowed from *\*kuka* 'hook', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kuka*, SCr *kuka*.

**kulaç** m, pl. *kulaçë, kuleç* 'pancake'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kolačь* 'round bread', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *kolač*, SCr *kolač* (MIKLOSICH

Slav. *Elemente* 22). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 155, 303; HAMP *LB XIV/2* 14; SVANE 93.

**kular** m, pl. *kularë* ‘curved piece of wood, ox-collar’. Borrowed from Lat *collāre* ‘collar’ (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1049) ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 14; HAARMANN 118; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 88, 99.

**kulbë** f, pl. *kulba* ‘kind of freshwater fish’. Another form is *kubël*. Early Slavic loanword: note Alb -u- rendering Slav -ъ-. The source is (South) Slav *\*кълба* ~ *\*кълбъ* (Pol *kielb*, Rus *kolba*), see MEYER *Wb.* 212; OREL *Ėtimologija* 1983 143. ◇ MIKLOSICH *EW* 154 (the Slavic and Albanian words are genetically related); BERNEKER I 659; VASMER II 286; OREL *Ėtimologija* 1983 143; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 22; HAARMANN 117; ÇABEJ *St. I* 296 (from Rom *\*cuplea*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 361.

**kulë** f ‘hernia’. An early borrowing from Slav *\*kyla* id., with \*-y- rendered as Alb -u-. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 212-213 (from Lat *culleus* ‘leather sack’); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 34; SVANE 182.

**kulm** m, pl. *kulme* ‘ridge, peak; wave’. Borrowed from Lat nom. *culmen* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 213). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19 (from Lat *culmus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 15; DODBIBA *St. Leks.* 244 (to Gk *κολώνη* ‘hill’, Lat *columen* ‘top’); HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 147.

**kulmak** m, pl. *kulmakë* ‘rush, reed’. Derived from the archaic *kulm* ‘sheaf’, borrowed from Lat *culmus* ‘stalk, stem, straw’ (MEYER *Wb.* 213).

**kulpër** ~ **kulpën** m, pl. *kulpra* ~ *kulpna* ‘ivy, clematis’. A parallel form is Geg *kurpën*. These variants represent a singularized plural of a less usual *kulp*. From PAIb *\*kulpa* etymologically related to Lith *kilpa* ‘loop’, Latv *ciļpa* id. (MANN *Language XVII* 14). Borrowed to Rum *curpen*. ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt. I* 42 (to Gmc *\*xwurbana* ‘twined, twisted’ and Lat *cucurbita* ‘gourd’); JOKL *LKUBA* 229-232 (to IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>el-* ‘to turn’); FRAENKEL 253-254; POKORNY I 926; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 340; ROSETTI *ILR I* 276; OREL *Zfbalk XXIII* 148; ÇABEJ *St. III* 214 (to *për-kul*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 227.

**kulte** f ‘water melon, gourd’. Borrowed from Rom *\*cuculbita*, a variant

of Lat *cucurbita* 'gourd' (MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ St. I 296)  
 ◊ LANDI Lat. 114.

**kultër** f. pl. *kultra* 'pillow, cushion'. Borrowed from Lat *culcitra* id. (MEYER Wb. 213) ◊ HAARMANN 121.

**kulloj** aor. *kullova* 'to sieve, to sift, to filter'. Borrowed from Lat *cōlāre* 'to filter, to strain' (MEYER Wb. 212). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß<sup>2</sup> I 1049; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117.

**kulloshtër** f 'beestings'. Borrowed from Lat *colostra* id. (MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 118). ◊ KLEPIKOVA SPT 116 (from Italian).

**kullos** aor. *kullota* 'to put out to pasture, to graze'. A derivative of *kulloj*. ◊ CAMARDA I 295 (to Gk βου-κολέω 'to tend cattle'); MEYER Wb. 212 (from Lat *colere* 'to cultivate'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 163 (against MEYER).

**kullumbri** f, pl. *kullumbri* 'blackthorn, sloe; turtle dove'. A derivative of \**kullumbë* borrowed from Lat *columba* 'dove', the plant being called after the bird as Rum *porumb* 'maize, corn' after *palumbes* 'dove' (MEYER Wb. 212). ◊ PUŞCARIU EWR 119; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 249 (from Lat *palumbes*); HAARMANN 118.

**kullusmë** f, pl. *kullusma* 'thicket'. A metathesis from \**kullumesë* (cf. *gjysmë*) borrowed from Rom \**columnătia*, cf. Lat *columnātiō* 'supporting by pillars'.

**kum** m 'godfather'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *kum*, SCr *kum* id. A parallel feminine form for 'godmother' (Bulg *kuma*, SCr *kuma*) was borrowed as *kumë*. The latter also stands for 'fox' thus reflecting the Slavic folklore tradition of describing the fox of the fairy-tales as *kuma* 'godmother'.

**kumahark** m, pl. *kumaharqe* 'dragonfly, damselfly'. A recent compound of *kumë* 'godmother' (see *kum*) and *hark*. ◊ ÇABEJ St. I 297 (a form with two prefixes \**kë-më-* based on *harlë*).

**kumb** m, pl. *kumbe* 'tone, sound'. Together with *kumboj* 'to sound', a back-formation based on *këmborë* (MEYER Wb. 186).

**kumbull** f, pl. *kumbulla* 'plum tree'. Other variants are *kumull* and *kumëll*. Borrowed from Gk κοκκύμηλον id. (MEYER *Wb.* 213). ◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 249 (from Rom \**columbula*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 163; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* I 297 (borrowed from Doric).

**kumerë** f 'fear, fright'. A prefixal derivative of *mer*, *tmer*.

**kumerq** m 'toll, duty'. Borrowed from Lat *commercium* 'trade, commerce' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 16). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048.

**kumt** m 'news, announcement'. Borrowed from Lat *commonitus*, participle of *commonere* 'to remind, to put in mind'. From *kumt* the verb *kumtoj* 'to announce' is derived. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 297-298 (from Lat *computāre* 'to sum up, to reckon'); HAARMANN 118.

**kumtër** m, pl. *kumtër* 'godfather'. Borrowed from Lat *compater* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 214). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1048; HAARMANN 118; ÇABEJ *St.* I 298-299 (based on fem. *kumëtër* borrowed from Lat *commāter* 'godmother'); LANDI *Lat.* 41, 115, 143.

**kunat** m, pl. *kunetër* ~ *kunetën* 'brother-in-law'. Borrowed from Lat *cognātus* 'kinsman, blood relation'. The feminine form *cognāta* is reflected as Alb *kunatë* (CAMARDA I 158; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 214). Note a derivative *kunatoll* 'brother-in-law (wife's brother)' that may continue Rom \**cognāteōlus*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1041, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117; LANDI *Lat.* 27, 125, 138.

**kund** adv. 'somewhere'. Goes back to PAIb \**kum to(m)*, acc. sg. of *ku* and a pronominal stem \**to-*, see *ay*. ◊ WEIGAND 41 (to Lat *unde* 'whence'); JOKL *AArbSt* I 35-36 (acc. sg. of \**k'o-* and a pronominal \**to-*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 299-300 (phonetic transformation of *ku*).

**kundër** prep. 'against'. Borrowed from Lat *contra* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 214). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 119.

**kundoj** aor. *kundova* 'to hesitate'. Borrowed from Lat *cunctārī* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 214). ◊ HAARMANN 121; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 52-54 (against MEYER).

**kungoj** aor. *kungova* 'to communicate'. Borrowed from Lat *commūnicāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 16; MEYER *Wb.* 214). As to *kungë* 'altar (of the Orthodox church)', it is a back-formation derived from the verb. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 163; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14, 22; HAARMANN 119; ÇABEJ *St.* I 300 (*kungë* borrowed from Lat *concha* 'shell-fish, mussel, \*vault'); LANDI *Lat.* 117.

**kungull** m, pl. *kunguj* 'marrow, pumpkin, bottle'. From PALb *\*kunkula* identical with Lith *kuñkulas* 'bubble' (MANN *Language* XXVI 387). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 214 (from Lat *cucumis* 'cucumber'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 163 (against MEYER).

**kunj** m, pl. *kunja* 'peg, wedge'. Borrowed from Lat *cuneus* 'wedge' (MEYER *Wb.* 215). The verb *kunjoj* 'to close a sack with a peg' continues Lat *cunēare* 'to wedge'. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 138.

**kup** m 'heap, pile'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kupъ* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *kup*, SCr *kup*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 215 (from Rom *\*cuppus* 'kind of vessel'); SVANE 43.

**kupë** f, pl. *kupa* 'glass, bowl'. Borrowed from Lat *cuppa* 'tub' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19; MEYER *Wb.* 215). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 100.

**kuptoj** aor. *kuptova* 'to understand'. Borrowed from Lat *computāre* 'to sum up, to reckon' (MEYER *Wb.* 215). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 250; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 118; ÇABEJ *St.* I 300-301 (derived from *kap*).

**kuq** adj. 'red'. Borrowed from Rom *\*cocceus*, cf. Lat *coccineus* 'scarlet' (MEYER *Wb.* 210). ◊ BOPP 490 (to Skt *súci-* 'fiery, bright'); CAMARDA I 164 (compares with NGk κόκκινος 'red'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 249; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 162; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 117; HULD 84.

**kur** adv. 'when'. From PAIb \**kur* formally identical with Arm *ur*, Lith *kuř* 'where', Latv *kūr* id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 34), derived from IE \**k<sup>h</sup>u-* (see *ku*). ◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 250 (from Lat *quā hōrā* 'at what hour, when', with an irregular development of the inlaut vocalism); MEYER *Wb.* 215 (accepts SCHUCHARDT's etymology); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 317, *Kelt. Gr.* I 127; MEILLET *MSL* X 259, XX 92; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 164 (follows VASMER); AČAREAN *HAB* III 613-614; PISANI *Saggi* 123; FRAENKEL 314; POKORNY I 647-648; KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 324 (on *-r*); HULD 84; HAARMANN 144; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280; DEMIRAJ *AE* 227-228.

**kurorĕ** ~ **kunorĕ** f. pl. *kurora* ~ *kunora* 'crown'. Borrowed from Lat *corōna* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1048; ERNOUT-MEILLET 144; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 277; HAARMANN 120; JANSON *Unt.* 52-53; LANDI *Lat.* 63, 88.

**kursej** aor. *kurseva* 'to spare'. Derived from \**kurt* 'short' borrowed from Lat *curtus* id. ◊ CAMARDA I 101 (to Lat *curtus*); MEYER *Wb.* 216 (from Rom \**curtiäre*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1051; HAARMANN 122.

**kurt** m. pl. *kurte* 'yard'. Borrowed from Lat *cortem* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 216). ◊ GIUGLEA *Dacoromania* III 472 (from NGk κοῦρτη id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *St.* I 301 (on Old Alb *kurtĕ* id. preserving the gender of Lat *cortem*).

**kurth** m. pl. *kurthe* 'snare, trap'. Derivative in *-th* of *kurp* ~ *kulp*, cf. *kulpĕr*. Somehow connected with Rum *cursă* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 216 (from Turk *kurs* 'disk'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 42 (to OHG *hurt* 'wicker-work'); MANN *Language* XVII 14 (to Lat *crātis*, Goth *haurds*); ROSETTI *ILR* I 276; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237.

**kurvĕ** f. pl. *kurva* 'whore, prostitute'. Borrowed from Slav \**kury*, gen. \**kurъve* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *kurva*, SCr *kurva* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 216). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 194; SVANE 200.

**kurrĕ** adv. 'never, ever'. Goes back to PAIb \**kur ne* of which the first element is identical with *kur* and the second reflects the Indo-European negation \**ne* 'not' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 317). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 215



(identifies with *kur*); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 145; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 164; HAMP *HSyn.* 177; ÇABEJ *St. I* 302 (phonetic variant of *kur*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 228.

**kurriz** m 'spine, backbone, hump'. A derivative in *-iz* based on PALb *\*kurna* < *\*kŕnos* related to Lith *kėras* 'stump', *kirna* 'pointed end of a trunk, bush', Slav *\*korenŭ* 'root'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 190 (to *kėrrus*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 92; FRAENKEL 241; POKORNY I 573; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XI 62-66.

**kush** pron. 'who'. From PALb *\*kuša* going back to an Indo-European pronominal compound *\*k<sup>h</sup>u-so-* consisting of *\*k<sup>h</sup>u-*, a morphological variant of *\*k<sup>h</sup>o-* id., and demonstrative *\*so-*. The Albanian form is, thus, quite close to Tokh A *kus* id., B *kuse* id. < *\*k<sup>h</sup>u-so-* (MEILLET *Idg. Jb.* I 13; OREL *LB* XXX/1 57-58). Note *-sh-* < *\*-s-* explained by the "ruki" rule (OREL *Die Sprache* XXXI/2 114). As to acc. *kë ~ kâ*, it continues PALb *\*kam* < IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>om* (MEYER *Wb.* 217, *Alb. St.* III 2, 88). ◊ BOPP 463 (to IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>o-*); GIL FERDING *Otn.* 22; CAMARDA I 212 (to IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>o-*); MEYER *Wb.* 217-218 (*kush* treated as a borrowing from Lat *quis* with some reserve); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 317 (related to IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>o-*), *Kelt. Gr.* I 128; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 165; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (follows MEILLET); VAN WINDEKENS I 246; POKORNY I 647-648; ÇABEJ *St. I* 275-276, 302-303; HULD 84; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *LB* XXX/1 58-59, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351; DEMIRAJ *AE* 218, 228 (from *\*k<sup>h</sup>u-sŕi*).

**kushëri ~ kushërî** m, pl. *kushërinj* 'cousin'. Borrowed from Lat *consobrīnus* id. (CAMARDA I 120; MEYER *Wb.* 218). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 119.

**kusht** m, pl. *kushte* 'vow, bet, boundary, condition'. Back-formation of *kushtoj* 'to cost' continuing MLat *constāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 217). ◊ ÇABEJ *St. I* 303 (borrowed from Ital *costo* 'price').

**kushtrim** m 'hue-and-cry, war cry, call-up, enrollment, alarm'. A regular deverbative in *-im* based on *\*kushtrōj* borrowed from Rom *\*conscrīptāre*, cf. Lat *conscrībere* 'to enroll (of troops)'. ◊ WEIGAND *BA* I 257 (to *kusht*); LAMBERTZ *Volkspoesie* 247 (divides into *kush trim*

'who is brave?'); ÇABEJ *St. I* 303-304 (agrees with LAMBERTZ).

**kushull** m 'consul'. Borrowed from Lat *consulem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046.

**kut** m, pl. *kut* 'measure of length'. Borrowed from Lat *cubitus* 'cubit' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 19). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 15; HAARMANN 121; LANDI *Lat.* 138, 141.

**kutě** f, pl. *kuta* 'young dog, cub'. Borrowed from Slav *\*kutę* id. attested in East Slavic (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 198). Cf. *kuç*.

**kutěndoj** aor. *kutěndova* 'to thank'. Borrowed from Lat *contentāre* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049) ◇ HAARMANN 119.

**kuvend** m, pl. *kuvende* 'speech; council, meeting'. Borrowed from Lat *conventus* 'meeting, assembly' (CAMARDA I 340; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 17; MEYER *Wb.* 219). A parallel form pl. *tantum kuvise* 'speeches, words' continues Rom *\*conventiae*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1039, 1044, 1048; JOKL *Idg.Jb.* XI 190 (*kuvise* as a deverbative of *\*kuvij* borrowed from Lat *\*conventire*); TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 29; HAARMANN 119; ÇABEJ *St. I* 304 (*kuvise* as a plural of *kuvend*, cf. his interpretation of *vise* : *vend*); LANDI *Lat.* 55, 88, 148-149.

**ky** pron., f. **kjo** 'this'. From PALb *\*ka-ei*, f. *\*ka-jā*, based on a pronominal element *\*ka-* and a demonstrative, see *ai*, *ajo*. ◇ PEDERSEN *Pron.* 315; HULD 84-85 (to *k'o-*); KORTLANDT *SSGL XXIII* 174 (from *\*ku-i*, with *\*-i* < IE *\*ejom*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 217-218.

**kyç** m, pl. 'key'. Other forms are *klyç* and *qyç*. Borrowed from Slav *\*kl'učь* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *kl'uč*, SCR *ključ* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 21; MEYER *Wb.* 193). ◇ JOKL *Slavia XIII* 296; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 144, 150, 308; HAMP *LB XIV/2* 12; SVANE 84.

## L

**lab** m, pl. *labě*, *lebër* ~ *lebën* 'Lab, inhabitant of Laberia'. Back-formation based on *Labëri* 'Laberia' borrowed from an unattested South

Slavic *\*labanъja* < *\*olbanъja* rendering the native pre-Albanian name of the country: *Albania*, Ἰαλβανία. ◊ DESNICKAJA *VËI* 194 (directly from ancient *\*arb-/\*alb-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193.

**labërgoj** aor. *labërgova* 'to undo, to untie'. A phonetic variant of the same word is represented in *labërkoj* 'to reduce, to diminish, to wear out'. A derivative of an unattested *\*lapërkë* based on *lapër* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 304).

**labiç** m 'ghost, bogey', adj. 'importunate, rotten'. From *\*lamiç*, a derivative of *lamjë* 'bogey' (from NGk λαμία, cf. MEYER *Wb.* 231). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 230 (from Ital *\*larviccio*, based on Lat *larva* 'specter, shade'); JOKL *LKUBA* 77-78 (from Slav *\*l'ubičь* 'lover').

**labrik** m 'sea-wolf'. Borrowed from Gk λάβριχος id. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34 (from Lat *labrax*); MEYER *Wb.* 233 (from Rom *\*labracum* < Gk λάβραξ id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; OREL *Orpheus* VI 65.

**lacë** f 'gusset, inlet; white goat'. Continues *\*larcë*, a phonetic variant of *larëz* id., a derivative of *larë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 304-305). ◊ BARDHI apud ÇABEJ *ibid.* (to IE *\*leuk-* 'white').

**laçkë** f, pl. *laçka* 'household goods'. One of the rhyming words appearing together with *plaçkë* 'thing, booty' (of Modern Greek or late Slavic origin, cf. MEYER *Wb.* 344): *me laçkë e me plaçkë* 'bag and baggage', *plaçkë e raçkë* id.

**ladut** m, pl. 'rogue, rascal'. Probably, borrowed from an unattested Bulg *\*lъgut* 'liar' derived from Slav *\*lъgati* 'to lie'.

**lafatë** f, pl. *lafata* 'Judas tree'. Another phonetic variant is *lajthatë*. A form *lofatë* is also attested. Derived from *lajthi*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 248 (from Ital *siliquastro* 'Judas tree').

**lafshë** f, pl. *lafsha* 'crest (of bird), comb'. Borrowed from Lat *laxa* (*cutis*) 'loose (skin)' (MEYER *Wb.* 234). ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 197 (to *lapë*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1055; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 84 (deminutive of *lapë*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 133; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 77-78.

**lag** aor. *laga* 'to wet, to soak, to bathe, to wash'. From PAIb \**lauga* to be further compared with *lēgatē*. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *li-* 'to melt'); CAMARDA 140 (to Gk *λούω* 'to wash'); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (from Slav \**volga* 'liquid'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 37 (related to Slav \**volga*); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 45-46; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 159 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 166; MANN *Language* XVII 17 (same as VASMER); POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 83; ÇABEJ *St.* I 319-320; HAMP apud DEMIRAJ (to Lith *liūgas* 'swamp'); OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429-430; DEMIRAJ *AE* 229-230.

**lagaterē** f 'period of changeable weather (in March - April)'. A compound of *lag* and *ter* (JOKL *LKUBA* 293).

**lagje** f, pl. *lagje* 'district, quarter'. Singularized plural of \**lag* etymologically identical with Gk *λόχος* 'ambush, place for lying in wait', Slav \**logъ* 'den, narrow valley' and other continuants of IE \**loghos*, a deverbative of \**legh-* 'to lie' (JOKL *RIEB* I 58-60). ◊ POKORNY I 658-659; FRISK II 110-112; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 79 (borrowed from Gk *λόχος*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 305 (agrees with JOKL, adduces sg. *lag* 'band, horde'); TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XV 248-250; DEMIRAJ *AE* 230.

**laj** ~ **lāj** aor. *lava* 'to wash'. Originates from PAIb \**launja* related to Gk *λούω* id., Lat *lavō* id. (PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX 211, 215). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35 (borrowed from Lat *lavāre*); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1050; JOKL *IF* XLIII 51; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 84-86 (to Russ *solovyj*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 175 (follows MEYER); FRISK II 138-139; WALDE-HOFMANN I 773-774; POKORNY I 692; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 117, *Münch. St. Spr.* 109; HAMP *AION-L* II (XIII) 186 (follows PEDERSEN); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 211, 247; HULD 85 (if borrowed, Lat *lavāre* would yield \**lēvoj* or \**loj*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 230-231.

**lajkē** f, pl. *lajkē* 'caress; flattery'. From \**larkē* further related to *larē*. Semantically, the development is identical with that of *laroj* 'to speckle, to spot' and 'to flatter' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 305-306). ◊ CAMARDA I 37 (to Gk *λαϊκάζω* 'to wench'); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (borrowed from or related to Slav \**laska* 'caress'); JOKL *LKUBA* 204-205 (to Gk *λάσκω* 'to shout' and its cognates); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 207, 276; DEMIRAJ *AE* 231 (to *laj*).

**lajle** f, pl. *lajle* 'ornamentation, decorations'. A contamination of *lajkë* and *lale*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 306 (related to *larë*).

**lajthi** f, pl. *lajthi* 'hazel-tree, hazel-nut'. In Borgo Erizzo, *lakthi* is attested (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 166-167). Based on *lakth* ~ \**laqth* 'loop, noose', derivative in *-th* of *lak* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 30). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 234 (to Slav \**lěska* 'hazel-nut', Lith *lazdà* id.); BARIĆ *ARSt* 44 (to Skt *vleška*- 'sling'); JOKL *LKUBA* 203-205 (supports MEYER and reconstructs an earlier \**ladh* with an epenthetic *-j*); PORZIG *Gliederung* 176; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 109 (from \**l-al-thi*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 231-232.

**lak** m, pl. *leq, leqe* 'trap, snare, rope, bow (of a musical instrument), pass (in the mountains), bend, curve'. From PAIb \**laka* 'bend, curve' connected with IE \**lĕk-* ~ \**lĕk-*, see *flak* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 75). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34 (from Lat *laqueus* 'noose, snare'); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (from Rom \**laquus*, cf. Lat *laqueus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1041; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 160; DESNICKAJA *Gr. str.* 9; POKORNY I 674; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 207, 227.

**lakë** f 'defilé, valley'. Borrowed from Gmc \**lakaz* 'brook, river, swamp', cf. OHG *lahha*, OE *lacu* and the like. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34 (from Lat *lacus*); MEYER *Wb.* 235 (from Ital *lacca* 'deep bottom', itself from Germanic); KLUGE 416.

**lakër ~ lakën** f, pl. *lakra ~ lakna* 'cabbage, greens'. Borrowed from Gk λάχανον 'greens' (THUMB *IF* XXVI 14; MEYER *Wb.* 236). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 208; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 166; ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 41; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; JANSON *Unt.* 41.

**lakmi** f, pl. 'greed, avarice'. Derived from \**lakēm* 'greedy' borrowed from Slav \**olkomъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *lakom*, SCr *lakom* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 236). As a result of erroneous segmentation of \**lak-ēm*, a new form *lakut* 'greedy, glutton' was produced. ◇ MLADENOV *Ist.* 77.

**lakshte** f 'dew'. Derivative in *-sht(ë)* from *lag*.

**lakuq** adj. 'red (of earth)'. A prefixal derivative of *kuq*.

**lakur** adj. 'naked'. From PAIb \**lauk-ura* derived from IE \**leuk-* 'to

shine, to be white'. The derivative *\*lauk-urā* > *lëkurë* 'skin, bark' also belongs to the same root. For the semantic motivation of words for 'bark'. From *lakur* the word for bat *lakuriq*, *laskuriq* is derived. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 236 (to Gk λέπω 'to peel'), *Alb. St.* III 3; JOKL *Studien* 46, n. 1 (compares *lëkurë* with Gk λακίς 'tear, break, crack', Slav *\*lqčq*, *\*lqčiti* 'to split'), 51 (prefix *lë-* in *lëkurë*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 166 (agrees with JOKL), *Stratificazione* 92-93; ERNOUT-MEILLET 335; TRUBAČEV *Remesl. term.* 165-166; POKORNY I 687-689; HULD 86; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145, *Orpheus* VI 66; DEMIRAJ *AE* 232-233, 240-241 (dialectal form of *lakuriq*, further related to *lëkurë* and based on IE *\*skeuə-* 'to cover').

**lale** f, pl. *lale* 'ornamentation, decorations'. A result of assimilation of *liquida* in the plural form of *lar*.

**lalë** m 'uncle, father' (used as a title). Represents a *Lallwort* widespread in the Balkans, cf. NGk λαλᾶς 'grandfather' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 236; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 167, *Stratificazione* 117). From this stem *lalush* 'to fondle, to caress' is derived.

**landër** f, pl. *landra* 'tendril (of plants); oleander'. Borrowed from MLat *lorandrum*, a transformation of Lat *rhododendron* (OREL *Orpheus* VI 66).

**lanok** m, pl. *lanokë* 'robber, thief'. Another variant is *landok*. Borrowed from Slav *\*lěnpъkъ* 'lazy person, idler', cf. Bulg *lenk'o*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 307 (derivative of *lëndë* with the original meaning 'woodcutter').

**lap** aor. *lapa* 'to slurp, to lap up'. From PALb *\*lapa*, an onomatopoeia relate to Gk λάπτω 'to lick', Lith *lapth* 'to swallow greedily, Slav *\*lopati* 'to eat greedily' and the like (CAMARDA I 127; MEYER *Wb.* 237, *Alb. St.* III 31). Among derivatives, note *lëpij* 'to lick' and *lëpis* 'index' (literally, the licked finger). ◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253 (equal to Friul *lapa* 'to lick'); FRISK II 85, 92; POKORNY I 677; FRAENKEL 339-340; TRUBAČEV *ËSSJa* XVI 45-46; DEMIRAJ *AE* 242 (influenced by *pij*, form of *pi*).

**laparos** aor. *laparosa* 'to make dirty'. Together with Bulg *lapardosvam* id. borrowed from a Modern Greek formation based on Gk λαπαρός

'soft'. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 47-48 (to *lapërdhi*), *LKUBA* 90; DEMIRAJ *AE* 233 (new formation in *-os* based on *lapër* 'cloth').

**lapë** f, pl. *lapa* 'hard piece of meat or skin; peritoneum; leaf'. Continues PAIb \**lapā* related to Lith *lāpas* 'leaf', Gk *λοπός* 'shell, husk, bark' and the like. Derived from *lapë* are *lapetë* 'peritoneum (of a slaughtered animal); triangular patch of cloth' and *lapër* 'peritoneum, dewlap', adj. 'foul, evil, bad'. As to *labë* 'bark', it is a secondary dialectal variant of *lapë*, cf. ÇABEJ *St.* I 307. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 237 (to Lith *lōpas* 'spot' and its cognates); JOKL *Stud.* 44 (*labë* to Lith *liūbas* 'bark'), *LKUBA* 88-89; MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Slav \**lupъ* 'scale', ON *lauf* 'leaf'), XXVI 386 (*labë* to Gk *λοβός* 'pod'); FRAENKEL 339-340; FRISK II 105-107; CHANTRAINE 632; POKORNY I 678; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 208, 230; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 229, 233.

**lapërdhi** f, pl. *lapërdhi* 'dewlap; obscenity, dirty joke'. Derivative of *lapër*, cf. *lapë* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 234). ◇ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 36 (to Skt *lāpati* '(he) whispers', Slav \**lepetъ* 'babble'); JOKL *Studien* 47-48 (together with *laparos* 'to make dirty' related to IE \**leip-* 'fat, grease, dirt'), *LKUBA* 90.

**laps** aor. *lapsa* 'to exhaust, to wary'. Although in other cases the cluster *-ps-* indicates the Greek origin, this word may continue PAIb \**lapitja* related to Gk *λαπαρός* 'weak', *λαπάζω* 'to weaken' (JOKL *Studien* 48). ◇ FRISK II 84-85; ÇABEJ *St.* I 307 (from Gk *βλάπτω* 'to disable, to weaken'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 234.

**laps** aor *lapsa* 'to wish, to want'. From PAIb \**laubitja* related to Skt *lūbhya* 'to wish', Slav \**l'ubiti* 'to love' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 48). ◇ MAYRHOFER III 107-108; POKORNY I 683-684; ÇABEJ *St.* I 308 (identical with *laps* 'to exhaust, to wary'); TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XV 174-176.

**lapush** adj. 'big-eared'. Borrowed from Slav \**lapuša* 'plant with big leaves', cf. SCr *lapuša* 'kind of oak'. The Albanian usage is obviously metaphorical.

**lar** m 'laurel'. Borrowed from Lat *laurus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 237). From *lar* a deminutive *larth* 'holly' as well as *larëz* 'wild vine' and *larushk* id. are derived. ◇ MEYER-

LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 17 (*larushk* from Lat *labrusca*); HAARMANN 132; LANDI *Lat.* 72, 110, 140.

**lara** pl. 'menstruation; rinse water'. Substantivized form of *larĕ* ~ *lanĕ*, participle of *laj*.

**laracoj** aor. *laracova* 'to variegate'. Together with *laraman* 'motley, spotted' and *laragan* id. derived from *larĕ*.

**lardh** m 'fat bacon'. Borrowed from Lat *lāridum*, *lārdum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 238). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 169.

**larĕ** f, pl. *lara* 'white spot', adj. 'spotted, motley'. From PAIb \**laurā*, derivative in -r- based on *laj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 238 (to *laros*, cf. *laroj*).

**larg** adv. 'far (away)'. Borrowed from Lat *largus* 'big, large' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 238). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042, 1050; HASDEU *EMR* I 583; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 169; MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 132; HULD 85 (gross misinterpretation of MEYER's view); LANDI *Lat.* 49.

**laroj** aor. *larova* 'to speckle, to variegate; to flatter'. Another morphological variant is *laros*. Derived from *larĕ*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 238 (borrowed from NGk λερώνω 'to dirty'); BARIĆ *A ArbSt* I 153 (*laroj* 'to flatter' to Slav \**laskati*); JOKL *IJ X VII* 67 (united *laroj* 'to speckle' and *laroj* 'to flatter' by comparing it to Gk ποικίλλω 'to speckle, to paint, to flatter'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 308 (follows JOKL).

**lartĕ** ~ **naltĕ** adj. 'high'. Based on the adverbial Lat *in altum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 297). ◊ MEYER *BB XIV* 54, *Wb.* 238 (rejects his earlier explanation); JOKL *LKUBA* 228 (from PAIb \**laudra*, to IE \**leudh-* 'to grow'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 34 (on prothetic l-), 201; BARIĆ *A ArbSt* I/1-2 147-148 (< \**tlā-ro-*, to Lat *tollō*); MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 16; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 246; HAARMANN 130; LANDI *Lat.* 49.

**lashtĕ** adj. 'old; early, premature (of fruit)'. A parallel form is *lashĕ*. An adjective in -tĕ going back to PAIb \**lauša* related to Goth *laus*



'empty, loosen', with further connection with Gk λύω 'to loose, to release'. Semantically, the development may be compared to that of Gmc *\*alda-* 'old' if, in our case, an intermediate link 'to release' > 'to let grow' > 'to grow old' is admitted.  $\diamond$  MEYER *Wb.* 238 (from Lat *lassus* 'faint, languid'); JOKL *LKUBA* 226-228, *Slavia* XIII 309 (to IE *\*leudh-* 'to grow'); KLUGE 446; FRISK II 149-150; POKORNY I 681-682; FEIST *Goth.* 325; HAARMANN 132; LIUKKONEN *SSF* X 56 (to Lith *ilgas* 'long'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 308-309 (derivative of *lag*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 66.

**latë** f, pl. *lata* 'small axe'. From PAIb *\*laptā* related to *lapē* (JOKL *Studien* 47, *LKUBA* 88) and reflecting a derivation close to (thematic) Slav *\*lopata* 'spade', Lith *lópezta* id. and (athematic) OPrus *lopto* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 234). On the semantic link between 'leaf' and 'spade' see TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XVI 43.  $\diamond$  MANN *Language* XVII 17 (related to Slav *\*delbto*); TOPOROV *PJa* IV 358-363.

**latredh** m, pl. *latredha* 'uncastrated ram or goat'. A prefixal derivative of *tredh* (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 110).

**latyrë** f, pl. *latyra* 'rinse water'. Borrowed from Rom *\*lavātūra* from Lat *lavāre* 'to wash' (MEYER *Wb.* 237).

**lavare** f, pl. *lavare* 'noose, hangman's rope'. Singularized plural of *lavar* 'dog-collar'. A prefixal form of *var* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 309). The corresponding verb is *lavirem* 'to hang down'.

**lavij** aor. *lavita* 'to become mad'. Another variant is *lavem* id. Historically identical with *lavos* 'to wound, to injure' from NGk λαβώνω id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 309).  $\diamond$  MEYER *Wb.* 239 (on *lavos*); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 108.

**lavire** f, pl. *lavire* 'filthy rags; whore; brook, rill; ridge (of a hill)'. Derivative of *lavirem*, see *lavare* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 310).

**lbardh** aor. *lbardha* 'to make white'. A prefixal derivative of *bardh*.

**le** part. Accompanies verb in jussive. Goes back to PAIb *\*laide* identical with the Baltic particle of optative and permissive: Lith *lai*, Latv *lài*, *lei*, OPrus *-lai*. It coincides with the old unattested imperative as well as with 2 sg. pres. of *lē* (CAMARDA I 255; PEKMEZI 76-77).  $\diamond$  FRAENKEL 329; ÇABEJ *St.* I 310.

**lebetis** aor. *lebetita* 'to tremble, to shudder, to be frightened'. Borrowed from Slav \**lebetati* 'to tremble', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *lebetati* (MEYER *Wb.* 239). ◇ SVANE 254.

**lepër** f 'mastitis; leprosy'. Identical with *lepër* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 315).

**leckë** f, pl. *lecka* 'rag, scrap of cloth'. Derived from *lesë* 'cleaning-rag' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 310). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 373 (to *rreckë*).

**leçis** aor. *leçita* 'to proclaim, to announce'. Borrowed from Slav \**ličiti* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: CS *ličiti*, Maced *liči*, SCr *ličiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 242). The reasons for which the vowel of the first syllable is reflected as Alb *-i-* are not clear. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 180; SVANE 247.

**ledh** m 'mud, alluvium, clay; wall, earth mound; river mouth, balk'. Continues PALb \**laida* related to OPrus *laydis* 'clay' and its cognates (MEYER *Wb.* 239, *Alb. St.* III 28). The meaning 'wall' may be explained as an original description of a 'clay wall'. ◇ TRAUTMANN *APSpr.* 367-368; JOKL *IF* XXX 206 (to OE *ltste* 'edge'); ENDZELINS *DI* IV/2 248 (follows MEYER); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251; MANN *Language* XXVIII 36 (to Gk λήμη); PORZIG *Gliederung* 176; PISANI *Saggi* 123; BARIĆ *AArbSt* I/1-2 148 (to Latv *lēza*, ON *lágr*); POKORNY I 662; DURIDANOV *TD* 94 (reconstructs Dac \**laid-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282 (follows JOKL); KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 220 (repeats JOKL and OREL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 235.

**ledhë** f, pl. *ledha* 'caress, fondling'. If the underlying meaning was 'to touch', *ledhë* is related to *ledh* exactly as Lith *lāitis* 'silt' is connected with *liēsti* 'to touch' (JEGERS *KZ* LXXX 87-88). The Baltic forms, moreover, are cognates of OPrus *laydis*, see *ledh*. ◇ FRAENKEL 334.

**leh** m, pl. *lehë* 'plot of land, patch of land'. Borrowed from Slav \**lěxa* id., cf. in South Slavic: OCS *lěxa*, Bulg *lexa*, SCr *lijeha*, *leha* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 240). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 158, 305; SVANE 38.

**leh ~ lef** aor. *leha ~ lefa* 'to bark'. Goes back to PALb \**laja*, a zero grade form related to Skt *rāyati* id., Lith *lōju*, *lōti*, Slav \**lajati* and

the like (MEYER *Wb.* 240). ◇ CAMARDA I 65 (to Gk ληκέω 'to sound'); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 151; ERNOUT-MEILLET 344; PISANI *Saggi* 130; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Gk λάσκω); FRAENKEL 387; MAYRHOFER III 55; POKORNY I 650; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XIV 21; DEMIRAJ *AE* 235.

**lehtë** adj. 'light'. A more archaic variant is *leh*. Continues PAIb \**lega* < IE \**legʰh-* or \**laga* < IE \**lŋgʰh-* etymologically connected with Skt *raghú-* 'hastening', *laghú-* 'light', Gk ἑλαχύς id., Lat *levis* id. and the like (BOPP 462, 490; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 134; MEYER *Wb.* 239-240). ◇ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 38 (from Lat *levis* id.); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 69; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 108 (*leh* < \**lev* < \**lŋgʰh-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 170; MAYRHOFER III 31-32; FRISK I 484-485; WALDEHOFMANN I 788-789; POKORNY I 660-661; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 133 (follows VASMER); ÇABEJ *St.* I 310-311.

**lej** aor. *leva, linda* 'to give birth; to be born; to rise (of the sun)'. A parallel morphological variant *lind* represents - as many other Albanian verbs of this type - a nasal present indicative of the original vocalism \**li-n-d*. The original verb is represented by its dialectal form *le* continuing PAIb \**laida* while the form *lej* is a secondary formation \**laidnja*. Further related to *lë* and, outside Albanian, to Lith *léisti* 'to let', Latv *laīst* id. and the like. For the semantic development of *le ~ lej* 'to be born' < 'to appear' < 'to be sent forth' it is important to note the range of meanings of Lith *léisti* - 'to let, to send, to let rise'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 241 (hesitantly suggests a borrowing from Lat *levāre* 'to lift up, to raise'); JOKL *Studien* 49, *LKUBA* 42-44, 262 (to IE \**leudh-* 'to grow' - but that leaves the vowel of *lind* unexplained); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 170 (agrees with JOKL); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 29-30 (to Lat *liberī* 'children' < \**leidheroi*, not \**leudheroi*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 17; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (from \**lei-n-*); FRAENKEL 351-352; ÇABEJ *St.* I 311-313 (to IE \**legʰh-* 'to lie', cf. in particular Gk λόχος, λοχεία 'child-birth'); POKORNY I 666; ÖLBERG *Unt.* 28; JANSON *Unt.* 29-30; CLACKSON *LR* 227; DEMIRAJ *AE* 235-237 (to Lat *alō* 'to feed', Bret *ala* 'to give birth'); OREL *Orpheus* VI 66.

**lekë** f 'sinciput, top of the head'. From PAIb \**lakā* etymologically connected with *lak* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 75).

**lele** f, pl. *lela* 'dirty woman, slut'. Borrowed from Slav \**lěl'a* 'aunt', cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *lěl'a*, *le'l'a*, Bulg *le'l'a*, SCr *ljelja* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25).

**lemarak** m, pl. *lemarakë* 'glutton'. Another variant is *lemacak*. Expressive derivatives based on *lemcë*.

**lemcë** f 'uterus (of animals)'. A morphological variant in *-zë* is represented by *lemzë* 'female sexual organ'. Both words are based on *lemë*, a participle of *lej* (GAZULLI 234). As to *klemzë* id., it is a prefixal derivative of *lemzë* (GAZULLI 204). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 313.

**lemeri** f, pl. *lemeri* 'fear, terror'. Prefixal derivative of (*t*)*merr*.

**lend** m, pl. *lende* 'acorn'. From PALb \**lenta* compared with the Indo-European word for 'lentil' \**lent-*: Lat *lēns*, *lēntis*, OHG *linsi*, Slav \**leŕja* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 313-314). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 30 (from Lat *glānde(m)* 'acorn' but how to explain Lat *gl-* > Alb *l-?*); MEYER *Wb.* 243 (follows MIKLOSICH); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1054; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 22 (compares with *lënd*); MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (to Gk βάλανος id.); VASMER II 553-554; WALDE-HOFMANN I 783; POKORNY I 677; FRIEDRICH *Trees* 131-132 (same as MANN); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16 (from Latin); TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XV 63-65; OREL *IF* XLIII 111 -113 (unconvincing comparison with *lej*).

**lenicë** f, pl. *lenica* 'female salmon'. Derivative of *lej* using a suffix of Slavic origin. The specific term is connected with the salmon spawning.

**lenoj** aor. *lenova* 'to mitigate, to soften, to relieve'. Borrowed from Ital *lenire* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 244). ◊ CAMARDA I 173 (to Lat *lēnīre* 'to make soft, to alleviate'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; ÇABEJ *St.* I 314 (derived from *leh*, *lehtë*).

**lepër** f 'leprosy'. Borrowed from Lat *lepra* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 315). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 241 (from NGk λέπρα id.).

**leptyrë** f 'muddy place'. Borrowed from Rom \**lippitūra*, cf. Lat *lippitūdo* 'blearedness, rheum'.

**lepur** m, pl. *lepra, lepuj* 'hare'. Borrowed from Lat *leporem* id. (STIER KZ XI 139; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 241). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1049; JOKL *LKUBA* 9; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 133; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 83, 144-145.

**lerë** f, pl. *lerë* 'dirt, mud'. From PALb *\*laurā* etymologically identical with Lith *laūrė* 'dirty person', further related to *\*leu-* reflected in *lum*. ◇ CAMARDA I 146 (to ὀλερόν · κόπρον, Hes.); MEYER *Wb.* 238 (to *laroj*, ὀλερόν); JOKL *LKUBA* 67 (derivative in *-rë* of *lyej*), *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86; LAMBERTZ KZ LIII 12 (follows MEYER); FRAENKEL 346-347; ÇABEJ *St.* I 315 (agrees with JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 237 (dialectal form of *lyrë*, cf. *lyej*).

**lerë** f, pl. *lera* 'heap of stones, pebble bank'. Continues PALb *\*laurā* related to Gk *λαύρα* 'alley, pass between rocks' (JOKL *RIEB* I 43-46). ◇ FRISK II 91; PISANI *Saggi* 85; POKORNY I 683; GINDIN *JaDN* 164; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 79 (borrowed from *λαύρα*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 237-238 (originally Gcg).

**lerth** m 'ivy'. Another variant is *lerdh*. Deminutive in *-th* of *lar*.

**lesë** f, pl. *lesa* 'harrow, wicker-work, frame'. Borrowed from Slav *\*lěsa* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *lesa*, SCr *ljesa* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. nasele-nie* 156). A parallel form *leshë* id. belongs to an earlier layer of Slavic loanwords. ◇ SVANE 31.

**lesë** f, pl. *lesa* 'cleaning rag, cloth'. A derivative of *lyej* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 315).

**leskër** f, pl. *leskra* 'scale (of fish), shred, slate, thin metal shavings'. A derivative of *\*lesk* borrowed from Slav *\*listъkъ* 'small leaf', cf. South Slavic continuants: Maced *listok*, SCr *listak*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 316 (from SCr *liska* 'metal plate'); SVANE 149.

**lesh** m, pl. *leshra ~ leshna* 'wool, fleece, hair'. From PALb *\*laiša* etymologically connected with the Balto-Slavic word for 'foliage': Lith *laiškos* 'leaf', Latv *laiška* 'leaf on a linen stalk; stalk', Slav *\*listъ* 'leaf'. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* I (to Slav *\*volsъ* 'hair'); *Wb.* 241 (comparison with Gmc *\*fleusaz* 'fleece'), *Alb. St.* III 24, 38, 61; JOKL *Studien* 49 f. (to

Skt *lavī-* 'sickle', Gk λαῖον id.), *Slavia XIII* 292 (borrowed from Slav \**lěsa*); KRISTOFORIDHI 205 (to Gk λάχνη 'down, fleece, frizzy hair'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 45 (to Gk οὔλος 'curly'), *Hymje* 26 (same as KRISTOFORIDHI); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 38-39 (to ON *vlōh* 'hair', Gk λάχνη, same as KRISTOFORIDHI); RIBEZZO *Riv. indo-gr.-it.* I 16 (to Gk λάσιος 'hairy, covered with hair'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 92; PISANI *Saggi* 122 (agrees with MEYER *Wb.*); PUDIĆ *IX Ling. Cong.* 862 (follows MEYER); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 331; ÇABEJ *St.* I 315-316, IV 78; FRAENKEL 333-334; VASMER II 500-501; POKORNY I 681; NEROZNAK *Paleoh.* 198 (borrowed from Slav \**volsъ*); TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa XV* 143-144 (Slavic and Baltic words derived from IE \**lei-* 'to spring up [of plants]'); HULD 85-86 (to OS *wlōh* 'fringe'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 238-239 (to Lat *vellus* 'wool').

**leshko** m, pl. *leshko* 'credulous, gullible'. This homonym of *leshko* 'hairy one' (to *lesh*) is borrowed from Bulg *lečko*, *лъčko*, adv. 'lightly', cf. *lečok* 'light'.

**leshnje** f 'moss'. Derivative of *lesh*.

**lez** m, pl. *leza*, *lezë* 'wart, mole, pimple, birthmark'. Another morphological variant is *lezë*. There exists a dialectal form *lemzë* that reflects the original structure of the word and allows to identify it with *lemzë* ~ *lemčë* and, in the long run, with *lej* (JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 31). For the semantics cf. E *birthmark*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 316-317 (to *lyej*).

**lë ~ lâ** aor. *lashë* 'to let'. From PALb \**laidna*, a present in \*-*ne/o-* replacing a more archaic \**laida* (see *lej*). Related to IE \**leid-* attested in Baltic and Germanic: Lith *lėisti* id., Latv *laist* id., Goth *letan* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 242, *Alb. St.* III 28, 65, IV 24). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 252, *Sprache IX* 118; PISANI *Saggi* 130; FRAENKEL 351-352; POKORNY I 666; FEIST *Goth.* 329-330; ÇABEJ *St.* I 317 (to Lat *lēnis* 'soft, smooth' - semantically difficult); DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 227; OREL *IF XLIII* 113; HULD 155; JANSON *Unt.* 81 (on part. *lënë*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 239.

**lëbarke** f 'dysentery'. A prefixal derivative of *bark* (MEYER *Wb.* 242). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 51; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 109.

**lëbyr** aor. *lëbyra* 'to dazzle, to maze, to confuse'. A prefixal deriva-

tive of *byr*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 317-318 (reconstructs two prefixes *lě-* and *b-*); MURATI *Probleme* 86-87 (to *lyej*).

**lěfore** *f*, pl. *lěfora* ‘rind, peel, scale of fish’. A dialectal phonetic variant of *lěvore* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 318).

**lěfos** *m*, pl. *lěfosě* ‘glutton’. From *\*lěpues* ‘lapping’, see *lap*. The feminine form *lěfosě* is attested in a different meaning - ‘woman or animal with hanging breasts’.

**lěfyt** *m*, pl. *lěfyta* ‘pipe, tube’. A prefixal derivative of *fyt* (MEYER *Wb.* 115). ◇ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 109; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242.

**lěgatě** *f*, pl. *lěgata* ‘marsh’. Cf. also *lěngatě* under the influence of *lěng* ~ *lang*. From PAIb *\*leugatā* connected with Illyr ἔλος Λούγεον καλούμενον (Strabo 7.43), Lith *liūgas* id., Slav *\*luža* ‘pool’ (MEYER *Wb.* 242). ◇ MEYER *Alb. Studien* IV 52 (to Gk λέμφος ‘mucus’); BARIĆ *ARSt* 45-46 (to *lag*); JOKL *Reallex. Vorges.* I 86, *IF* XLVI 383; KRAHE *BNF* XIV 120-124 (Illyrian parallels); FRAENKEL 379; POKORNY I 686; ÇABEJ *St.* I 319-320; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429-430; DEMIRAJ *AE* 239-240 (to *lag*, *lagě*).

**lěkore** *f*, pl. *lěkore* ‘chicory’. A prefixal derivative of *kore* id., probably influenced by *lěkurě*.

**lěkostěr** *f* ‘bast’. A prefixal derivative of unattested *\*kostěr* borrowed from Slav *\*kostra* ‘bark, grass’. In South Slavic only a derivative *\*kostr’ava* ‘kind of grass’ has been registered: Bulg *kostr’ava*, SCr *kostrj-ava*.

(G) **lěkue** *m*, pl. *lěkonj* ‘water lily’. Borrowed from Lat (*lilium*) *Lacōnem* ‘Spartan (lily)’.

**lěkund** *aor.* *lěkunda* ‘to rock, to swing, to sway, to shake’. A prefixal derivative of an unattested *\*kund*, a nasal present reflecting PAIb *\*kunda* and related to Gmc *\*xutan* ‘to swing’: MHG *hutzen*. ◇ BUGA *RFV* LXV 317 (compares Germanic forms with Lith *kuzdėti* ‘to tremble’, *kūdulti* ‘to pull hair or beard’); POKORNY I 956-957; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 269.

**lĕkuq** aor. *lĕkuqa* 'to tinge red, to dye red'. A prefixal derivative of *kuq* (CAMAJ Alb. *Wortb.* 101).

**lĕkurĕ** f, pl. *lĕkurĕ* 'skin, hide'. Derived from *lakur*. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 92-93; ERNOUT-MEILLET 335; CAMAJ Alb. *Wortb.* 102, 108 (prefix *lĕ-*); DEMIRAJ AE 240-241.

**lĕmaqe** f, pl. *lĕmaqe* 'expanse of rubble, stoneslide, pile of stones'. A singularized plural of *\*lĕmak*, a derivative in *-ak* of *lĕmĕ*.

**lĕmashk** m, pl. *lĕmashqe* 'mud, scum, moss, fur on tongue'. Another variant is *lĕmyshk* 'moss, fur on tongue'. A prefixal derivative from *myshk*.

**lĕmazĕ** f, pl. *lĕmaza* 'thin skin, shell'. A prefixal derivative of *mazĕ* (CAMAJ Alb. *Wortb.* 108).

**lĕmehem** refl. 'to put on make-up'. A reflexive form of *lĕmoj* 'to smooth, to polish'. ◇ ÇABEJ St. I 318 (derived from *lyem*, participle of *lyej*).

**lĕmekem** refl. 'to become wet; to faint'. A prefixal denominative (CAMAJ Alb. *Wortb.* 110) of an unattested *\*mek* 'wet' continuing PAIb *\*maka* and connected with *makĕ*. ◇ ÇABEJ St. VII 242.

**lĕmĕ ~ lamĕ** f, pl. *lĕmĕ ~ lamĕ, lĕmĕnj ~ lamĕnj, lĕmenj ~ lamenj* 'threshing-floor, wine-press'. There also exists a more archaic masculine form *lĕm ~ lam*. From PAIb *\*lamā* etymologically identical with OHG *lam* 'lame', Slav *\*lomъ* 'breaking; crow-bar; broken branches', reflecting *\*lomos* further derived from IE *\*lem-* 'to break' (MEYER *Wb.* 243, Alb. *St.* III 64). ◇ SCHMIDT KZ LVII 17 (to *lej*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 167-168 (follows MEYER); PISANI *Saggi* 124; POKORNY I 674; ÇABEJ St. I 318-319 (to Lith *lomà* 'pit, hole'); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XVI 25-27; DEMIRAJ AE 241 (to Gk *ἀλωή* 'threshing-floor').

**lĕmoj** aor. *lĕmova* 'to file, to polish'. Borrowed from Lat *limāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 243). ◇ ÇABEJ St. VII 184.

**lĕmoshĕ** f, pl *lĕmosha* 'alms, charity'. Borrowed from Germanic, cf. OHG *alamuosa* id., OS *alemōsa* id. Based on *lemoshĕ* is *lemoshtĕr*



'crumb, speck, offering to the dead enclosed in coffin with corpse'.  
 ◇ KLUGE 15; OREL *Orpheus* VI 66.

**lĚmsh ~ lamsh** m, pl. *lĚmshe ~ lamshe* 'ball (of wool, thread), globe (of earth), pool, spellet'. The meaning 'globe of earth' < \*'broken lump of earth' may be one of the oldest. The word goes back to PALb \**lemesja* and is formally identical with Latv *lemesis* 'sharp edge of the plouw', Slav \**lemešb* 'plowshare', with a parallel form with a voiced auslaut in Lith *lĚmežis* 'wooden part of plough to which the plowshare is fixed', Slav \**lemežb* 'plowshare'. The resulting IE \**lemesjo-* is a derivative of \**lem-* 'to break', cf. *lĚmĕ*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 243 (from Rom \**glemus*, cf. Lat *glomus* 'ball, clue of yarn, thread'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1054; JOKL *LKUBA* 23-24 (follows MEYER); TREIMER *Slavia* III 451 (against MEYER for phonetic reasons: Lat *gl-* cannot yield Alb *l-*; suggests a comparison with Slav \**lomiti* 'to break'); SPITZER *MRIWI* 324 (-*sh* explained as the ending of locative!); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 20 (to OIr *loman* 'cord'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 168; FRAENKEL 354; ÇABEJ *St.* I 319 (from IE \**ulo-m-* based on \**uel-* 'to turn'); TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XIV 108-110; OREL *Orpheus* VI 66.

**lĚmuq** adv. 'in a heap, piled up', m 'pile'. Another variant is *lĚmuç*. A variant of *lĚmaqe*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 255.

**lĚndĕ ~ landĕ** f, pl. *lĚndĕ ~ landĕ* 'wood, timber, material'. Goes back to PALb \**lentā* etymologically related to Gmc \**lendō* 'linden' (OHG *linta*, OE *lind*), Lith *lentā* 'board', Slav \**lortb* 'bast' (MEYER *Alb. Studien* IV 117; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 36). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 152, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 93; MANN *Language* XVII 20; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 203; FRAENKEL 357-358; VASMER II 536; ZALIZN'AK *Ėtimologija* 1964 217; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 277; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XVI 150-151; HULD 87; CLACKSON *LR* 135, 227.

**lĚndinĕ** f, pl. *lĚndina* 'untilled land, fallow field, grassland'. Borrowed from Slav \**lĚdina* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *ledina*, SCr *ledina* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 187). ◇ SVANE 166.

**lĚndoj ~ lendoj** aor. *lĚndova ~ lendova* 'to irritate, to make sore, to hurt'. Borrowed from Lat *lentāre* 'to make flexible, to bend'. ◇

MEYER *Alb. St.* V 92 (to *linda*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 319 (from Lat *laedere* 'to hurt, to wound').

**lëng** ~ **lang** m, pl. *lëngje* ~ *langje* 'juice, liquid, broth'. From PALb \**langa* obviously connected with *lag* and *lëgatë* but reflecting an unexpected nasal infix. Morphologically not clear. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 244 (to Slav \**slëknŕti* 'to become wet'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 319-320; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429-430.

**lëngatë** f, pl. *lëngatë* 'illness, sickness, ailment'. Another variant is *ligatë* 'liver phthisis (in sheep)'. From PALb \**ligatā* derived from \**liga* > *lig*. The inlaut -*ën-* has appeared under the influence of *lëngo*j. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 244 (to *lëngo*j).

**lëngo**j aor. *lëngova* 'to weaken, to languish'. Borrowed from Lat *languere* 'to be faint, languid' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 244). Note a nominal derivative *lëngjyrë* 'typhus'. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 132.

**lëngor** adj. 'pliant, supple'. Derived from *lëngo*j (MEYER *Wb.* 244). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 50 (to Lith *leñkti* 'to bend'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 320 (to *lëng*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 242.

**lënur** ~ **lnuer** aor. *lënura* ~ *lnora* 'to card, to comb (flax)'. A prefixal derivative of *nvar*, a variant of *mvar*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 244 (from Rom \**lănōrius* 'worker in wool').

**lëpec** m 'old ox or cow; ailing person'. Derivative of *lopë* (MEYER *Wb.* 248). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 320 (to *lapë*).

**lëpiskë** f, pl. *lëpiska* 'scale (of fish)'. A prefixal derivative of *pisk*.

**lëpitkë** f, pl. *lëpitka* 'slipper'. A derivative of *lapë* with a Slavic suffix. A homonymic *lëpitkë* 'blade (of knife)' is borrowed from Bulg *lepídka*, diminutive of *lepída* id., itself a Modern Greek loanword (*BER* 364). ◊ MANN *HAED* 241 (explains *lëpitkë* 'blade' directly from Greek).

**lëpizë** f, pl. *lëpiza* 'shelf, rack'. As well as *lëpozë* 'roof', related to *lapë* (JOKL *LKUBA* 86-95).

**lëpjete** f, pl. *lëpjeta* 'orach, dock'. Borrowed from Gk λάπαθον id. (THUMB *IF* XXVI 14-16) or, rather, from an unattested \*λάπεθον. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 241 (from Lat *lapathum* id.), *Alb. St.* V 92; JOKL *LKUBA* 119 (agrees with THUMB); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 132; ÇABEJ *St.* I 320 (Albanian and Greek forms derived from the same Mediterranean source).

**lëplungë** f, pl. *lëplunga* 'webbing for tying cradle to mother's back, cheese-cloth used as a strainer'. A secondary phonetic variant of *naplungë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

**lëpushë** f, pl. *lëpusha* 'mullein; broad-leafed plant'. Derived from *lapë*.

**lëroj** aor. *lërova* 'to cultivate, to till'. Borrowed from Lat *labōrāre* 'to labor, to take pains'.

**lërushkë ~ larushkë** m *lërushq ~ larushq* 'wild vine, kind of grape, clematis'. Borrowed from Lat *lābrusca* 'wild vine' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 244). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; HAARMANN 132.

**lëshoj** aor. *lëshova* 'to let, to leave, to free'. Borrowed from Lat *lassāre* 'to render faint, to tire, \*to let' (MEYER *Wb.* 244). ◊ CAMARDA I 86 (to Gk λίσσομαι 'to beg, to pray'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35 (from Ital *lasciare* 'to let'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 228, 243; HAARMANN 132.

**lëti ~ lëti** adj 'Italian, Latin, Catholic'. Borrowed from Lat *Laitnus* 'Latin' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 238-239). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1047; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 169-170; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 132; ÇABEJ *St.* I 309.

**lëvare** f, pl. *lëvare* 'waterfall'. Another variant is *livare*. A prefixal derivative of *var* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 310) structurally close to *ujvarë* id. < *ujë varë* 'hanging water'. For the original meaning of *lëvare* cf. a derivative *livarzë* 'catkin' < \*'hanging'.

**lëvere** f 'cloth, rag, laundry'. A singularized plural of \**lëvar*, the latter being a prefixal derivative of *var*, cf. *lëvare* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 309-310). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 244 (with a metathesis, from Lat *velarium* 'covering, screen'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 109.

**lëvirem ~ lëvyrem** refl. 'to beg, to beseech'. A semantic development of an older *lëvyrem* 'to scratch oneself (as a sign of grief)', the latter being based on *lëvyr* 'to scratch, to lacerate', a prefixal derivative of *var*, *vjerr*.

**lëviz** aor. *lëviza* 'to move, to stir'. Related to *luaj* from which it is derived with an unusual suffix *-iz* < PAIb \*-*idja*.

**lëvore** f, pl. *lëvore* 'peel, skin; rag'. A formation parallel to *lëvere* but with a different vocalism (ÇABEJ *St.* I 321). ◇ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 108 (prefix *lë-*).

**lëvorzoj** aor. *lëvorzova* 'to peel'. Based on *lëvorzë ~ lëvorxë* 'peel, skin', derived from *lëvore*.

**lëvozhgë** f, pl. *lëvozhga* 'hard shell, peel, skin'. Other variants are *lëvezhgë, lëvexhgë, levoxhgë*. Derivative in *-kë* or *-shkë* of *lëvorxë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 476 (borrowed from Slav \**luska ~ \*l'uska* 'peel, shell'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 321 (derived directly from *lëvorë*).

**li ~ lī** m, pl. *linj* 'flax, linen'. Borrowed from Lat *līnum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 244-245). ◇ CAMARDA II 161 (compares *li* with Gk λίνov id., Lat *līnum* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1056; JOKL *LKUBA* 256; MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (same as CAMARDA); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 133; JANSON *Unt.* 53.

**licë** f, pl. *lica* 'flax tow'. A metaphoric usage of Slav \**lice* 'face' as 'face side' or 'upper part', cf. such meanings as Bulg *lice* 'upper part' or SCr *lice* id.

**lidh** aor. *lidha* 'to bind, to tie'. From PAIb \**līdza* etymologically close to Lat *līgāre* id. (CAMARDA I 42; MEYER *Wb.* 245, *Alb. St.* III 17). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt* 43-44 (to Lat *volvō* 'to roll'); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 173 (agrees with MEYER); CIMOCHOWSKI

LP II 230; ERNOUT-MEILLET 358; MANN *Language* XXVI 384; PISANI *Saggi* 129; JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 448; HAMP *IF* LXVI 53; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HULD 86-87; DEMIRAJ *AE* 242-243.

**lifqer** m, pl. *lifqere* 'waterfall'. Another form is *lifqar*. Borrowed from Rom \**lavcārum* < Lat *lavācrum* 'bath'. The vowel of the first syllable results from the development of the unstressed -ē- to -i-. ◊ XHUVANI *KLetr* I/5 9 (from Lat *liquor* 'liquid'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 321-322 (related to *lëvare*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

**lig** adj. 'bad, ill'. Reflects Palb \**liga* while *ligë* 'illness' goes back to Palb \**ligā*. Further connected with Gk ὀλίγος 'small, few', λιογός 'destruction, death', Lith *ligà* 'illness', Latv *liga* id. (CAMARDA I 66 on λιογός; MEYER *Wb.* 245, *Alb. St.* III 7). The related adjective *ligshtë* 'ailing' is identical with Lith *ligūstas* 'ill' (DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 203). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 60-61; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 173 (follows MEYER); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 45; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRAENKEL 370; FRISK II 376; CHANTRAINE 645; HAMP *AION-L* II (XIII) 190; POKORNY I 667; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 199; HULD 87; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 164; DEMIRAJ *AE* 243.

**ligj** m, pl *ligje* 'law'. Other morphological variants of sg. are *ligje* and *ligjë*. The word is borrowed from Lat *lēge(m)* id. (CAMARDA II 69; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 245). Note Alb -i- < Lat -ē- (explained by the Sicilian dialectal mediation in MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 43 (*ligj* vs. *zakon*), *WuS* XII 83; ŠIROKOV *ZFL* XXIV/1 15 (related to Lith *lygūs* 'equal', OPrus *ligan* 'court'); TOPOROV *SBJa Ètnokul't.* 25 (follows ŠIROKOV); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 266; HAARMANN 133; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 361-362; LANDI *Lat.* 53, 85.

**ligje** pl. 'mourning, dirge'. Historically identical with *ligj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 245 (from Rom \**elēgium* instead of Lat *elogium*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044.

**lijë** f, pl. *lija* 'smallpox'. Borrowed from Slav \**lixo* 'evil'. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (to Lat *lira* 'furrow').

**lik** m 'level'. Borrowed from Slav \**likъ* 'face, surface', cf. Bulg *lik*, SCr *lik* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 322). ◇ SVANE 126.

**likardhë** f 'chickenpox'. Probably, from \**lëkurdhë*, a suffixal derivative of *lëkurë*. As to the unexpected *-a-* in *likardhë* it could be explained by the analogy with the dialectal *likar* 'doctor' of Serbo-Croatian origin. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* IV 369 (to Russ *kor* 'chickenpox'); RUSAKOV *Lls* 1980 173.

**likogjone** pl. 'sacrum, loins, lumbar regions'. An adaptation of the unattested Slavic compound \**lędvo-gonъ* 'place from where hips begin', based on \**lędva* 'hip, kidney, loin'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 245 (to Gk κοχώνη 'part between the pudenda and the anus'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195.

**likoq** m 'animal with one testicle'. A prefixal derivative of *koqe* one of the meanings of which is 'testicles'.

**liktyrë** f 'rope for binding a bundle of wood; band, bandage'. Another variant is *lyktyrë*. Borrowed from Lat *ligātūra* 'band, bunch' (MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17). ◇ HAARMANN 133; ÇABEJ *St.* I 327-328.

**lil** m, pl. *lila* 'lily'. Borrowed from Lat *lilium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35).

**lilë** f, pl. *lila* 'small iron ring, loop-ring, link'. From PALb \**leilā* related to Lith *leilas* 'thin, supple, flexible' and, further, to *liēlas* 'big', Latv *liēls* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 246 (to the non-existent Lith *lélēs* 'hand-cuffs'); FRAENKEL 329; POKORNY I 662.

**limë** f, pl. *lima* 'file'. Borrowed from Lat *lima* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 246). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 281; HAARMANN 133.

**lind** aor. *linda* 'to bear, to beget; to be born'. A nasal present of *lej* (OREL *IF* XCIII 112-113). ◇ PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 12; JOKL *Studien* 63; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 33-35; PISANI *Saggi* 120; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 205, 217; DEMIRAJ *AE* 243-244.

**ling** m 'hurry, haste'. From PALb \**linga*, a substantivized nasal present related to Skt *rējate* 'to spring', Goth *laikan* 'to jump', Lith *lāigyti*

'to run (unattached)'. For forms with a nasal infix cf. Lith *lingúoti* 'to swing'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 246 (*ling* 'trotting' from Turk *link* 'trot'); FEIST *Goth.* 319-320; FRAENKEL 330-331; MAYRHOFER III 72; POKORNY I 667.

**lingë** f, pl. *linga* 'small bell'. From PALb \**lingā* etymologically identical with Lith *lingė* 'flexible pole; bend', Latv *liņga* 'loop'. ◊ FRAENKEL 331; POKORNY I 676; ÇABEJ *St.* I 322 (onomatopoeia).

**linjë** f, pl. *linja* 'linen shirt; linen'. Borrowed from Lat *līneum* 'linen garment' (MEYER *Wb.* 245). The homonymic *linjë* 'line' either goes back to Lat *līnea* 'thread, line' or to its continuations in Romance. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 133.

**lipë** f, pl. *lipa* 'lime-tree'. Borrowed from Slav \**lipa* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *lipa*, SCr *lipa* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 322). ◊ SVANE 126.

**liq** m 'woof, weft'. A singularized plural of \**lik* going back to PALb \**lika*. A nominal deverbative of IE \**leik*<sup>v</sup>- 'to leave, to remain': Skt *riṅákti* 'to leave', Lat *linquō* id., OHG *līhan* and the like. ◊ MAYRHOFER III 59; WALDE-HOFMANN I 808-810; POKORNY I 669-670; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

**liroj** aor. *lirova* 'to free'. Borrowed from Lat *līberāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 247). Cf. also *lirë* 'free'. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 133.

**lis** m, pl. *lisa* 'oak, high tree'. A borrowing from Slav \**lěsъ* 'wood, forest, tree' (MEYER *Wb.* 247). The Slavic dialect from which the word was borrowed must have had a narrow \**ě* > Alb *i*, i.e. it may be identified as "ikavski" Serbo-Croatian (JOKL *LKUBA* 177). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* 48 (to Gk ἅλσος 'holy grove'), *AArbSt* I/1-2 205-206; HULĎ 87 (compares *lis* with *lende* and *lëndë* as a parallel of *vise* ~ *vend*).

**lisë** f, pl. *lisa* 'woof, weft'. Goes back to PALb \**litšā* continuing \**leik*<sup>v</sup>*iā* and related to *liq*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 322 (borrowed from Bulg *lesa* 'fishing-line, rope, plaiting'); OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

**lismë** f, pl. *lisma* 'slate, fragile earth, stony field, clay'. From PALb

**\*litšimā.** A derivative of *liq*, *lisē*. The original meaning of the word might be 'remaining (earth), remainders'.

**loc** m 'dear, darling'. As demonstrated by the derivative *ločkē* 'pupil (of the eye)', also used metaphorically as a synonym of *loc*, the original meaning of the latter must have been 'pupil'. It is, therefore, a continuation of PALb *\*lātjā*, derivationally connected with *lot*. Another derivative of *loc* is *loke* 'dear' (addressed to mother).

**lodroj** aor. *lodrova* 'to spring, to dance, to play'. Derived from *lodēr* 'game, play' based on *loz* (SPITZER *MRIW* I 326). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 175.

**lodh** aor. *lodha* 'to tire, to weary'. From PALb *\*lada* related to Goth *letan* 'to let', Gk ληδεῖν· κοπιᾶν, κερμηκέναι (Hes.) and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 242, *Alb. St.* III 28). ◇ CAMARDA I 124 (to Gk λῶβη 'maltreatment'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 250; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32, 36; PISANI *Saggi* 130; PORZIG *Gliederung* 104; FRISK II 114; KLUGE 424; FEIST *Goth.* 329; POKORNY I 666; HULD 143; BEEKES *IF* XCIII 36; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 54; DEMIRAJ *AE* 244-245.

**log** m, pl. *logje* 'meadow'. Borrowed from Slav *\*logъ* 'ravine, low place' (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 75, 187). Note that in these meanings the word is not attested in South Slavic where it usually stands for 'lying' or 'den'. ◇ SVANE 167.

**logori** f, pl. *logori* 'wailing, mourning, dirge'. Assimilated from *\*lęgori*. Borrowed from Lat *allēgoria* 'allegory'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 245 (to *ligje*); KRISTOFORIDHI 211 (related to Gk λόγος used to denote 'dirge'); JOKL *WuS* XII 88 (from NGk μυρολογῶ 'to mourn'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 322 (identical with *llogaris* 'to count', of Modern Greek origin), IV 78.

**lojc** adj. 'unstable'. Literally, 'playful'. Derived from *lojē* 'play' < *\*loē* related to *loz*.

**lopatě** f, pl. *lopata* 'shovel, oar'. Borrowed from Slav *\*lopata* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *lopata*, Bulg *lopata*, SCr *lopata* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 245). The derivative *lopatěz* 'tadpole' has derived its unusual meaning from the South Slavic usage in which Bulg *lopata* and SCr *lopata* may stand for 'unpro-



portionately large parts of the body'. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 176; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 169, 303; POLÁK *ZfBalk* I 81 (from SCr *lopata*); HAMP *LB XIV/2* 12; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; SVANE 76.

**lopě** f, pl. *lopě* 'cow'. Continues PALb \**lāpā* related to Latv *luōps* 'cattle' (ENDZELIN *KZ XLIV* 62). ◊ STIER *KZ XI* 206; MEYER *Wb.* 248 (parallels with Alpine words for 'cow'); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* II 22 (to Celt \**lāpego-* 'calf': OIr *lāeg*, Bret *leue*); JOKL *IF XLIII* 57, *Sprache IX* 149; MIKKOLA *BKIS XXI* 219-220 (to ON *lamb* 'lamb'); PETERSSON *Heter.* 22; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 175-176, *Stratificazione* 138; POKORNY I 654; ÇABEJ *Glotta XXV* 51; HAMP *RomPh XII* 153; SCHRIJVER *BC* 309; DEMIRAJ *AE* 245.

**loqe** f, pl. *loqe* 'penis; testicles'. A singularized plural going back to a paradigm sg. \**lok* ~ pl. *loqe*. From PALb \**lāuka* closely related to Lith *liaukà* 'gland' further based on IE \**leuk-* 'to shine; shining, white' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 322-323). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 248 (compares with SCr *lokanja* 'belly', Bulg Gypsy *lokatsi* 'penis'); PEDERSEN *St. Balt.* IV 152 (on Lith *liaukà*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 93; FRAENKEL 361-362; POKORNY I 687-690; OREL *Linguistica XXIV* 427.

**lorzë** f 'parrot'. Used in a phrase *flas si lorza* 'to chat like a parrot'. A suffixal diminutive of an unattested \**lori* 'parrot lori, one of the Lorinae'.

**losh** adj. 'tearful'. Continues \**lot-sh*, derived from *lot*.

**lot** m, pl. *lot* 'tear'. From PALb \**lā(i)ta*, an adjective in \*-*to-* based on IE \**lēi-* 'to pour, to flow' (BARIĆ *AArbSt* I 148-150). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 249 (from Lat *flētus* 'weeping, wailing'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 176 (agrees with BARIĆ); POKORNY I 664-665; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

**loz** aor. *lojta* 'to move, to shake, to play'. From PALb \**lādja*, a denominative verb based on . The latter is etymologically identical with Slav \**ladъ* 'order, peace' from which a similar verb \**laditi* 'to make order, to make peace' is derived. ◊ CAMARDA I 50 (related to *luaj*); MEYER *Wb.* 248 (related to Lith *palóda* 'lack of restraint, licentiousness' and separated from *luaj*); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 152 (connects *loz* with *luaj*); JOKL *Studien* 75, *LKUBA* 224; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 177; ÇABEJ *St.* I 323-324 (to OIr *luaid* 'to move'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa XIV* 9-12.

**loze** f, pl. *loze* 'tendrils (of a plant)'. A singularized plural of a less widespread *lozë* id. Borrowed from Slav \**loza* 'vine, tendril', cf. South Slavic continuants: OCS *loza*, Bulg *loza*, SCr *loza* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164). ◇ SVANE 118.

**lter** m 'altar'. Borrowed from Lat *altarium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1040, 1043; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 280; HAARMAN 110; LANDI *Lat.* 27, 38, 115.

**luaj** ~ **luej** aor. *lojta* ~ *luejta* 'to move, to shake, to play'. From PALB \**lādñja*, a denominative verb closely connected with *loz* (CAMARDA I 50). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 248 (borrowed from Lat *ludere* 'to play'); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 250; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227; HAARMANN 133.

**luan** ~ **luâ** m, pl. *luaj* ~ *luanj*, *luanë* 'lion'. Borrowed from Lat *leōnem* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 141-142; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 249). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; JOKL *LKUBA* 89, *IF* L 49-52 (from Slav \**львъ* id.); MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (related to Gk λέων id.); ÇABEJ *St.* I 324 (follows MEYER).

**lubenicë** f, pl. *lubenica* 'water-melon'. Borrowed from Slav \**lubënica* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *lubenica*, SCr *lubenica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 249). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162, 304; SVANE 106.

**lubi** f, pl. *lubi* 'ogress, dragon-woman with seven heads'. Another variant is *luvgi*. Note also *luvji* 'voracity, greed' representing a metaphoric usage of this word. It seems probable that *lubi* is a back-formation based on *luvgat*, see *lugat*. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 72-74 (to Slav \**l'ubiti* 'to love').

**lucë** f, pl. *luca* 'mud, mire'. Important parallel forms are *jucë*, *juci* and *juzi*. Borrowed from Lat *lutea* 'muddy' (MEYER *Wb.* 251). ◇ CAMARDA I 88 (connected with Lat *lutum* 'mud'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37 (borrowed from *lutum*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1050; FRAENKEL 198-199; KRISTOFORIDHI 143 (to *llucë*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 133; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 44 (to Lith *jáudra*

'swamp, marsh; podzol (a kind of soil)'; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (against OREL).

**luftë** f, pl. *lufta, luftëra ~ luftna* 'fight, war'. Borrowed from Lat *lucta* 'wrestling' > Rum *luptă* 'fight' (CAMARDA I 65; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 250). Note the East Romance type of the development of *-ct-* in this word. The verb *lëftoj, luftoj* 'to fight' corresponds to Lat *luctāri* id. ∅ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1049, 1054; PUŞCARIU *EWR* 86; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 145, 366; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230, 267; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 55-56; HULD 86; HAARMANN 133; LANDI *Lat.* 22-123, 135.

**lug** m, pl. *lugj, lugje* 'trough, water-trough, long gutter, pipe'. Related to *lugë* 'spoon' with which it continues PAlb *\*luga ~ \*lugā* etymologically connected with Slav *\*lъga* 'spoon, blade', *\*lъzica* id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 143-145, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 93). Both Albanian and Slavic forms are based on IE *\*leugh-* 'to break', cf. Skt *rujāti* 'to break'. Note *lugatë* 'oar' derived from *lugë* under the structural influence of *lopatë* and *lukth* 'stomach' based on *lug* (MEYER *Wb.* 250). ∅ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 250 (*lugë* borrowed from Slavic); MEYER *IF* II 368-369, *Wb.* 250 (*lug* treated as a Turkish loan, from *oluk, uluk* 'channel'; for *lugë* follows MIKLOSICH); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 101; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 177; MANN *Language* XVII 14; MAYRHOFER III 64; POKORNY I 686; HAMP *SCL* XXVII/2 183; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, apud DEMIRAJ (to OE *long* 'vessel'); TRUBAČEV *ËSSJa* XVI 257-260; DEMIRAJ *AE* 245-246.

**lugat** m, pl. *luget, lugetër* 'bogey, vampire'. Another variant is *luvgat*. Borrowed from an early Romance compound the first element of which was, undoubtedly, Lat *lupus* 'wolf' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37; JOKL *LKUBA* 69-74). The whole word can continue Rom *\*lupus peccātus* 'false wolf'. ∅ POLÁK *EBTch* V 34-35.

**luhas** aor. *luhata* 'to rock, to sway, to swing'. Borrowed from Slav *\*l'uxati* 'to strike', cf. in South Slavic - Bulg *l'uxam* 'to strike at a short stick while playing chelik'.

**lukër** f. 'sheep'. Borrowed from Lat *lucrum* 'gain, profit, wealth' (JOKL *LKUBA* 257-259). ∅ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; ÇABEJ *St.* I 324 (agrees with JOKL); HAARMANN 133; LANDI *Lat.* 118.

**lule** f, pl. *lule* 'flower'. Singularized plural of \**lulë* < PAIb \**lulā*, an ancient Balkan loanword from an oriental source, probably, from Copt *hrêri*, *hlêli* 'lily' < Eg *hrr.t* id. The same source is postulated for Gk *λείριον* id., Lat *lilium* id. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 250 (from Lat *lilium* with *i* > *u* after *l-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 178 (questions MEYER's explanation); MANN *Language* XVII 16; FRISK II 100-101; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 109 (prefix *l-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203, 254; HULD 87-88.

**lum** adj. 'blessed, happy, lucky, fortunate'. From PAIb \**lubna*, an adjective in \*-*no-* derived from IE \**leubh-* 'to love, to wish' (JOKL *Studien* 52-53, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86), cf. in particular Goth *liufs* 'dear'. ∅ FEIST *Goth.* 333; POKORNY I 683-684; ÇABEJ *St.* I 325 (to *lus*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 247-248.

**lumak** m, pl. 'bud, shoot; lichen, moss'. Another form is *lëmak*. A suffixal derivative of an unattested \**lum* continuing PAIb \**lubna*. The latter is an adjective in \*-*no-* based on IE \**leubh-* 'to peel, to skin', cf. Lith *lubà* 'board (of a ceiling)', Latv *luba* 'bark, board', OPrus *lubbo* 'board', Slav \**лѣбъ* 'forehead, skull'. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 251 (from Lat *limācem* 'snail'), *Alb. St.* IV 94; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 48-50 (a prefixal derivative of *makë*); POKORNY I 690; FRAENKEL 388; ÇABEJ *St.* I 325-326 (from *lumë*); TRUBAČEV *ËSSJa* XVI 225-228; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

**lumë** m, pl. *lumenj* 'river'. From PAIb \**luma* etymologically identical with Gk *λῦμα* 'dirt', and further related to IE \**leu(ə)-* 'dirt'. ∅ CAMARDA I 38 (to Gk *λούω* 'to wash'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27 (borrowed from Lat *flūmen* 'river'); MEYER *Wb.* 251 (follows MIKLOSICH); JOKL *Studien* 51-52 (to IE \**lei-* 'to pour'); FRISK II 144-145; POKORNY I 681; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227, 258; HULD 88 (to IE \*(*s*)*leub-* 'to be slick, wet'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 246-247.

**lünder** f, pl. *lundra* 'boat, barge, ferry'. Borrowed from Rom \**lunter*, cf. Rum *luntre* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 251). ∅ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 86; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 133; LANDI *Lat.* 116, 129.

**lünder** f, pl. *lundra* 'otter'. Borrowed from Rom \**lunter* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046).

**lungë** f, pl. *lunga* 'swelling, tumor'. From PAIb \**lunkā*, a derivative of IE \**leu-k-* 'to bend' with a nasal infix, similar to that of OPrus *lunkis* 'angle', Lith *luņkanas* 'supple'. Latv *lūnks* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 252 (to *bulë*, *bulungë*); BUGA *RR* I 369; JOKL *Studien* 53 (to Skt *rōga* 'pain, illness'); FRAENKEL 390; POKORNY I 681-682; ÇABEJ *BUSht* XV/4 76-77 (follows MEYER), apud DEMIRAJ (Lat *volvō* 'to roll'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 248 (to *lëng*).

**lupesh** m 'glutton'. Derivative of *llup* (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 153). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 326 (from a non-existent Bulg *lupez* 'thief').

**luqerbull** f, pl. *luqerbulla* 'werewolf'. Other variants are *ruqerbull*, *riqerbull*. Borrowed from Rom \**lupus cervulus*, cf. a more usual Romance \**lupus cervarius* as in Fr *loup-cervier* id. (LA PIANA *Prefisso* 21). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 326 (a prefixal derivative of *qelb*).

**luqerë** f 'lamp, lantern'. Borrowed from Lat *lucerna* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 250, *Alb. St.* IV 80). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 133; ÇABEJ *St.* I 326 (adduces Old Albanian data); LANDI *Lat.* 89, 112-114.

**luroj** aor. *lurova* 'to howl, to wail'. A phono-morphological variant of *ulërij*.

**lurtoj** aor. *lurtova* 'to cajole, to flatter, to caress'. A phonetic modification of \**larëtoj*, to *laroj* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 326-327).

**lus** aor. *luta* 'to pray, to invoke, to beg'. From PAIb \**lugtja* related to Lith *lūgate* 'to ask, to pray', Latv *lūdzu*, *lūgt* 'to ask, to invite', OHG *lockōn* 'to lure, to entice' (TREIMER *MRIW* I 377-378), further related to IE \**leugh-* 'to lie, to cheat'. ◊ CAMARDA I 53 (to Gk *λίσσομαι* 'to beg, to pray'); MEYER *Wb.* 251 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 25; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 50-51 (to IE \**leubh-* 'to love, to wish'); TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 177; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31 (to Slav \**l'utiti* 'to be fierce, to be violent'); KLUGE 444; FRAENKEL 389; POKORNY I 686-687; JOKL *Die Sprache* IX/2 150 (agrees with TREIMER).

**luspë** f, pl. *luspa* 'scale (of fish)'. Borrowed from Slav \**luspa* 'scale, shell', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *luspa*, SCr *ljuspa* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 327). ◊ SVANE 119, 237.

**lush** m, pl. *lushë* ‘berserk; carrion’. Back-formation based on fem. *lushë* ‘bitch; berserk woman’. As far as the latter has a parallel form *lutë* ‘bitch, glutton’, *lushë* must be explained as resulting from *\*lut-shë* based on an unattested *\*lutë*, borrowed from Slav *\*l’utъ* ‘angry, wild, violent’ (in particular, of animals).

**luzmë** f ‘swarm (in particular, of bees)’. From *\*luazmë* ~ *luezmë*, derivative of *loz*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195.

**luzhi** f ‘flood’. Based on *\*luzhë* borrowed from Slav *\*luža* ‘pool’, cf. in South Slavic: OCS *luža*, SCr *luža* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 327). ◇ XHUVANI *Shkëndija* III/4 5 (related to *lëgatë*); SVANE 170.

**lyç** adv. ‘in a mess, in a muddle, out of joint’. Derived with an adverbial marker *-ç* from *lyej*.

**lyej** aor. *leva*, *lyejta* ‘to smear, to oil’. Since the original meaning seems to be ‘to cover with oil’, the expected Proto-Albanian form may be reconstructed as *\*elaiwanja*, with *-ye-* resulting from the contraction of the inlaut cluster *\*-aiwa-*. This is a denominative verb based on an unattested *\*elaiwā* borrowed from Gk ἔλαι(φ)ον ‘oil’. Note *lyrë* ‘fat’ derived from *lyej*. ◇ CAMARDA I 242 (to Gk ἀλείφω ‘to oil’); MEYER *Wb.* 251-252 (borrowed from Lat *linō* ‘to daub, to besmear’ or related to IE *\*lēi-* ‘to flow, to pour’); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 50 (to IE *\*leip-* ‘fat’, thus repeating CAMARDA’s etymology); JOKL *LKUBA* 67; TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 177; ÇABEJ *St.* I 327 (to IE *\*lēi-* ‘to flow, to pour’).

**lylyver** m, pl. *lylyvere* ‘rainbow’. A phonetic variant of *yllber*.

**lym** m, pl. *lyme* ‘mud, alluvium’. Borrowed from Gk λῦμα ‘dirt’, cf. *lum*. ◇ JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86 (to *lerë*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 225; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to *lum*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 248-249.

**lyp** aor. *lypa* ‘to beg, to ask, to seek, to need’. In Tosk also *lip*. Despite an irregular development of the root vowel, continues PALb *\*leipa* related to Gk λίπτομαι ‘to be eager, to long for’, Lith *liepiù*, *liepti* ‘to order’. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 247 (to *lipsem* ‘to miss’, itself a Modern Greek loanword); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 50-51 (to IE *\*leubh-* ‘to love, to wish’); TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 179 (against MEYER); FRAENKEL 367; FRISK II 127-128.

**lyr** aor. *lyra* 'to make dirty'. Derived from *lerĕ* 'dirt'.

**lyrdhĕz** f, pl. *lyrdhĕza* 'wart'. Apparently, from *\*lyr-th-ĕz*, a derivative of *lyrĕ*. Cf. *lyth*.

**lyshĕr** f, pl. *lyshĕra* 'flotsam, alluvium; crowd'. Borrowed from Lat *lūstrum* 'slough, bog, morass, puddle; house of ill-repute, debauchery'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 328 (to *lyej*).

**lyth** m, pl. *lytha*, *lythĕ* 'wart, corn'. A derivative in *-th* of *lyej* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 328).

## Ll

**llabiç** m, pl. *llabiçĕ* 'bogey, vampire; glutton'. From *\*lubiç*, derivative of *lubi*.

**llacĕ** f, pl. *llaca* 'ladder'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav *\*lazьca* related to *\*laziti* 'to climb'. ◇ OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

**llallĕ** f, pl. *llalla* 'wet-nurse; moth'. An onomatopoeia. In its second meaning *llallĕ* may be a calque of Slav *\*baba* 'woman, grandmother; butterfly, moth'.

**llap** aor. *llapa* 'to lap up' (of animals). From PAIb *\*lapa* compared with Gk λάπτω 'to gulp, to drink greedily', Lith *lapĕnti* 'to swallow food' (of pigs), Slav *\*lopati* 'to eat up' (CAMARDA 127; MEYER *Wb.* 237). ◇ FRAENKEL 340; FRISK II 85; POKORNY I 651; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429.

**llapĕ** f, pl. *llapa* 'tongue, language'. From PAIb *\*lapā* connected with the verb *llap*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 237; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 429.

**llapush** adj. 'long-eared'. An early borrowing from an unattested Slav *\*lop(o)ušь* id., cf. *\*lopouxь* id.

**llapushĕ** f, pl. *llapusha* 'broad-leafed cabbage, covering leaf of maize'. Borrowed from Slav *\*lopušь*, derivative of *\*lopouxь* 'burdock, broad-

leafed plant', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *lopuх*, SCr *lopuh*. ◇ SVANE 112; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

**llaskonjě** f 'twig, shoot'. A derivative in *-onjě* of *\*laskě* borrowed from Slav *\*loзъka*, diminutive of *\*loza* 'vine'. Another form of *\*laskě* is attested as *llashkě* 'shoot'.

**llazurě** f 'agitation, noise, swarm'. Borrowed, with dissimilation of liquids, from Slav *\*orzorъ* 'ravage, destruction', cf. SCr *razoriti*.

**llěnjěz** f 'mud, silt'. A derivative from PALb *\*slinjā* related to Lith *sliėnas* 'saliva, mucus, slime', Slav *\*slina* 'saliva'. ◇ FRAENKEL 826; VASMER III 672; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

**llěřě** ~ **llaně** f, pl. *llěřě* ~ *llaně*, *llěra* ~ *llana* 'forearm, ell'. From PALb *\*alenā* related to Gk *ώλένη* 'elbow', Lat *ulna*, OHG *elina* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 233). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 76 (borrowed from Rom *\*ulnāna*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 44, *Kelt. Gr.* II 59; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 93; MANN *Language* XXVIII 37; FRISK 1146-1147; WALDE-HOFMANN II 812; POKORNY I 307; HULD *KZ* XCIX 247 (from Gk *ώλένη*); HAMP *AION-L* II 185-187; JANSON *Unt.* 30; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 249-250.

**lloç** m 'mud, mire, sludge'. Derived from *llohě*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 328 (from Bulg *ločka* 'mud').

**llohě** f 'rain with snow, snow broth, dampness'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*lojъ* *\*'anything liquid'* (SLAWSKI V 259) > 'fat, lard; flooded area; crater, funnel' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 233 (compares with Slav *\*loky* 'pool, pit'); SVANE 173; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 (against OREL).

**llokmě** f, pl. *llokma* 'lump, chunk'. Another variant is *llomkě*. Borrowed from Turk *lokma* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 233). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 328 (from Bulg dial. *lomka* id.).

**llom** m 'mud, sludge, sediment'. Derived from *llohě*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 233 (from the non-existent Slav *\*lomъ* 'swamp'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 36.



**llomis** aor. *llomita* 'to pound, to crush'. Borrowed from Slav *\*lomiti* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *lom'a*, SCr *lomiti* (DESNICKA-JA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 188; SVANE 91, 237.

**llomotis** aor. *llomotita* 'to brawl, to chatter'. Borrowed from Slav *\*lomotiti* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *lomot'a*, SCr *lomotiti*.

**lloskë** f, pl. 'kind of fish, roach'. Borrowed from Slav *\*loska* unattested in South Slavic except for Slovene *losk* 'kind of insect, *Ixodes ricinus*'.

**llosh** m, pl. *lloshe* 'nest, den'. Borrowed, with the unvoicing of the anlaut consonant, from Slav *\*loža ~ \*ložь* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *loža*, SCr *loža, lož*.

**lloz** m, pl. *lloze* 'bolt, bar'. Another variant is *loz*. Derived from the verb *loz*.

**llubatë** f 'sediment'. A derivative from *llurbë* as well as *lluburdinë* id.

**llukë** f, pl. *lluka* 'lime-tree'. An early Slavic loanword, from *\*lyko* 'bast' and, in particular, 'lime-tree bast'. ◇ OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

**llukë** f, pl. *lluka* 'foul egg'. From PAIb *\*lukā* related to *lerë* and derived from IE *\*leu(ə)-* 'dirt'. ◇ POKORNY I 681.

**llup** aor. *llupa* 'to gulp down, to swallow'. Continues PAIb *\*lupa* etymologically connected with Skt *lumpāti* 'to break, to injure', Lith *lūpti* 'to peel', Latv *lūpt* 'to peel; to eat', Slav *\*lupiti* 'to peel' (hesitantly - MEYER *Wb.* 233). ◇ FRAENKEL 391-392; POKORNY I 690-691; MAYRHOFFER III 108-109; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XVI 183-184.

**llurbë** f 'sediment, mud'. Continues PAIb *\*lur(i)bā* derived from *\*lur-a*, a form related to *lerë*.

## M

**macë** f, pl. *maca* 'cat'. Borrowed from Slav *\*maca* id., cf. South

Slavic forms: Bulg *maca*, SCr *maca* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25; MEYER *Wb.* 263). Derived from *macě* is *mackě* 'cat; bush (on wheel)'.  
 ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 166; SVANE 138.

**macollě** f, pl. *macolla* 'mallet'. Dissimilated from \**malollě*, borrowed from Lat *malleolus* id.

**macukě** f 'shepherd's staff'. A lexicalized phonetic variant of *matukě*.

**mačě** f, pl. *mača* 'hard soil'. Borrowed from Slav \**mača* 'swamp, marsh' (Czech *máča*) unattested in South Slavic.

**madh** adj. 'big, large'. From PAIb \**madza* related to Hitt *mekkiš* id., Skt *mahānt-* 'great, large', Gk μέγας id., Lat *magnus* id. and the like (BOPP 489, 491; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 6; MEYER *Wb.* 252). The irregular vocalism may be explained by an unusual reduction (MANN *Language* XXVI 385, XVII 17); in any case, it is reminiscent of *-a-* in Lat *magnus* and OIr *maige* id. Rum *mare* id. seems to have been borrowed from dial. Alb *mall* with *-ll-* < *-dh-*. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 18, 63, 81, *Gr. Gr.* 277; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 535; JOKL *IF* XLIV 57; PUŞCARIU *EWB* -88-89; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 180-181; MANN *Language* XVII 17; ERNOUT-MEILLET 379; FRISK II 189-190; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 230; MAYRHOFER II 609-610; WALDE-HOFMANN II 10-12; POKORNY I 708; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 344; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 448; HULD 88-89; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; DEMIRAJ *StF* XXVI/3, 95-96 (reconstructs \**məğios*), *AE* 250-251.

**magar** m, pl. *magarě* 'donkey'. Another variant is *mağjar*. As it is clear from *margaç* id., the original form of *magar* was \**margar*, with the dissimilation of sonorants. Both words are derivatives of an unattested \**margě*. The latter appears to be a borrowing from Gmc \**marxjō*, cf. OHG *mar(i)ha* 'mare', *mar(a)h* 'horse', ON *merr* 'mare' and the like. The form *magar* was borrowed to other Balkan languages. ◇ CAMARDA II 73 (from *gomar*); MEYER *Wb.* 253 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); BARIĆ *ARSt* 54 (prefix *ma-* + *krrič*); KLUGE 454; IL'INSKIJ *Rodna reč* VII 9-10 (to IE \**mek-* ~ \**meg-* 'to bellow'); SKOK *AArbSt* IV 124-132; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 345; ZALIZN'AK *Ėtimologija* 1964 180; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 218; ÇABEJ *St.* I 329 (prefixal derivative of Old Alb *gare* 'she-ass'), *Etim.* 14-15.

**mahajër** f 'fallow'. A compound *mah ajër* 'feeds the air', cf. for the semantic motivation Russ *pole pod parom* 'fallow' = 'field under the vapor'. ◇ JOKL *Glotta* XXI 121-124 (from Rom \**majārium*, cf. Ital *maggiatico* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* I 329 (agrees with JOKL); HAARMANN 134.

**mahnis** aor. *mahnita* 'to astound, to stupefy'. Another variant is *manis*. Borrowed from Slav \**maniti* 'to lure, to charm', with *-h-* influenced by \**maxati* 'to wave'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 254 (from \**maxati*). ◇ SVANE 250.

**maj** ~ **mâj** aor. *majta* 'to feed, to fatten'. Another morphological variant is *mah* id. From PALb \**mazdnja*, a deverbative based on IE \**mazd-* 'feeding': OHG *mast*, Skt *médas-* 'fat, marrow' (DEMIRAJ *AE* 251-252). ◇ CAMARDA I 37 (to IE \**meĝh-* 'big'); MEYER *Wb.* 259 (to Lat *mandō* 'to chew'), *Alb. St.* III 28, 63; JOKL *Studien* 54, *LKUBA* 183 (to Skt *mādati* 'to boil'); KLUGE 465; MAYRHOFER II 683-684; POKORNY I 694.

**maj** m 'May'. Borrowed from Lat *Majus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38; MEYER *Wb.* 255). ◇ HAARMANN 134.

**maj** m, pl. *maja* 'hammer'. Borrowed from Lat *malleus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38; MEYER *Wb.* 255). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536 (uncertain of Latin origins of the word); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1050 (from Ital *maglio* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 180; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* I 330; HAARMANN 134.

**majere** f 'terraced land'. Derived from *majë*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 329 (from Rom \**majārium* 'fallow' reconstructed by JOKL for *mahajër*).

**majë** f, pl. *maja* 'tip, top, point, peak, summit'. Another form is *malë*. From PALb \**malā*, a feminine form of *mal* (MEYER *Wb.* 255). Derived from *majë* is *majos* 'to fill to the brim'. ◇ CAMARDA II 69-70 (from IE \**meĝh-* 'big'); MEYER *Alb. St.* III 63 (to Lat *mōns* 'mountain'); JOKL *LKUBA* 162-163 (from \**moljā*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 542; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 88-189; HULD 89; DEMIRAJ *AE* 252-253.

**majmë** adj. 'fat'. Derived from *maj* 'to feed, to fatten' (CAMARDA I

37; MEYER *Wb.* 259). ◇ GRIENBERGER *Got.* 156-157 (to Goth *mats* 'food', Skt *mádati* 'to boil', MlIr *mát* 'pig').

**majtĕ** ~ **mājtĕ** adj. 'left'. Borrowed from Rom *\*manctus*, based on Lat *mancus* 'maimed, infirm', cf. also Ital *manca* 'left hand' (MEYER *Wb.* 273). Cf. *mēngjēr*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203.

**makar** adv. 'at least'. The word is also used as an interjection. Based on MGk μακάρι < μακάριον, neut. 'blessed' (FILIPOVA-BAJROVA *Gr. zaemki* 122). The same word is attested in other Balkan languages. ◇ MIKLOSICH *EWb* 181 (from Turk *meyer* 'but, however, only' < Pers *meger*); MEYER *Wb.* 255 (follows MIKLOSICH); SKOK II 359 (from NPers *mā* 'not' and *ägār* < Iran *\*hakaram* 'unless, maybe').

**makĕ** f, pl. *maka* 'glue, scum, skin (on the milk or other liquids)'. Goes back to PALb *\*makā* related to Lith *makėnti* 'to walk through a swamp', Slav *\*mokrĕ* 'wet', *\*mokrŋti* 'to become wet' (MEYER *Wb.* 255). ◇ POKORNY I 698; FRAENKEL 399-340; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XIX 70-71; DEMIRAJ *AE* 253-254.

**makĕrr** m 'stagnant green on ponds'. A derivative of *makĕ* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 254) reflecting PALb *\*makra*, an exact correspondence of Slav *\*mokrĕ* 'wet'. From *\*makra* other forms are derived: *makrohem* 'to get covered with a film (of liquids)' and *makrosĕ* 'stagnant green on ponds'. ◇ OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

**makth** ~ **mākth** m 'kind of clover'. A parallel form is *mokth*. Derived from *mak* 'opium poppy'. The latter is borrowed from Slav *\*makĕ* 'poppy'. ◇ OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

**makth** ~ **mākth** m 'place where the cattle gives birth to their young'. Based on an unattested *\*mak* ~ *māk* derived from *maj*. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 138.

**makth** ~ **mākth** m 'bogey, nightmare'. Other variants are *mangth*, *mankth*. A secondary formation based on *ankth* with an expressive prefix *m-*. ◇ DEMIRAJ *AE* 254.

**makth** ~ **mākth** m 'leveret'. Derived from *mang*. ◇ JOKL *IF* XLIII 57-60 (related to Goth *magus* 'youth' and continuing IE *\*maghu-*); BARIĆ

ARSt. 16 -17; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 138 (agrees with JOKL); DEMIRAJ AE 254.

**makush** m, pl. *makushë* 'ostrich'. Derived from *makut*.

**makut** adj. 'greedy, gluttonous'. Suffixal form in *-ut* based on an unattested *\*mak ~ mâk* derived from *maj*. Cf. also *makth*. ◊ ÇABEJ St. VII 195.

**mal** m, pl. *male* 'mountain'. From PAIb *\*mala* identical with Lith *malà* 'land', Latv *mala* 'bank, shore' (JOKL *LKUBA* 162 f., 320, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87); cf. also *\*mal-* reflected in the ancient Balkan toponymy: Illyr *Maluntum*, Dac *Dacia Maluensis* vs. *Dacia Ripensis*. Note an archaic derivative in PAIb *\*maljā > majë* 'summit, peak' (MEYER *Wb.* 273, *Alb. St.* III 63, 78; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 39). From Proto-Albanian *\*mala* was borrowed into Rum *mal* 'bank'. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *marú-* 'mountain'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 543; JOKL *ZONF* X 198-200; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 181, *Origini* 149; KRAHE *Balkan-ill.* 53-55; KRETSCHMER *Glotta* XIV 90; MÜHLENBACH - ENDZELIN II 556; MAYER II 73-74; LA PIANA *Studi* I 112 (to Skt *mūrdhán-* 'top, summit', OE *molda* 'forehead'); MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387, XXVIII 36 (to rare Ir *mol* 'heap'); PISANI *Saggi* 126; FRAENKEL 400-401; POKORNY I 722; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 331; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278; HULD 89 (follows LA PIANA); DEMIRAJ AE 254-256.

**malcoj** aor. *malcova* 'to inflame, to make sore'. Borrowed from Rom *\*malitiāre*, cf. Lat *malitia* 'badness, spite' (MEYER *Wb.* 256). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ St. I 330 (euphemistic use of *mëlcoj*); HAARMANN 134.

**mall** m 'homesickness, longing, affection'. Borrowed from Lat *malum* 'evil, misfortune' (MEYER *Wb.* 256). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ St. VII 255; HAARMANN 134; LANDI *Lat.* 142.

**mallesë** f, pl. *mallesa* 'pasture, meadow'. A variant of *mballesë*, see *mballoj*.

**mallëngjëj** aor. *mallëngjeva* 'to touch, to move, to stir'. Used in the figurative sense only. Borrowed from Lat *malum angere* 'to cause pain', instead of *angere* proper (MEYER *Wb.* 256). ◊ ÇABEJ St. VII 233.

**malkoj** aor. *malkova* 'to curse, to excommunicate'. Another form is *malkoj*. Borrowed from Lat *maledīcere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38; MEYER *Wb.* 256). ◊ CAMARDA I 105 (to Gk μαλακός 'soft, gentle'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 253; HAARMANN 134.

**mallth** m 'pad under the claw (of animals)'. Based on an unattested \**mall* continuing PAIb \**maldwa* and related to Lat *mollis* < \**molduis* 'soft', Skt *mṛdú-* id. and the like. ◊ POKORNY I 718; WALDE-HOFMANN II 103-104; MAYRHOFER II 676; OREL *Orpheus* VI 67.

**mamicë** f, pl. *mamica* 'wet-nurse, midwife'. Borrowed from Slav \**mamica* 'mother', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *mamica*, SCr *mamica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25). ◊ SVANE 190.

**mamuz** m, pl. *mamuza*, *mamuze*, *mamuzë* 'spur'. A suffixal derivative of *mamis* 'to allure, to embroil, to spur' borrowed from Slav \**mamiti* id., cf. Bulg *mam'a*, SCr *mamiti*.

**man** m, pl. *mana*, *mane* 'mulberry'. Other variants are (T) *mën*, (G) *mand*. From PAIb \**manta*. The same word is attested in Dac *μαντεία* 'blackberry', Diosc. 4.37, *manŭta*, App. Herb. 87 (POTT *KZ* XIV; MEYER *Wb.* 257). ◊ WEIGAND *BA* II 213, III 236; BERTOLDI *Glotta* XXI 258-260 (Dac *μαντεία* to Gk βάρτος 'blackberry'); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 88; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; PISANI *Saggi* 124; ÇABEJ *St.* I 330-331 (quotes *mani* 'strawberry' of the Alpine Romance).

**mandile** f, pl. *mandile* 'kerchief'. Borrowed from Lat *mantle* 'towl, napkin' (MEYER *Wb.* 258).

**mang** m 'small (of animals); urchin'. Borrowed from Lat *mancus* 'maimed, infirm'. The adjective *mangët* id. with a recently added suffix *-ët* and the adverb *mangut* 'less, missing, short' go back to the same source. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38 (*mangut* from Ital *manco* 'maimed'); MANN *HAED* 262 (metaphorical usage of *mangë* 'flax-breaker', see *mëngë*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 182; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* I 331 (to IE \**men-* 'little'); LANDI *Lat.* 48.

**maraj** m 'fennel'. Other variants are *mërajë* and *marajq*. Borrowed from Rom \**marathrium*, derivative of Lat *marathrum* 'fennel' (MEYER

*Wb.* 259) or, as reflected by *maraq*, from \**marathricum*. The intermediate form \**mararja* was borrowed to Rum *mārar*. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39 (from Lat *marathum* or Gk μάραθον); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk \*μάραθριον); ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 280; HULD *KZ* XCIX 247.

**marauzhgë** f, pl. *marauzhga* 'horse-fly'. Borrowed from an unattested Bulg \**maravuška*, diminutive of dialectal *marave* 'ant' (DESNICK-AJA *Slav. zaim.* 13). ◇ OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

**mardhë** f 'chill, frost, ice'. Goes back to PAIb \**mardzā* etymologically identical with Slav \**morzъ* 'frost' (MEYER *Wb.* 260, *Alb. St.* III 17, 63, 72). Both forms continue IE \**merǵh-* 'to rot, to soak'. The verbs *mardh* 'to chill, to freeze' and *mërdhij* id. are deverbatives. ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535, *Kelt. Gr.* I 105; LA PIANA *Studi* I 41; MANN *Language* XVII 18; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 231; PISANI *Saggi* 124; POKORNY I 739; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; TRUBAČEV *ËSSJa* XX 10-14; DEMIRAJ *AE* 256.

**mare** f, pl. *mare* 'bearberry, strawberry-tree'. Borrowed from Lat *marum* 'cat-thyme, kind of sage'.

**mareňë** f, pl. *mareña* 'marsh rosemary'. Borrowed from Slav \**marëna* 'plant *Rubia tinctorum*' attested in West and East Slavic.

**margaç** m, pl. *margaçë* 'ass, donkey'. A derivative of \**margë*, see *magar*. ◇ KONITZA *Albania* VIII/Ser. 9 52 (from Rom \**marcātum* ~ \**mercātum* 'market').

(G) **margjënuer** m 'ledge of a rock serving as a cover'. A suffixal derivative of \**margjën* borrowed from Lat *marginem* 'edge, brink' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 332).

**marmur** m 'marble'. Borrowed from Lat *marmurem* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 332.

**mars** m 'March'. Borrowed from Lat *Martius* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 261). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 215; HAARMANN 135.

**martë** f, pl. *marta* 'Tuesday'. Borrowed from Lat *Martis* (*dies*) '(day

of) Mars, Tuesday' (MEYER *Wb.* 261). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40 (from Ital *martē* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 183 (supports MEYER); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17.

**martesĕ** f, pl. *martesa* 'marriage'. Borrowed from Rom *\*maritātiō* id. (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 308). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Lith *marī* 'sister-in-law'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 183.

**martoj** aor. *martova* 'to marry'. Borrowed from Lat *maritāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39; MEYER *Wb.* 261). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047, 1050; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 308; JOKL *LKUBA* 13-15 (to IE *\*merī* 'young woman'); SKOK *AArbSt.* I 210 (derived from IE *\*merī* 'young woman'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 183 (questions JOKL's etymology); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 266; HAARMANN 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 256-257.

**marr** aor. *mora* 'to take, to grasp'. From PALb *\*marna*, a deverbative based on the heteroclytic word for 'hand' preserved in Gk μάρη, Lat *manus* (NEISSER *BB* XIX 121-122). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 261 (to Skt *mṛśāti* 'to touch'); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231 (to Gk μάρω 'to grasp, to seize'); JOKL *Studien* 53-54 (agrees with NEISSER); LA PIANA *Studi* I 94 (to Gk μείρωμαι 'to divide'); PORZIG *Gliederung* 178; FRISK II 175; CHANTRAINE 667; WALDE-HOFMANN II 34-35; POKORNY I 740; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 43; HAMP *Laryngeals* 140 (compares *marr* with Gk ἄρνωμι 'to take' and reconstructs *\*(s)med-Hernō*), Norw. *JLing.* XXIII 13-14, *Sprache* XXX 157; HULD 89-90; DEMIRAJ *AE* 257-258 (to Skt *prá-mṛṇa*, imper. 'to pack').

**marrĕ** adj. 'mad, foolish, crazy'. Literally, 'dim, murky'. See *marrtĕ*. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *mūrā-* 'stupid'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to Hitt *maršaš*).

**marrtĕ** 'murky, cloudy, dim, dull'. A suffixal derivative of PALb *\*marsa* related to Slav *\*morxъ* 'dusk, fog'. ◊ TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XIX 222; OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

**mas** aor. *mata* 'to measure'. From PALb *\*matja*, a denominative verb based on an adjective in *\*-to-*, *\*ma-ta-* further related to IE *\*mē-* id.: Skt *mīmāti*, Tokh A *me-* and the like (CAMARDA I 35; MEYER *BB* VIII 190, *Wb.* 262-263, *Alb. St.* III 24, 63, 81). ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* II



575; JOKL *Sprache* IX 118-119; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 184; PISANI *Saggi* 123; POKORNY I 703-704; ÇABEJ *StF* I (XIX)/3 41; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 44; MAYRHOFER II 638; VAN WINDEKENS I 295-296; HULD 95; DEMIRAJ *AE* 258.

**mashě** f 'gum, paste, glue'. Borrowed from Lat *massa* 'lump, mass, adhering stuff'.

(G) **mashĕn** f 'barn, hayloft, cowshed'. A singularized plural of \**mashě* borrowed from Lat nom. *mansiō* 'place of abode, dwelling'.  
 ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 332 (from Lat *massa*).

**mashkull** m, pl. *meshkuj* 'man', adj. 'male'. Borrowed from Lat *masculus* 'male, masculine' (CAMARDA I 86; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40; MEYER *Wb.* 262). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042, 1049; JOKL *LKUBA* 143; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 184; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 135; LANDI *Lat.* 94, 137-138.

**mashkull** m, pl. *mashkuj* 'hook'. Borrowed from Lat *masculus* 'male, masculine' used to denote the part of the hinge which is inserted into another called *fĕmina* 'female'. Thus, Lat *masculus et fĕmina* > Alb *mashkull e femër* 'hook and eyelet'. ◊ OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

**mashterk** m, pl. *mashterq* 'big wooden platter, dish'. Another variant is *mashtër*. Borrowed from Rom \**magistericus*, literally, 'master's (dish)'.  
 ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 332-333 (from SCr *masur* 'wooden platter').

**mashurkĕ** f, pl. *mashurka* 'green bean, pod'. Derived from *mashě*.

**mat** m 'bank, shore'. Continues PALb \**mata* < \**mŕto-* related to Lat *mōns* 'mountain' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 39-40). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 314-315 (borrowed from Gk ἄμθος 'sand, sandy soil'); BARIĆ *Lingv. stud.* 17 (agrees with VASMER); WALDE-HOFMANN II 108-109; POKORNY I 726; ÇABEJ *St.* I 333-334 (related to OIr *math* 'sand').

**matkĕ** f, pl. *matka* 'queen-bee'. Borrowed from Slav \**matŕka* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *matka*, SCr *matka* (JOKL *LKUBA* 286-287).  
 ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 167; SVANE 158.

**matukĕ** f 'mattock, hoe'. An early borrowing from Slav \**motyka* id.

(MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 263). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 78, 142; SVANE 76.

**mazatore** f, pl. *mazatore* 'one year old heifer'. Derived from *mëzat*, see *mëz*.

**mazë** f, pl. *maza* 'cream, skin on the milk'. The same word is attested as *madh*, *mazë* 'corn skilly with cream'. Borrowed from Slav \**mazь* ~ \**mazь* 'fat, ointment', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *maz*', SCr *maz*. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 54 (to *maj*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 149; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251; DEMIRAJ *AE* 250 (*madh-* to Skt *médas-* 'fat'); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Goth *mats* 'food, meal'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 258-259 (related to Slav \**mazь*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

**mbaj** aor. *mbajta* 'to hold, to carry'. From PAIb \**en-barnja*, a causative derived from \**bera* > *bie* (MEYER *Wb.* 35). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 196 (reconstructs \**-bhorejō* but Italo-Albanian forms preserve *-nj*), *IF* XXXVII 103-105; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 187; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 227; HULD 90 (believes that in the cluster \**-rnj-* the first element is preserved); OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 39; DEMIRAJ *AE* 86.

**mball** aor. *mbolla* 'to bung'. A prefixal derivative of *ballë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 264 (to Gk ἐμβάλλω 'to throw in, to put in').

**mballoj** aor. *mballova* 'to turn out to graze'. The noun *mballesë* 'meadow, pasture' is derived from *mballoj*. From an earlier \**mbëlloj* reflecting a loan from Lat *ambulāre* 'to walk (around)'.

**mbar** aor. *mbara* 'to bring (back)'. From PAIb \**en-bara*, further related to *mbaj* and *bie* (BOPP 540; CAMARDA I 135; MEYER *Wb.* 35). ◇ JOKL *IF* XXXVII 104; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 185; ÇABEJ *St.* I 54-55.

**mbarë** adj. 'right, good, favorable'. A tabooistically used Lat *impar* 'uneven, unequal'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 35 (to *mbar*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230.

**mbarështoj** aor. *mbarështova* 'to arrange, to dispose, to administer'. Another variant caused by the analogical influence of *shtroj* is *mbarështroj*. Goes back to the phrase *mbarë shtoj* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 334). ◇ JOKL *ZfromPhil* XLI 233 (from Lat *ministrāre* 'to take care of, to

manage'); MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 136; JANSON *Unt.* 54.

**mbaroj** aor. *mbarova* 'to finish, to end, to complete'. A prefixal derivative of *parë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 35 (to *mbar*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 185 (agrees with MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230.

**mbars** aor. *mbarsa* 'to make pregnant, to fecundate'. Derived from the adjective *mbarsë*, *barsë* 'pregnant'. The latter continues PALb *\*enbartja* related to IE *\*bher-* 'to give birth' (MEYER *Wb.* 28). ◊ POKORNY I 128-132 (presented together with *\*bher-* 'to bear'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 334-335; MANN *Comp.* 72 (*barsë* identical with Illyr [*equa*] *bardia* 'pregnant [mare]')

**mbart** aor. *mbarta* 'to bear, to carry (back)'. Continues PALb *\*enbarta* based on an adjective in *\*-to-* and related to *mbar*.

**mbarre** f 'shame'. Another phonetic variant is *marrë*. The original meaning was 'burden'. Derived from *mbar*.

**mbas** prep. 'after', adv. 'behind'. A prefixal variant of *pas id.* These forms continue PALb *\*en-apa-tši* from *\*en apo k'id*, cf. *pa*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 322-323 (to Skt *paścāt* 'after, behind'); HAMP KZ LXXV/1-2 23.

**mbase** adv. 'perhaps, maybe'. From *mha(j) se* (MEYER *Wb.* 264). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193, 247.

**mbasi** conj. 'since'. As clear from a variant *mbassi*, continues a sequence *mbas si*.

**mbath** aor. *mbatha* 'to put on (shoes)'. From PALb *\*amb(i)-autsa*, a prefixal verb based on *\*autsa* < *\*ou-k̄-*. The latter is an extension of IE *\*eu-* id.: Arm *aganim* 'to put on (clothes)', Lat *ex-uō* 'to draw out, to pull off', Lith *aunù*, *aūti*, Slav *\*uti*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 264 (from Rom *\*bassus* 'lower part, underwear'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* 54-55 (from IE *\*ambhi-oudhō*, derivative of the above *\*eu-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 186; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 18-20 (to IE *\*auredh-*); AČAREAN *HAB* I 76; FRAENKEL 27; WALDE-HOFMANN I 434-436; POKORNY I 346; VASMER III 109; ÇABEJ *St.* I 335-336 (to Slav *\*bosъ* 'barefooted', Lith *bāsas* id. - but there is no *\*k̄* in this root!); OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

**mbes** aor. *mbeta* 'to remain, to stay'. A prefixal derivative of *jes* (CAMARDA I 134; MEYER *Wb.* 163). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 186.

**mbesë** f, pl. *mbesa* 'niece, granddaughter'. Borrowed from Lat *nepōtia* id. known only in Dalmatia, > ODalm *nepoça* (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1040; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 117-118). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 264-265 (phonetically incredible comparison with Lith *mōša* 'sister-in-law'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 180 (from Rom *\*nep̄tia*); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 232 (reconstructs IE *\*nepōtjā*), *KZ* XXXVI 308, *Kelt. Gr.* I 93; JOKL *LKUBA* 27 (against the Latin etymology), *WuS* XII 82; WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 201; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 117-118; ERNOUT-MEILLET 438; HULD 90; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 259.

**mbë** prep. 'at, in'. Another variant is *më*. From the atonic form of PALb *\*ambi* continuing IE *\*ambhi*: Gk ἀμφί 'about, around', Goth *bi*, OIr *imm-* < Celt *\*mbi* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 265, *Alb. St.* III 35, 64). ◇ BOPP 499 (to Skt *āpi*); CAMARDA I 170 (to Gk ἐπί 'upon'); FEIST *Goth.* 87-88; FRISK I 98; POKORNY I 34; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 95; HAMP *Laryngeals* 130, *Ériu* XXVIII 145; MANN *Language* XVII 22; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 128; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 45; DEMIRAJ *ZfBalk* XXIX 64-67, *AE* 260-261.

**mbëltoj** aor. *mbëltova* 'to plant'. Borrowed from Rom *\*implantāre* 'to plant', cf. Lat *plantāre* id. ◇ KRISTOFORIDHI 227 (derived from *baltë*); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 79, VII 230.

**mbërdhe** adv. 'on the ground'. A compound of *mbë* and *dhe* with an epenthetic *-r-*.

**mbërthej** aor. *mbërtheva* 'to fasten, to button'. A prefixal derivative of *birth* (see *birk*). For the semantic development cf. Germ *knöpfen* 'to button' ~ *Knopf* 'button, knob, bud'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 265 (from Lat *invertere* 'to turn upside down'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 336-337 (phonetic transformation of *mbath*).

**mbërrij ~ mbërrÏj** aor. *mbërrita ~ mbërrina* 'to arrive'. Another variant is *mërrij*. Derived from *arrij* (MEYER *Wb.* 17). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 337 (related to *mbar*).

**mbëshel** aor. *mbëshela* 'to shut, to close, to lock'. Other variants are *mbëçel* and *mbërshel*. A prefixal derivative of *çel* (JOKL *Studien* 55).

**mbështet** aor. *mbështeta* 'to stand, to prop'. From PALb *\*ambhi-stata* based on an adjective *\*stata* identical with IE *\*st(h)atos* 'standing', cf. Skt *sthitá-*, Gk *στατός* id., Lat *status* id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 250). ◇ FRISK I 739; MAYRHOFFER III 526-527; WALDE-HOFMANN II 596-599; POKORNY I 1006; DEMIRAJ *AE* 259.

**mbi** adv. 'on, upon'. Originally, an adverb. From a tonic form of PALb *\*ambi*, cf. *mbë*.

**mbiatu** adv. 'immediately, at once'. A Calabrian phonetic variant of *mbi ato* 'on this' > 'at once' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 337). ◇ CAMARDA II 153 (*mbi* + Ital *atto* 'act'); MEYER *Wb.* 265 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology).

**mbij** ~ **mbij** aor. *mbiva* 'to thrive, to grow, to shoot'. From PALb *\*enhünja* related to IE *\*bheu-* : *\*bhū-* 'to grow, to be' (CAMARDA I 48; MEYER *Wb.* 36-37, *BB* VIII 189). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 35; JOKL *apud* WALDE-HOFMANN I 504 (to IE *\*bher-* 'to bring'); POKORNY I 146-150; ÇABEJ *St.* I 66 (to IE *\*bhei-* 'to beat, to strike'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 100-101 (follows ÇABEJ).

**mbjell** aor. *mbolla* 'to sow'. A prefixal derivative of *pjell* (MEYER *Wb.* 342). ◇ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 124; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 242.

**mblatë** f, pl. *mblata* 'shewbread'. Borrowed from Lat *oblāta* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 38), with a non-etymological nasal in the anlaut. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 292; ÇABEJ *St.* I 337-338.

**mbledh** aor. *mblodha* 'to gather, to collect'. Continues PALb *\*ambiledza*, a prefixal verb related to Gk *λέγω* id., Lat *legō* 'to read, \*to gather' (MEYER *Wb.* 265, *Alb. St.* III 17). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 13; JOKL *LKUBA* 8; LA PIANA *Studi* I 56; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 231; PORZIG *Gliederung* 192, 211; PISANI *Saggi* 129; ERNOUT-MEILLET 350; FRISK II 94-96; CHANTRAINE 626; WALDE-HOFMANN I 780; POKORNY I 658; ŠIROKOV *ZFL* XXIV/1 15 (to Goth *lisan* 'to gather'); KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 28; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243; HULD 145, 156; DEMIRAJ *AE* 261-262.

**mbloj** aor. *mblova* 'to fill'. Borrowed from Lat *implēre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 265). ◊ CAMARDA I 125 (related to *plotë*); LAMBERTZ LVII 71 (follows CAMARDA); MANN *Language* XXVI 383; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 254-255; ÇABEJ *St.* I 338.

**mbloj** aor. *mblova* 'to betroth'. Historically identical with *mbloj* 'to fill'.

**mbrapa** adv. 'behind, back', prep. 'behind'. Together with *prapa* id. continues PALb *\*(en)-per-apa*, cf. *për* and *pa* (CAMARDA I 61; MEYER *Wb.* 351). ◊ JOKL *MRIW* I 302; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 188.

**mbraz** adj. 'empty, void'. Results from the recombination of *mbrazëm* < *\*(m)brazën*, borrowed from Slav *\*porzдынъ* id., cf. Bulg *prazen*, SCr *prazan* (MEYER *Wb.* 266). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193, 323-325; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 15.

**mbrej** aor. *mbreja* 'to harness, to yoke'. Another variant is *mbreh*. From PALb *\*en-breunja*, further related to *brez* (MEYER *Wb.* 46). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 188.

**mbrenda** adv., prep. 'inside, within'. Variant of *brenda*.

**mbres** aor. *mbreta* 'to bruise, to beat'. A prefixal derivative of *pres*.

**mbret** m, pl. *mbretër ~ mbretën* 'king'. Borrowed from Rom *\*imperātus* for Lat *imperātor* 'emperor'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 266 (directly from *imperātor*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 191, 256; ROSETTI *RRL* XXVII/6 495; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239, 280; HAARMANN 130; LANDI *Lat.* 145.

**mbrema ~ mbrama** adv. 'in the evening'. From PALb *\*en-prama* the second element of which is identical with Gk *πρόμος* 'foremost man', Goth *fram* 'from', OHG *fram* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 266, *Alb. St.* III 64, 72). ◊ FEIST *Goth.* 164; MANN *Language* XVII 20; FRISK II 600; POKORNY I 814.

**mbrodh** aor. *mbrodha* 'to help, to do good'. A suffixal derivative of *prodh* 'to produce', a back-formation of *prodhøj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 266 (continuation of Ital *prode* 'brave, valiant'); MANN *Comp.* 4 (from IE *\*en-pro-aǵō*).

**mbroj** aor. *mbrojta* 'to defend, to protect'. Borrowed from Rom \**imparāre* id. (HAARMANN 140).

**mbruaj** ~ **mbruej** aor. *mbrujta* 'to knead'. From PALb \**brunja* related to *brumĕ* (MEYER *Wb.* 266) and, further, to Lat *ferveō* 'to boil' (JOKL *LKUBA* 263). Derived from *mbruj* is *mbrus* 'to stuff full'. ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 15 (to OE *beorm* 'barm', Lat *fermentum*); PISANI *Saggi* 126; DEMIRAJ *AE* 111.

**mbufas** aor. *mbufata* 'to inflate, to swell'. A prefixal derivative of \**bufas* borrowed from Slav \**buxati* 'to beat, to swell' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 338). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 54 (to Ital *buffare* 'to blow').

**mbulim** m 'source; burial, grave'. Deverbative of *mbuloj*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 339-340 (to *bulĕ*).

**mbuloj** aor. *mbulova* 'to cover, to bury'. Another variant is *mbloj*. Borrowed from Rom \**manipulāre* 'to dig in handfuls', cf. Lat *manipulus* 'handful'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 267 (from Rom \**invĕlāre* 'to cover'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538 (agrees with MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 187; HAARMANN 131; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 172; ÇABEJ *St.* I 339-340 (identical with *mbloj*).

**mbuloj** aor. *mbulova* 'to seal'. Attested only in BUZUKU. Based on \**bulĕ* borrowed from MLat *bullā* 'seal' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 340). ◊ HELBIG 84 (from Ital *bolla* id.).

**mburr** aor. *mburra* 'to praise'. Denominative of *burrĕ* (MEYER *Wb.* 55). ◊ MANN *Comp.* 126 (to Lat *furō* 'to rage').

**mbush** aor. *mbusha* 'to fill'. Continues PALb \**en-busa* related to Gk βυνέω < \*βυσ-v-έω 'to fill up' and its cognates (CAMARDA I 52; MEYER *Wb.* 267, *Alb. St.* III 32, 61, 80). ◊ LA PIANA *Studi* I 91; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (to Gk φλύω); FRISK I 276-277; CHANTRAINE 202; POKORNY I 101; DEMIRAJ *AE* 262 (reconstructs a nasal present for Proto-Albanian).

**mbutoj** aor. *mbutova* 'to seal, to bung'. Denominative based on *but* 'barrel, tub'.

**mbyll** aor. *mbylla* 'to shut, to fasten'. Continues PALb \**ambi-wela*, originally, \*'to encircle', related to Skt *valati* 'to turn', Gk εἰλέω 'to roll tight up, to close', OIr *fillid* 'to bend' and the like (HAMP *Evidence* 139-140). ◇ ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 130; FRISK I 457-458; MAYRHOFER III 161; POKORNY I 1140-1143; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230, 233.

**mbyś** aor. *mbyta* 'to strangle, to drown, to kill'. From PALb \**ambi-witja* with the regular development of \*-*iwi-* > -*y-*. Further related to Skt *vyáthate* 'to sway, to rock', Goth *wiþon* 'to pour'. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 56 (to Lat *confütäre* 'to suppress, to restrain', ON *bauta* 'to strike'); POKORNY I 1178; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 130; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 233, 254; HULD 90-91; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 130; HAMP *Laryngeals* 139 (derived from IE \**ued-* ~ \**ud-* 'water', cf. also *zhys* 'to dive'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 262-263 (derived from *pi*).

**me** m 'insufficiency, lack', adj. 'insufficient, scanty, not full'. From PALb \**manu* etymologically close to Gk μάνυ· μικρόν. 'Ἀθαμᾶνες (Hes.), μανός 'thin' and Arm *manr* 'small, thin' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 430). The form *metë* 'insufficient' is derived from *me* after the fall of the final nasal. Related to *me* is *mej* ~ *mêj* 'to reduce, to diminish'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 273 (comparisons with Lat *minuō* 'to lessen', Ital *meno* 'less' or Slav \**мѣнь* 'small(er)'); MEILLET *MSL* VIII 164; KRISTOFORIDHI 227 (to *mangut*, *mungoj*); AČAREAN *HAB* III 257; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (*mej* < IE \**mijō*); FRISK II 171-172; POKORNY I 728-729; NEROZ-NAK *Paleob.* 199 (to IE \*(*s*)*meik-* 'small'); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 79.

**me** prep. 'with'. From PALb \**me(t)* etymologically connected with Goth *mīþ* id., Gk μέτα 'in the middle, between' (MANN *Language* XXVIII 32). ◇ CAMARDA I 314 (identifies *me* with NGk μέ); MEYER *Wb.* 268 (borrowed from NGk μέ); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 188 (against MEYER); FEIST *Goth.* 364; FRISK II 216; POKORNY I 702; HAMP *Laryngeals* 140, *NTS* XXIII 13 (follows MANN); HULD 91.

**mečkë** f, pl. *mečka* 'she-bear'. Borrowed from one of South Slavic tabooistic names for bear: Bulg *mečka*, SCr *mečka*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.

**mefšhtë** adj. 'slow, sluggish'. A suffixal derivative of *mehem*.

**meh** ~ **mef** aor. *meha* ~ *mefa* 'to soak'. From PALb \**meu-ska* related to Latv *maût* 'to dive', Slav \**myti* 'to wash' and other continuants of



IE \**meu-* ~ \**meuə-* 'wet'. ◇ VASMER III 26; POKORNY I 741-742; OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

**mehem** refl. 'to fail'. Goes back to PALb \**mōja* related to OHG *muoan* 'to work diligently', Gk μῶλος 'toil (of war)', Slav \**majati* 'to work slowly'. ◇ FRISK II 282; POKORNY I 746; BER 702; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XVII 132-134; OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

**mekem** refl. 'to gasp, to choke'. Related to *mekēt* 'wet' (JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 508) according to a semantic universal linking words for 'being silent' and 'melting'. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 4, 63 (to Slav \**mylčati* 'to be silent'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 549; TRUBAČEV *PIEJa* 100-105 (examples of this semantic development); ANIKIN 67-78 (semantic parallels); DEMIRAJ *AE* 264 (expressive word).

**mekēt** adj. 'wet'. Cf. also the verb *mek* 'to make wet'. Continues PALb \**maka* related to *makë* (ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ). ◇ JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 508 (to Lith *minkau* 'to knead'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* V 193; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 110; DEMIRAJ *AE* 263-264 (borrowed from SCr *mek*, Bulg *mek*).

**meksh** m, pl. *meksha* 'buffalo-calf'. Another variant is *meshk* 'bull-calf'. From \**megsh* continuing PALb \**maguša* related to OIr *maug* 'slave', Goth *magus* 'youth' (from IE \**maghu-* : \**maghos*). ◇ FEIST *Goth.* 339; POKORNY I 696; ÇABEJ *St.* I 340 (related to *mekēt*).

**mel** m 'millet'. Borrowed from Lat *milium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 523; MEYER *Wb.* 268). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 189; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 136.

**mellë** f 'clay, loess'. Borrowed from Slav \**mělъ* ~ \**mělъ* 'chalk, loess', cf. Bulg *mel*, SCr *mel*.

**memec** m, pl. *memecë*, *memeca* 'deaf-mute, dumb'. Borrowed, with assimilation of nasals, from Slav \**němьсь* 'stranger, mute person', cf. Bulg *nemec*, SCr *nemac*, *nijemac* (MEYER *Wb.* 269). Such assimilation is, in fact, attested in Bulg dial. *memkin'a* < *nemkin'a* 'kind of haricot', originally, 'Germ woman', fem. of \**němьсь*. ◇ SCHULZE *Kl. Schr.* 214; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195-286; SVANE 185.

**memzi** adv. 'hardly, scarcely'. Another variant is *mězi*. Based on *mem*, a participial form of *mej* ~ *měj* 'to reduce, to diminish', see *me*.

**menati** adv. 'early in the morning'. A lexicalized phrase *me natě* with an adverbial marker.

**menčëm** adj. 'clever, intelligent'. A derivative in *-shëm* of *mend* (JOKL *LKUBA* 106).

**mend** pl. 'mind'. Borrowed from Lat *mentem* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; CAMARDA I 306; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40-41; MEYER *Wb.* 274). Note the denominative verb *mendoj* 'to think, to count'. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 189; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21 (from IE *\*m̥ntis*), XXVIII 32 (from Latin); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 255; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 55, 83-85, 116.

**mendër** f, pl. *mendra* 'mint'. A suffixal derivative based on *\*mendë* borrowed from Lat *menta* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 41; MEYER *Alb. St.* I 55). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 272 (from Ital *menta* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; JOKL *LKUBA* 232; ÇABEJ *St.* I 340 (from Gk *μίνθη* id.); LANDI *Lat.* 55, 135.

**mendull** f 'almond'. Borrowed from Rom *\*amendula*, cf. Ital dial. *ammenola* < *\*amendula* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 341). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 485 (from Ital Venet *mandola* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 258-259 (follows MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 189-190; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 110 (from Lat *amyndala*).

(G) **merajë** f 'winter pasture'. A derivative of *mera* 'pasture', of Turkish origin (ÇABEJ *St.* I 341). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 259-260 (from Lat *hibernalis* 'wintry'); JOKL *LKUBA* 265 (from Rom *\*invernălia*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 129.

**merendoj** aor. *merendova* 'to arrange'. A recent formation based on the adverb *merend* 'in order', a lexicalized phrase *me rend*, cf. *rend*.

**merë** f 'fear'. A phonetic variant of *tmerr* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190).

**merë** f 'measure'. Borrowed from Slav *\*měra* id., cf. in South Slavic:

Bulg *m'ara*, dial. *mera*, SCr *mera*, *mjera* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 270). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 182; SVANE 89.

**merë** f 'scent, fragrance'. Borrowed from Lat *myrrha* 'myrrh' > Rom \**mīrra*.

**merimangë** f 'spider'. Other variants are *merimagë*, *mirëmangë*, *milimangë*, *milingonë* and *merimajkë*. Tabooistic transformations of *merming* id. borrowed from NGk μυρμηγγι 'ant, midget' (MEYER *Alb. St.* I 77). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 274-275 (compound the first element of which is compared with Slav \**paqkъ* 'spider'); KRISTOFORIDHI 220, 234 (to Gk μύρμηξ); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk Dor μύρμαξ 'ant'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 341-342 (follows MIHĂESCU).

**mesë** 'skin (of onion), milk-skin, film'. Goes back to PALb \**matšā* related to *makë* and reflecting IE \**mokʰ-*. Thus, Albanian seems to reflect a labiovelar in this root.

**mesnik** m 'meat pasty'. Borrowed from Bulg *mesnik* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 270 (to Slav \**męso* 'meat').

**meshë** f, pl. *meshë* 'mass'. Borrowed from Lat *missa* id. (CAMARDA I 86; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 42; MEYER *Wb.* 270). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26 (from Slavic); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; JOKL *LKUBA* 22; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 209; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 56.

**meshnohem** refl. 'to become senile, to dote, to be childish'. A prefixal derivative (in *me-* < *mbë-*) of \**shenøj* borrowed from Lat *senëre* 'to be old'.

**metale** f, pl. *metale* 'snow-drift'. Borrowed from Slav \**metadlo* 'heap', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *metaló*, SCr *metaló*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 342 (from Bulgarian). ◇ SVANE 174.

(G) **meteh** m 'boundary, frontier'. Another variant is *metef*. A deverbative based on an unattested \**meteh* 'to partake, to share'. The latter is borrowed from MGk μετέχω id. From MGk μετόχτιον 'priory, farm', *metoq* 'stable' has been borrowed. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 342 (borrowed from MGk μετόχτιον 'priory', later - 'farm').

**metë** f, pl. *meta* 'swallow, mouthful'. A deverbative based on Slav \**metati* 'to throw' (depicting a swallow as a 'throw' of food into the mouth).

**mezhdë** f, pl. *mezhdä* 'baulk, strip of land between fields'. Reflects a Bulgarian continuant of Slav \**medja* 'boundary' > *mezda*. Another regional loanword, *megjë* id., reflects a Serbo-Croatian continuant of the same provenance, SCr *medja* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26).

**më** ~ **mâ** adv. 'more'. Continues PAIb \**mai* from IE \**mājes* with a secondary nasalization. Related to Goth *maiza* id., Oscan *mais* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 271 (borrowed from Lat *magis* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 86-88 (< IE \**māison*-); MANN *Language* XVII 23 (same as MEYER); KLUGE 470; FEIST *Goth.* 342; POKORNY I 704.

**mëgashtër** f, pl. *mëgashtra* 'sage'. Another variant is *mugashtër*. Borrowed from Rom \**medicāster* reflected in Ital *medicastro* (JOKL *LKUBA* 211-213). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* I 342; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 82, 109, 136.

**mëkat** m, pl. *mëkate* 'sin'. Borrowed from Lat *peccātum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48; CAMARDA II 199; MEYER *Wb.* 271). The initial *m*-results from *mp*- as demonstrated by the form *mpkat* in BOGDANI (WEIGAND *BA* III 205) and seems to be a prefix added already in Albanian. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 180; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* I 343; HAARMANN 141.

**mëkeq** aor. *mëkeqa* 'to anger'. A prefixal derivative of *keq*.

**mëkëmb** ~ **mëkamb** aor. *mëkëmha* ~ *mëkamba* 'to set up, to erect'. A prefixal denominative of *këmbë*.

**mëkoj** aor. *mëkova* 'to feed'. Borrowed from Lat *medicāre* 'to heal, to cure' (MEYER *Wb.* 282). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 244; HAARMANN 135.

**mëkresë** f, pl. *mëkresa* 'tombstone'. Together with its morphological variant *mëkrejçë* 'baulk', reflects a prefixal derivative of *krye*.

**mělcoj** aor. *mělcova* 'to sweeten'. Other variants are *ěmbělcoj* ~ *ambělcoj*. Derivative of *ěmběl* (MANN *HAED* 279; ÇABEJ *St.* I 343). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 281-282 (from Rom *\*mellitiāre* based on Lat *mellitus* 'of honey, related to honey'); JOKL *LKUBA* 212, 287-288 (derivative of *mjaltë* in *-ěsoj*); PEDERSEN *Philologica* II 111 (agrees with JOKL).

**mělči** f, pl. *mělči* 'lung, liver'. Also used in phrases *mělči e bardhë* 'lung' and *mělči e zezë* 'liver' and, originally, representing a word for spleen borrowed from Ital *milza* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 271-272). ◊ HAMP *Festschr. Kahane* 310-318, *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 95.

**mělmej** aor. *mělmeva* 'to add fat and oil to food'. Based on *majmë* even though the origin of *-l-* is not clear.

**měltoj** aor. *měltova* 'to graft, to wed (of plants)'. Borrowed from Lat *marītāre* 'to marry', also used in the sense of *měltoj*.

**mėllagë** f, pl. *mėllaga* 'marsh mallow'. Another variant is *mullagë*. From the original *\*mėllakë*, with an unexplained sonorization of the auslaut. Borrowed from Gk *μαλάχη* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 271). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 193 (considers *g < χ* to be strange); ÇABEJ *St.* I 343-344 (from the same pre-Indo-European source as Lat *malva* 'mallow' and Gk *μαλάχη* id.); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 208; HULD *KZ XCIX* 247.

**mėllenjë** f, pl. *mėllenja* 'blackbird'. There exist also phonetic variants *mėllėnjë*, *mėllinjë* and the like. Continues PAIb *\*melanjā* from IE fem. adj. *\*melanjā* 'black' > Gk *μέλαινα* id., cf. also Skt *malinā-*, fem. *malinī* 'dirty, unclean, Latv *mēlns* 'black' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 42-43; ÇABEJ *St.* I 344). ◊ CAMARDA I 45 (borrowing from Gk *μέλαινα*); SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 207 (Greek origin); MEYER *Wb.* 271 (from Rom *\*mer(u)lanea*, derivative of Lat *merula* 'blackbird'); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 537 (accepts MEYER's etymology); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; WEIGAND 58 (from Rom *\*merlōnia*, cf. Rum *merloi* < Rom *\*merlōnius*); JOKL *LKUBA* 193-194; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 138; POKORNY I 720-721; MAYRHOFER II 598; FRISK II 198-199; ÇABEJ *St. Pisani* I 176-177, *St. III* 259; JANSON *Unt.* 205; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 149, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362; DEMIRAJ *AE* 264-265 (to OHG *amusla*, *amsala* 'thrust').

**mėllezë** f, pl. *mėlleza* 'kind of elm; blackbird'. Another variant is *mullezë*.

A derivative in *-zë* of *mëllenjë* (VASMER *Alb. St.* I 42; JOKL *LKUBA* 193-194). ◇ ÇABEJ *Festschr. Pisani* I 176-177, *St.* I 345; DEMIRAJ *AE* 280-281.

**mëllë** ~ **mullâ** m, pl. *mëllënj* ~ *mullanj* 'grief'. From PALb *\*melana* 'black', the masculine form of the adjective represented in *mëllenjë* (MEYER *Wb.* 283). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 285 (from Ital *malanno* 'misfortune'); JOKL *LKUBA* 195 (follows MEYER *Wb.* 283); MANN *HAED* 298 (figurative use of *mëllë* 'swelling').

**mëllë** ~ **mullâ** m, pl. *mëllënj* ~ *mullanj* 'swelling, lump'. Derived from *mullë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 345-346). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 53 (from Rom *\*bullāna*, to *bulla* 'bubble'); BARIĆ *A ArbSt* I 145 (prefixal formation with *-llâ* being related to *lungë*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 236 (related to *bulë*); TREIMER *Slavia* III 545 (connected with *mall* 'property, goods', a Turkish loanword).

**mëllugë** f, pl. *mëlluga* 'scale; scar, mark'. Related to *mëllë*.

**mëmë** f, pl. *mëma* 'mother'. A typical example of a nursery word reflecting an earlier *\*mamā*. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 63 (related to Gk μάμμα); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 117; ERNOUT-MEILLET 381; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 21; DEMIRAJ *AE* 265.

**mënd** m, pl. *mënde* 'moment'. Borrowed from Lat *mōmentum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 274).

**mënd** aor. *mënda* 'to suckle, to feed'. Continues PALb *\*manzda*, a nasal present further related to *maj*. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 64 (to Gk μαζός); TOMASCHEK *BB* IX 101; KRETSCHMER *Glotta* XVI 182; LA PIANA *Studi* I 113; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (to Lat *mentum*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 265 (related to *mëmë*).

**mëndafsh** m, pl. *mëndafshra* ~ *mëndafshna* 'silk'. Borrowed from Lat *metaxa* 'raw silk' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40; MEYER *Wb.* 272) or from MGk μετάξα id. (CAMARDA I 45), in both cases, through an intermediary stage of Rom *\*mentaxa*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1050; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 135, 140.

**mëngë** ~ **mangë** f, pl. *mëngë* ~ *mangë* 'armful, sleeve'. Borrowed from

Lat *manicae* 'sleeve' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39; MEYER *Wb.* 272). Note a derivative *mëngore* 'short jacket, fur-coat'. ◊ MEYER-LÛBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; MANN *Language* XVII 23; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 135; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 111.

**mëngër** ~ **mangën** f, pl. *mëngra* ~ *mangna* 'oil-press, press, roller'. Borrowed from Gk μάγγανον 'axis of a pulley, bolt' (THUMB *IF* XXVI 9) or, rather, from MGk μάγγανον 'machine, contrivance'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 272 (from NGk μάγγανον 'press'); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 250, XLIV 24-27; MEYER-LÛBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042, 1050; MANN *Language* XVII 23; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* I 346 (a Geg variant *mangë* resulting from the decomposition of *mangën*); ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 42; JANSON *Unt.* 42.

**mëngoj** aor. *mëngova* 'to rise early'. Borrowed from Lat *mānicāre* 'to come in the morning', derivative of *māne* 'morning' (MEYER *Wb.* 272-273). ◊ CAMARDA I 141 (to Lat *māne*); MEYER-LÛBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1039, 1047; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMANN 135.

(T) **mëngjër** adj. 'left'. Borrowed from Rom *\*mancinus*, cf. Lat *mancus* 'maimed, infirm' (MEYER *Wb.* 273). ◊ HAARMANN 134; ROHLFS *Spr.* 161; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203.

**mëngji** ~ **mangji** f, pl. *mëngji* ~ *mangji* 'sorcery, witchcraft; medicine'. Borrowed from Lat *magia* 'magic, sorcery' (MEYER-LÛBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1050) influenced by the popular etymology linking it to *mëngjër*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 253 (from Gk μαγεία 'sorcery'); JOKL *IF* XLIV 24-27 (from Gk μάγγανον 'charm, drug'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 346-347 (derived from *mjek*).

**mënoj** aor. *mënova* 'to halt, to be late'. Phonetic variant of *vënoj* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 274, *IF* VI 105), see *vonë*. ◊ CAMARDA I 44, 61 (to *vonë*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39 (from Lat *manēre* 'to stay, to remain'); MEYER-LÛBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 134.

**mënjane** adv. 'at the side'. A univerbation of *më nj(ë) anë*. From it, a verb *mënjanoj* 'to avert' is derived.

**mënjë** f ‘manna; drizzle’. From Rom \**mannia*, cf. Lat *manna* ‘manna’.

**mënjill** m, pl. *mënjille* ‘vigil; fast’. Borrowed from Rom \**vingilia*, cf. Lat *vigilia* ‘vigil’ (MEYER *Wb.* 273-274) with the further assimilation to Rom \**mingilia*. ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23 (from Lat *mane vigil*); HAARMANN 157.

**mënjollë** f, pl. *mënjolla* ‘sapling, shrub, shoot’. Borrowed from Lat *malleolus* ‘mallet-shoot’ with a dissimilation of sonorants (MEYER *Wb.* 274). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 542; ÇABEJ *St.* I 347 (from Ital Venet *magliolo* id.); HAARMANN 134.

**mërehem** refl. ‘to be fascinated, to be charmed’. Borrowed from Lat *mīrārī* ‘to wonder, to be astonished’.

**mërgoj** aor. *mërgova* ‘to exile, to drive away’. Borrowed from Lat *mergere* ‘to thrust, to push’ (MEYER *Wb.* 274). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1039; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 136; HAMP *SCL* XXVIII/1 73-74.

**mërgjyzë ~ mërgjizë** f, pl. *mërgjyze ~ mërgjize* ‘marigold, narcissus’. Based on a compound of *mër-* < *Maria* and *gji*, ‘Mary’s breast’.

**mëri ~ mëni** f, pl. *mëri ~ mëni* ‘hate, wrath’. Borrowed from Lat *mania* ‘madness’ (MEYER *Wb.* 273). Note, however, that an alternative source could be Gk *μαρία* with its stress corresponding to that of the Albanian word. ◇ HAARMANN 134; JANSON *Unt.* 54-55.

**mërkosh** m, pl. *mërkosha* ‘man lying in wife’s bed after childbirth and receiving visitors; lover’. Borrowed from Rom \**māricōsus* ‘husband-like’, based on Lat *mās* ‘male’. For the formation cf. *bellicōsus* ‘warlike’. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 10-13 (related to Skt *mārya-* ‘young man, lover’ and the like); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (borrowed from a poorly attested Bulg *търкуш* ‘miserable, broken’); DEMIRAJ *AE* 267-268 (derived from Turk *merakî* ‘hypochondriac’); OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

**mërkurë** f, pl. *mërkura* ‘Wednesday’. Borrowed from Lat *Mercurii* (*diēs*), cf. MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 516. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190; ÇABEJ *St.* I 347; HAARMANN 136.



**mërlaqet** refl. 'to eat greedily'. An expressive verb of onomatopoeic character.

**mërmëris** aor. *mërmërita* 'to murmur, to mutter'. Borrowed from Slav \**mъrmъrati* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *mъrmor'a*, SCr *mrmrati*.

**mërqinjë** f 'jube, kind of brier'. Borrowed from Rom \**myrĭcĭnia* based on Lat *myrica* 'tamarisk, kind of shrub' (MEYER *Wb.* 274). ◊ HAARMANN 137.

**mërshë** f 'corpse, carrion'. From PALb \**merusa* based on IE \**mer-* 'to die': Skt *mriyāte*, Lith *miřti*, Slav \**merti* and the like. ◊ FRAENKEL 457-459; MAYRHOFER II 696-697; POKORNY I 735; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XVIII 101-102.

**mërshinë** f, pl. *mërshina* 'wineskin'. Borrowed, with an epenthetical -r-, from Slav \**měšina* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *mešina*, SCr *mješina*, *mešina* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 275). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 185; SVANE 68.

**mëru** ~ **mirû** m, pl. *mërrurë* ~ *mërun* 'handle'. Borrowed, with a metathesis, from Rom \**manurus*. The latter is a derivative of Lat *manus* 'hand'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 275 (from \**manöbrium* or *manübrium* 'handle'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1054.

**mërzej** aor. *mërzeva* 'to rest at noon (of animals)'. Borrowed from Lat *meridiāre* 'to take a mid-day nap' (MEYER *Wb.* 274). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 136.

**mërzis** aor. *mërzita* 'to bore, to hate'. Borrowed from Slav \**mъrziti* 'to hate', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *mrъzi*, SCr *mrziti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 275). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 191; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 198; SVANE 237.

**mësoj** aor. *mësova* 'to teach, to train'. Borrowed from Rom \**invitiāre* id. > Rum *încea*, Prov *envezar* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 276, *Alb. St.* IV 81). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1051; PUŞCARIU *EWB* 78; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 43 (from

Gk  $\mu\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$  'to learn'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 347-348 (a prefixal derivative of *pësoj*).

**mësyj** aor. *mësyta* 'to attack'. A prefixal derivative of *sy*, cf. Germ *ins Auge fassen* (MEYER *Wb.* 276; ÇABEJ *St.* I 348).  $\diamond$  WEIGAND *BA* I 259 (from *mbë syj*); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 149-150 (related to *qoj*); ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 109; DEMIRAJ *AE* 357-358.

**mëshere** f 'small piece of cheese'. Borrowed from Rom *\*mensōra* for Lat *mensūra* 'measure'.  $\diamond$  ÇABEJ *St.* I 349 (identical with *mueshirë*).

**mëshikë** f 'bubble, blister, bladder'. Borrowed, with an irregular change of the anlaut, from Lat *vēsica* 'bladder' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 276-277).  $\diamond$  MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26 (from Slavic); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1053.

**mëshirë** f 'pity, mercy'. Borrowed from Lat *miseria* 'wretchedness'.  $\diamond$  MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 42; MEYER *Wb.* 277 (based on an unattested *\*mësh(i)roj* borrowed from Lat *miserēre* 'to feel pity'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224; HAARMANN 136.

**mëshkenjë** f, pl. *mëshkenja* 'cadaver, carrion'. Derived from *mërshë*.

**mëshoj** aor. *mëshova* 'to be heavy, to bear down'. Another variant is *pëshoj*. Borrowed from Lat *pensāre* 'to weigh' > Rom *\*pesāre* (MEYER *Wb.* 336).  $\diamond$  PISANI *Saggi* 124.

**mëshqerrë** f, pl. *mëshqerra* 'heifer'. A prefixal derivative of *shqerra* (MEYER *Wb.* 417).

**mështekër ~ mështekën** f, pl. *mështekra ~ mështekna* 'birch'. Borrowed from Lat *masticinus* 'related to the mastic-tree' (> Rum *masteacan* 'birch').  $\diamond$  MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; ÇABEJ *St.* I 349 (from Gk  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\rho\nu$   $\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\chi\iota\nu\omicron\nu$  'mastic-tree').

**mështekohe** refl. 'to become wild, to rave, to rage'. Borrowed from Lat *masticāre* 'to chew', with an unusual semantic development partly reflected by Rum *mesteca* 'to chew, to mix' (MEYER *Wb.* 277)  $\diamond$  PUŞCARIU *EWB* 91; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17; HAARMANN 135.

**mëtrik** m 'disease of cattle, tumor, gangrene of intestines'. Borrowed from Rom \**mātricus* based on Lat *mātrix* 'womb' MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 17). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 349; HAARMANN 135.

**mëz ~ mâz** m, pl. *mëza ~ mâza* 'foal'. From PALb \**mandja* related to *mënd* 'to suckle' (MEYER *Wb.* 276, *Alb. St.* III 28). A closely related form is attested in Messapic, in Jupiter's name *Menzana* (STIER KZ XI 148). From Proto-Albanian, Rum *mînz* 'foal' was borrowed while Ital *manzo* 'ox' and other forms go back to Messapic. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 39 (from Ital *manzo* 'tame ox'); TOMASCHEK *BB IX* 101; KRETSCHMER *Einleitung* 266; PUŞCARIU *EWR* 94; CHARPENTIER *KZ XL* 436 (to Lat *mandus*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 184, *Stratificazione* 138; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87; ERNOUT-MEILLET 384; PORZIG *Gliederung* 150; PISANI *Saggi* 127; SCHMIDT *KZ LVII* 33; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 332; ROSETTI *ILR I* 279; POKORNY I 729; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 79; ÇABEJ *Glotta XXV* 51-52; *St.* VII 204, 212; JANSON *Unt.* 27; DEMIRAJ *AE* 267.

**mî ~ mî** m, pl. *minj* 'mouse'. From PALb \**mû(s)* related to IE \**mūs* id.: Skt *mūṣ-*, Gk *μῦς*, Lat *mūs* and the like (MEYER *BB VIII* 190, *Wb.* 278). The nasalization in Geg is secondary. ◊ STIER KZ XI 139 (borrowed from Greek); MEYER *Alb. St.* III 63-64, 81; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 282; JOKL *Studien* 77; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190, *Stratificazione* 138; LA PIANA *Studi* I 95; MANN *Language XXVI* 387; ERNOUT-MEILLET 424; FRISK II 275-276; MAYRHOFER II 668; WALDE-HOFMANN II 132-133; POKORNY I 752-753; HULD 91-92; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 149; DEMIRAJ *KZ CVI* 100-103, *AE* 267-268.

**mice** f, pl. *mica* 'cat'. A word of onomatopoeic origin represented in Romance: Rum *miḡa*, Ital *micio*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 25 (from SCr *mica* id. - but there is no such word); MEYER *Wb.* 263 (follows MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192.

**midër** f, pl. *midra* 'raspberry'. Another variant is *mitër*. A figurative use of *mitër* 'womb, uterus', of Modern Greek origin.

**miell** m, pl. *miellra ~ miellna* 'flour'. Continues PALb \**melwa* closely related to OHG *mëlo* id., ON *mjöl* id., Slav \**melvo* 'grain for grinding' and continuing IE \**meluo-*, further - to \**mel-* 'to grind' (MEYER *Wb.* 282, *Alb. St.* III 64, 75). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191; KLUGE 470;

MANN *Language* XXVIII 36; PISANI *Saggi* 122; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 9; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 145; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XVIII 92-93; POKORNY I 716-718; DEMIRAJ *AE* 268.

**mih** ~ **mif** aor. *miha* ~ *mifa* 'to dig, to hoe'. From PALb *\*mik-ska* related to Skt *mīmikṣati* 'to mix', Gk μίγω < \*μίγκω id. (with a voiced velar), Lat *misceō* id., OHG *miskan* id. and the like. ◊ FRISK II 192-193; MAYRHOFER II 632-633; WALDE-HOFMANN II 95-96; POKORNY I 714; ČOP *ŽA* IV 294-295; HAMP *Sprache* XI 139 (< IE\*(s)mi(d)-sk-); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

**mijë** f, pl. *mijë, mija, mijëra* 'thousand'. A phonetically more archaic variant is *milë*. Borrowed from Lat *mīlia* id. (CAMARDA I 171; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 41; MEYER *Wb.* 278). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193; HAARMANN 136; HAMP *Numerals* 920.

**mik** m, pl. *miq* 'friend'. Borrowed from Lat *amicus* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 278). The derivative *mikloj* 'to flatter, to fondle, to caress' seems to be based on *\*mikull* continuing Lat *amiculus* 'friend'. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192, *Origini* 209; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 110; HULD 92 (on the apheresis of the pretonic vowel); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 257; LANDI *Lat.* 59, 136.

**milak** m, pl. *milakë* 'leveret'. Borrowed from SCr *milak* 'dear one'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 278 (to *milor* 'young ram', of Rumanian origin); PASCU *RE* 65 (suffixal derivative of *\*mel* borrowed from Rum *mel* 'lamb'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk μέλλας 'boy'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 350 (follows MIHĂESCU).

**milingër** f 'blight on leaves'. A suffixal derivative of *\*milingë* borrowed from Slav *\*mëlinьka* 'crumb, pinch', otherwise unattested in South Slavic. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 279 (comparison with SCr *medljika* 'mildew'); SCHUCHARDT *ZfromPhil* XI 489-490 (from Gk-Rom *melandrya*).

**mill** m, pl. *mille* 'sheath'. From PALb *\*meila* 'fastening (of a knife)' related to Skt *minōti* 'to fasten', OIr *-tuidmen* id. and the like. ◊ POKORNY I 709; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 233.

**mirě** adj. 'good'. From PALb *\*mira* forming a separate isogloss with Slav *\*mirъ* 'peace' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 43-44; as to OLith *mieras*, it was borrowed from Slavic despite VASMER II 626). Further connections are OPrus *mils* 'nice', Lith *meilius* 'dear', Slav *\*milъ* 'nice, pleasant' (MEYER *Wb.* 279, *Alb. St.* III 64, 78) and other continuations of IE *\*mēi-* ~ *\*mī-* 'mild, weak, nice'. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *mitrá-* 'friend'); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 541; JOKL *LKUBA* 228 (on suffixes *\*-l-* ~ *\*-r-* in this stem); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192; MANN *Language XXVI* 386-387 (from Lat *mirus* 'wonderful, amazing'); PISANI *Saggi* 125 (follows VASMER); HOLUB-KOPEČNÝ 224 (follow VASMER); FRAENKEL 449; POKORNY I 711-712; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 345; HULD 92 (confused account of JOKL's analysis); ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Gk *σμόςρος* 'emery'); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362; DEMIRAJ *AE* 268-269.

**mis** m, pl. *misa* 'limb, member'. Continues PALb *\*mitja* related to Lith *miklas* 'supple', *mitrus* id. (for the semantics, cf. Germ *gelenkig* as a usual translation of *miklas*), Latv *mikls* id., *mitrs* id., *mikât* 'to knead'. ◊ FRAENKEL 447-448, 452.

**miskë** f, pl. *miska* 'turkey'. Unclear.

**misur** m, pl. *misurë* 'deep plate'. Derivative of an unattested *\*misë* borrowed from Slav *\*misa* 'plate', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *misa*, SCr *misa* (MEYER *Wb.* 280). ◊ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 44.

**mish** m/n, pl. *mishra* ~ *mishna* 'flesh, meat'. From PALb *\*miša* further related to IE *\*memso-* id.: Skt *māmsa-* 'flesh, meat', Arm *mis*, Goth *mimz*, Slav *\*mešo* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 280, *Alb. St.* III 61, 64, 68). The development of *\*-em-* to *\*-i-* seems to precede the "ruki" rule. ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 56, *Kelt. Gr.* I 82; JOKL *LKUBA* 326; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192, *Stratificazione* 93; LA PIANA *Studi* I 113-114; BARIÇ *Hymje* 39; AČAREAN *HAB* III 323-324; PISANI *Saggi* 100; ERNOUT-MEILLET 395; MAYRHOFER II 615; FEIST *Goth.* 361; POKORNY I 725-726; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa* XIX 7-11; HAMP *BSL LXVI/1* 222; ÇABEJ *LP VIII* 128, *St.* VII 242; HULD 92-93; OREL *Sprache XXXI* 280; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 221; DEMIRAJ *StF IX/1* 359, *AE* 269-270.

**mishkonjë** f, pl. *mishkonja* 'midge, gnat'. Another variant is *mushkonjë*. A feminine derivative of *\*mushkë* ~ *\*mushkue* borrowed from Lat

*musca* 'fly'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 280-281 (from Rom \**muscōnia*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 137 (from Rom \**muscōnea*).

**mitë** f, pl. *mita* 'shoot'. Continues PALb \**meita* related to Skt *methí-* 'pillar, post', ON *meiðr* 'beam', Lith *miėtas* 'post, stake'. ◇ FRAENKEL 451; MAYRHOFER II 683; POKORNY I 709; ÇABEJ *St.* I 350 (to Gk μίτυλος 'hornless').

**mitë** f 'bribe, tip'. Borrowed from Slav \**myto* 'payment', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *mito*, SCr *mito* (MEYER *Wb.* 281). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 181, 299; SVANE 208.

**mizë** f, pl. *miza* 'fly'. A derivative in -zë of PALb \**mūjā* identical with ON *my* id., further connected to Gk μνῖα id., Lat *musca* id. and the like (CAMARDA I 75; MEYER *BB* VIII 190, *Wb.* 281, *Alb. St.* III 64, 81). ◇ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 168 (derives *mizë* from \**mūs-* rather than \**mūjā*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 193, *Stratificazione* 139; LA PIANA *Studi* I 93, 107; PISANI *Saggi* 131 (to Arm *mžil*); ERNOUT-MEILLET 424; FRISK II 265-266; WALDE-HOFMANN II 133; POKORNY I 752; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254, 268; DEMIRAJ *AE* 270.

**mizoj** aor. *mizova* 'to rage, to snarl, to hate'. Borrowed from Rom \**invidiāre* id., cf. Lat *invidia* 'envy, jealousy' (MEYER *Wb.* 268). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; HAARMANN 131.

**mizon** aor. *mizoi* 'to snow (of light flocks)'. Derived from *mizë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 350), a figurative usage widespread both in Romance and Slavic.

**mjalcë** f, pl. *mjalca* 'bee'. Continues PALb \**melitjā* identical with Gk μέλισσα < \*μέλιτjα id. (CAMARDA I 79). Cf. *mjaltë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 281; JOKL *LKUBA* 287; FRISK II 200-201; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 203.

**mjaltë** m/n/f 'honey'. Continues PALb \**melita* related to Hitt *milit* id., Gk μέλι id., Goth *miliþ* id. (CAMARDA I 79; MEYER *Wb.* 281-282, *Alb. St.* III 64, 78). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40 (from Lat *mel*); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 162; JOKL *LKUBA* 287-289; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190; FEIST *Goth.* 359-360; ERNOUT-MEILLET 394; PISANI *Saggi* 132; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; PORZIG *Gliederung* 203; POKORNY I 723-724; FRISK II 200-201; CHANTRAINE 682; ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 38; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230; DEMIRAJ *AE* 270-271.

**mjalloj** aor. *mjallova* 'to mew'. Another variant is *mjaulloj*. A verb of onomatopoeic origin.

**mjedhër** f, pl. *mjedhra* 'mulberry; tares'. Other variants are *mjetërr*, *mitër* and *mjedër*. Also used in a phrase *mane mjedhëra* id. A suffixal derivative of \**mjedh* related to Lith *mēdis* 'tree', Latv *mežs* 'wood', thus defining mulberry as a wood berry. ◊ FRAENKEL 423-425; POKORNY I 706-707; ÇABEJ *St.* I 350-351 (from \**mer-dā* related to OIr *merenn* 'mulberry').

**mjegull** f, pl. *mjegulla* 'cloud'. Other variants, *mjergull* and *njegull*, are secondary (ÇABEJ *St.* I 351). From PALb \**meg(u)lā* related to Gk *ὀμίχλη* 'fog, mist', Lith *miglà* id., Slav \**mьgla* 'darkness, mist' (CAMARDA I 70). In Proto-Albanian, the word with an unusual vocalism was reshaped according to a more standard pattern with \*-e- in the root. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 283-284 (borrowing from Lat *nebula* 'cloud' or cognate of Slav \**mьgla* and the like); BRUGMANN - DELBRÜCK II/1 362; JOKL *Studien* 57-58 (explains *mjergull* by invoking the influence of \**merg*- 'dark', cf. ON *myrkr* 'dim'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191; MANN *Language* XXVI 385-386; PISANI *Saggi* 128; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 202-204 (derived from \**mjergë* with suffix *-ullë*); FRISK II 387; FRAENKEL 451; VASMER II 587-588; POKORNY I 712; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 80; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 687; ÇABEJ *St.* I 351-352; HULD 93; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 271-273 (to Lat *nūbēs* 'cloud', W *nudd* 'fog' and also to *natë*).

**mjek** m, pl. *mjekë* 'physician, doctor'. Borrowed from Lat *medicus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40; MEYER *Wb.* 282). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1043, 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 109, 137, 139.

**mjekër** f, pl. *mjekra* 'chin, beard'. From PALb \**smekrā* etymologically related to Hitt *zamankur-* 'beard', Skt *śmāsru-* id., Arm *mawruk* id., Lith *smākras* 'chin' (MEYER *Wb.* 282, *Alb. St.* III 4, 58, 71, 84). ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 169; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 86; JOKL *LKUBA* 268; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191 (follows MEYER), *Stratificazione* 93; AČAREAN *HAB* III 375; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; PORZIG *Gliederung* 75, 126, 161; FRAENKEL 839; MAYRHOFER III 382; POKORNY I 968; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 116; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 683, 687; HAMP *BSL* LXVI/1 222; HULD 93-94; ADAMS *JIES* XVI/1-2 76; KORTLANDT

SSGL X 220; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 263; DEMIRAJ *AE* 273.

**mjel** aor. *mola* 'to milk'. From PAIb \**melga* identical with Gk ἀμέλω id., Lat *mulgeō* id., Lith *mélžiu*, *mélžti* id. and the like (CAMARDA I 40; MEYER *Wb.* 283, *Alb. St.* III 17, 64). The loss of -g- may be rather late if the variant *mjelg* adduced by CAMARDA is not an artefact. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 23; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 550, *Kelt. Gr.* I 43; JOKL *LKUBA* 275; BARIĆ *ARSt* 20; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 192; MANN *Language XXVI* 382, XXVIII 37; FRAENKEL 434-435; FRISK I 91; WALDE-HOFMANN II 121; POKORNY I 722-723; HAMP *Laryngeals* 139; HULD 94-95; DEMIRAJ *AE* 273-274.

**mjellme** f, pl. *mjellme* 'swan'. Derived from *miel*, cf. similar connections of Slav \**olbōdъ* 'swan' related to Lat *albus* 'white', Gk ἄλφι 'barley flour'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 283 (to Slav \**bělъmo* 'wall-eye, white spot'); VASMER II 470; POGHIRC *LB VI* 98 (follows MEYER).

**mjerë** adj. 'unhappy, unfortunate'. Borrowed from Lat *miserem* id. > Rom \**misrem* (CAMARDA I 133). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 283 (to IE \**melan-* 'black'), *Alb. St.* III 64, 78; JOKL *LKUBA* 193-194 (from \**mel-*); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 541 (to Lat *morior* 'to die'); MANN *Language XXVIII* 39 (to Lat *miser*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254, 264, apud DEMIRAJ (to OIr *meirb* 'lifeless'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 274 (to Gk μιαιρός 'stained').

**mjeshtak** m, pl. *mjeshtakë* 'brother-in-law'. Borrowed from Rom \**domestiācus*, cf. Lat *domesticus* 'belonging to the house'.

**mjeshtër** m, pl. *mjeshtër*, *mjeshtër* 'master, builder'. Borrowed from Lat *magister* 'master' (CAMARDA II 204; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 284). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 17; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 252; HAARMANN 134; LANDI *Lat.* 56, 136, 139.

**mjet** prep/adv. '(up) to, among, between', m, pl. *mjete* 'means; boundary'. From PAIb \**meta* related to Gk μετά, μέτα 'among', Goth *miþ* 'with' (JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191-192; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187; DEMIRAJ *AE* 274-275.

**mjetë** f 'coarse wool, lint, yarn'. Borrowed from Gk μίτος 'thread



(of the woof)' with the change of vowel similar to that of *mjegull*. ∅ CAMARDA I 44 (to Gk μίτος); MEYER *Wb.* 284 (from Rom \**migetta* ~ \**micetta* > Fr *miette* 'crumb'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 352 (a prefixal derivative of *jes*).

**mjezditë** f 'noon'. While in the parallel forms *mesditë* and *mesnatë* 'midnight' the first element is *mes* 'middle' of Modern Greek origin, in *mjezditë* and *mjeznatë* 'midnight' *mjez* continues Lat *medius* 'middle' (MEYER *Wb.* 284). ∅ CAMARDA I 89 (*mjez-* to Gk μέσος 'middle'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 191.

**mkeqem** refl. 'to get worse'. A prefixal derivative of *keq*.

**mlysh** m, pl. *mlysha* 'kind of fish, pike'. Another variant is *mlyç*. Borrowed from Rom \**maris lūcius* 'sea pike', even though in Albanian the word refers to a sweet water fish. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 284 (a hesitant comparison with Ital *merluzzo* 'cod, hake'), *NGr. St.* III 39; ÇABEJ *St.* I 352 (from Lat *lūcius* 'pike'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 133.

(G) **mllef** m 'rancor, wrath'. A derivative in *-f* (= Tosk *-h*) of *mëllë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 352-353).

**mnerë** f 'fear, fright'. A phonetic variant of *tmerr*.

**moç** m, pl. *moça* 'one year old wether'. From PALb \**matuša* derived from *mot*.

**moçoj** aor. *moçova* 'to insult, to offend'. Borrowed from Lat *monstrāre* 'to show, to report, to witness against'.

**modh** m 'bushel'. Borrowed from Lat *modus* 'measure'.

**modhull** f, pl. *modhulla* 'vetch, chickling, chick-pea'. Continues PALb \**mădzula* derivationally close to Lith *mažulis* 'small' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335) and further related to Lith *mažas* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 284-285, *Alb. St.* III 16, 64, 83). Borrowed to Rum *mazăre*. ∅ CAMARDA I 178 (to Gk μόδος 'kind of plant'); JOKL *LKUBA* 182-186 (to Goth *mats* 'dish, food', OIr *maisise* id.); BARIĆ *ARSt* 55-56 (to Skt *māṣa-* 'bean'); TREIMER *Slavia* III 453 (to *mot*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233;

CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 117 (suffix *-ull*); FRAENKEL 422-423; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 332; ROSETTI *ILR* I 278; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 218; HAMP *SCL* XXX 89; BURROW *Henning MV* 95; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 276.

**mokĕr ~ mokĕn** f, pl. *mokra ~ mokna* 'millstone'. Borrowed from Gk μηχανή 'device, instrument' (THUMB *IF* XXVI 16). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 37 (from Lat *machina* 'machine, instrument'); MEYER *Wb.* 285 (from Latin); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 19 (follows THUMB); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 195 (prefers the Latin etymology); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 42; HAARMANN 134 (from Latin); JANSON *Unt.* 43; LANDI *Lat.* 27, 112.

**mokĕrr** f, pl. *mokrra* 'millipede, woodlouse'. Borrowed from the substantivized Slavic adjective \**mokra*, fem. 'wet', cf. \**mokrica* 'millipede'.

**molar** adj. 'dirty, muddy'. A prefixal formation based on *larĕ*, a participial form of *lyej*.

**molĕ** f, pl. *mola* 'moth'. Borrowed from Slav \**molъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *mol*, SCr *molj*. A parallel form *molice* continues Slav \**molica* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 285). The verb *molis* 'to eat away (of moth)' is derived from *molĕ*. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 198; SVANE 154.

**molikĕ** f, pl. *molika* 'silver fir'. An early borrowing from Slav \**moldika* 'young tall tree', cf. Bulg *mladika*, SCr *mladika*. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 196-197, 200 (to *mĕllenjĕ* and its cognates); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164; SVANE 127.

**molis** aor. *molisa, molita* 'to make tired, to weaken'. Borrowed from Slav \**мѣдлѣти* id., cf. CS *mĕdliti*, Slovene *medliti*.

**mollĕ** f, pl. *mollĕ* 'apple, apple tree'. Borrowed from Lat *mālum* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 38; MEYER *Wb.* 285). ◊ CAMARDA I 46 (compares with Gk μηλον id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk μηλον); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 210, 254; HULD 94 (*mollĕ* described as a cognate of Lat *mālum* and Gk μηλον).

**mollok** m, pl. *mollokë* 'boulder, rock, lump'. Derived from *mollë*.

**moračë** f 'fennel'. Borrowed from South Slavic \**moračь* id.: Bulg *morač*, SCr *morač* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 259).

**more** interj. A vocative particle used in a call to a man. Other variants are *mre*, *bre*, *ore*. In feminine forms *moj* and *mori* are used (but *vore* in Italo-Albanian). The same interjection is used in all Balkan languages. The source of *more* may be one of the aoristic forms of *marr*. ◊ CAMARDA I 323 (to Gk ὀράω 'to see'); MEYER *Wb.* 286.

**morë** f 'bogey, nightmare'. Borrowed from Slav \**mora* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *mora*, SCr *mora* (MEYER *Wb.* 286-287). ◊ SVANE 216, 237.

**mori** f 'swarm, mass, crowd'. Borrowed from Slav \**mor'e* 'sea; (fig.) large amount, swarm', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *more*, SCr *more*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 209, 281

**mornica** pl. 'shivering fit'. Borrowed from Slav \**morьnica* 'shivering; kind of illness', cf. Bulg *mornica*, Slovene *mornica* (SVANE 184).

**morovicë** f 'ant'. Borrowed from South Slavic \**morvica* id., cf. Bulg *mravica*, SCr *mravica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 287). Alb *-oro-* seems to reflect an analogical change of \**morvica* to \**morovica*, cf. Ukr *muravic'a* and the like. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nasele-nie* 198; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 196 (contamination with *morr*).

**morovinë** f 'sultriness'. Borrowed from Slav \**morovina*, deverbative of \**moriti* 'to destroy' otherwise unknown in South Slavic. ◊ SVANE 172.

**mort** m 'death'. Borrowed from Lat *mortem* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; CAMARDA II 145; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 42; MEYER *Wb.* 287). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 137; LANDI *Lat.* 85.

**morth** m 'chilblain'. Derivative of *morr*, cf. a similar semantic relationship in Rum *păducei* 'chilblain' ~ *păducel* 'small louse, nit'

(ÇABEJ *St.* I 353). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 260 (to *mardh*); MURATI *Probleme* 91.

**morr** m, pl. *morra* 'louse'. From PALb \**mērwa* based on IE \**mer-* 'to die' as Gk φθειρ 'louse' is based on φθείρω 'to destroy' (OREL *Fort.* 79). ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 245 (to Lat *mordeō* 'to bite' or to NGk μωρά); MEYER *Wb.* 287 (follows STIER); JOKL *Studien* 58 (to Skt *marcáyati* 'to endanger'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 196, *Stratificazione* 139; FRISK *II* 1012-1013; DEMIRAJ *AE* 277.

**mos** adv. 'not' (prohib.). From PALb \**māts* connected with IE \**mē* id. (BOPP 497; CAMARDA I 102, 214; MEYER *Wb.* 287). The Indo-European prohibitive \**mē* is directly reflected in a simple form *mo*. The second element may go back to IE \**kʷe* 'and' so that *mos* continues \**mē kʷe* as reflected in Gk μήτε 'and not' (OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 149-150). ◇ BOPP 497 (identifies -*s* in *mos* with *s* 'not' so that *mos* is treated as a double negation); MEYER *Wb.* 287 (-*s* = *s* 'not' < Lat *dis-*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 322; JOKL *A ArbSt.* I 37-38 (connects -*s* with the pronominal stem \**kʷo-* ~ \**kʷi-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 197; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 205; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22, 90; PISANI *Saggi* 110; POKORNY I 703; CHANTRAINE 692; ÇABEJ *St.* I 353-354 (analyzes *mos* as two subsequent negations *mo* + *s*); HAMP *SCL* XXX/1 89; HULD 94-95 (follows OREL); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 349; ; DEMIRAJ *AE* 275-276.

**moshë** f 'age'. In dialects, a more phonetically archaic form *mocë* is preserved. Goes back to PALb \**mātušā* derived from \**māti-* > *mot*. Borrowed to Rum *moş*, 'grandfather' after the change of \**-t(u)š-* to \**-š-* (JOKL *LKUBA* 33: reconstructs \**mēt-sjo-*). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 263 (to *mas*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 345; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; ÇABEJ *St.* I 354; HULD 95; DEMIRAJ *AE* 278.

**mot** m, pl. *mote* 'time, weather, storm, thunderbolt'. Goes back to PALb \**māti-* etymologically identical with Skt *māti-* 'measure', Gk μῆτις id., OE *méd* id. derived from IE \**mē-* 'to measure' and, in particular, to Iran \**mātya-* 'day': Sogd *myδ*, Yagn *mēt*, Yazg *mīθ*, and also Osset *met*, *mīt* 'snow' (TRUBAČEV *Ėtimologija* 1965 14). Semantically, *mot* is also close to Lith *mėtas* 'time, year' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 263, *Alb. St.* III 23, 63, 87) which, however, displays a

short vowel in the root, and to Hisp-Celt *maTus* '(favorable) period of time' reflecting a zero-grade. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 33, 40, 326, *Sprache* IX 117; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 197; LA PIANA *Studi* I 114; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; PORZIG *Gliederung* 176; FRAENKEL 445; FRISK II 232-233; MAYRHOFER II 638; POKORNY I 703-704; MORGENSTIERNE *Frontier* II 24, 229 (Baltic ~ Iranian comparison); ABAEV II 124 (isolates the Ossetic word from the rest of Ianian); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187, 252; HULD 95; ESKA *Botorrita* 75-76; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; DESNICKAJA *Sravn.* 203; DEMIRAJ *AE* 278.

**motër** f, pl. *motra* 'sister'. From PALb \**māter* going back to IE \**māter* 'mother': Skt *mātár-*, Gk μήτηρ, Lat *māter* and the like (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 72; MEYER *BB* VIII 190 ('mother' > 'elder sister'), *Wb.* 287-288, *Alb. St.* III 24, 64, 72, 82). ◊ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 48; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 197, *Stratificazione* 118; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22; ERNOUT-MEILLET 390; FRISK II 232; CHANTRAINE 699; MAYRHOFER II 619-620; WALDE-HOFMANN II 49-50; PISANI *Saggi* 99; BARIÇ *Hymje* 38, 71; POKORNY I 700; HULD 95-96 (reconstructs the Omaha-kinship system for Proto-Albanian); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; DEMIRAJ *AE* 278.

**motovile** f, pl. *motovile* 'reel, spool'. Borrowed from Slav \**motovidlo* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *motovila*, SCr *motovilo* (MEYER *Wb.* 287). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 171, 306; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; SVANE 46, 252.

**mpij** ~ **mpîj** aor. *mpiva* ~ *mpîva* 'to benumb, to make stiff'. Goes back to PALb \**en-pāginja* related to Gk πήγνυμι 'to make firm, to make stiff', Lat *pangō* id., Goth *fāhan* 'to catch' and the like (CAMARDA II 157; MEYER *Wb.* 265). ◊ FRISK II 525-526; WALDE-HOFMANN II 245-246; FEIST *Goth.* 134-135; POKORNY I 787; ÇABEJ *St.* I 354-355 (reconstructs \**en-pāginja*).

**mraz** m, pl. *mraze* 'rain-storm, bitter frost'. Borrowed from Slav \**morzъ* 'cold, frost', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *mraz*, SCr *mraz* (SVANE 174, 237).

**mrekull** f, pl. *mrekull, mrekullra* 'miracle'. A singularized plural of \**mrakull* borrowed from Lat *mirāculum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente*

41-42; MEYER *Wb.* 288).  $\diamond$  MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1048; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536; ÇABEJ *St.* I 355; HAARMANN 136; LANDI *Lat.* 45, 86, 141-142.

**mret** m, pl. *mreta* 'arbutus, wild strawberry'. Derivative of *mare* id.

**mrezhě** f 'net'. Borrowed from Slav \**merža* id., cf. South Slavic: Bulg *mreža*, SCr *mreža* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 288).  $\diamond$  SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 170; SVANE 153.

**mti** ~ **mtî** m 'churn'. Other variants are *běti*, *pěti*, *muti*, *tpî*. Borrowed from Rom \**patîna* for Lat *patina* 'broad dish, pan'.  $\diamond$  MEYER *Wb.* 295 (based on Slav \**męsti* 'to sweep' or \**mętiti* 'to stir'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 355-356 (to *tirě* 'barrel').

**mu** ~ **mû** adv. 'just, right, exactly'. Borrowed from Lat *immûne* 'freely, absolutely'.  $\diamond$  CAMARDA I 311 (to *me*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 356 (to *mě* 'more').

**muaj** ~ **muej** m, pl. *muaj* ~ *muej* 'month'. From PALb \**māsnja*, derived from an earlier \**mēs-*, metathesis of IE \**mēns-* 'moon, month': Skt *mās-*, Gk μήν, Lat *mēnsis*, OIr *mí* and the like. The same metathesis may be supposed for Slav \**měsęcь* < \**mēsen-ko-* id.  $\diamond$  BOPP 467 (direct comparison with reflections of IE \**mēns-*); CAMARDA I 58 (follows BOPP); MEYER *Wb.* 288, *Alb. St.* III 64; PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 247, *Kelt. Gr.* I 86; JOKL *IF* XLIX 276, *WuS* XII 81, *Sprache* IX 150; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 194-195; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 44; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 223; ERNOUT-MEILLET 398; FRISK II 227-228; MAYRHOFER II 631-632; WALDE-HOFMANN II 71-72; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 24; VENDRYES [M] 46; POKORNY I 731-732; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 127; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XVIII 192-194; HULD 96 (treats -j in *muaj* as a suffix similar to -i in *ari*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 142; DEMIRAJ *AE* 279-280.

**muf** adj. 'unripe'. From PALb \**muska* (with -f < -h) related to IE \**meu-* 'wet', cf. Latv *maût* 'to plunge, to swim', Slav \**myti* 'to wash' and, formally, Lat *muscus* 'moss' belonging to the same root.  $\diamond$  POKORNY I 741-742.

**mufas** aor. *mufata* 'to puff up, to swell, to inflate'. From \**mpufas*, a prefixal derivative of *puhas*.

**mug** m, pl. *mugje* 'twilight'. From PALb \**smuga* related to OE *smoca* 'smoke', OIr *múch* id., Arm *mux* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 356). ◇ CAMARDA I 131 (to Gk *μυχός* 'inside'); MEYER *Wb.* 272-273 (to *mëngo*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 104 (to Gk *ἀχλὺς* 'mist, gloom' < IE \**mgh-*); AČAREAN *HAB* III 353; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 45 (to ON *mykr* 'dung'); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 41; VENDRYES [M] 69-70; POKORNY I 971.

**mugull** m, pl. *muguj* 'shoot, bud, sprout'. Another variant is *mungull*. From PALb \**mugula* identical with Lith \**mugulas* on which *muguliúoti* 'to move' is based. The latter is further related to *mugóti* 'to go through the mud', *müginginti* 'to touch, to move' and the like. Borrowed to Rum *mugur*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 288 (quotes the non-existent Skt *mulula-* 'bud'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 54 (prefix *mu-* and a cognate of Gk *βλαστός* 'sprout, shoot'); JOKL *LKUBA* 267 (suffix *-ull*); FRAENKEL 468; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 345; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; IONITA *SCL* XL 485 (from an unattested Rom \**muculus*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

**muj** ~ **muej** aor. *mujta, mufta* 'to be able, to prevail'. From PALb \**mundnja*, a secondary formation based on *mund*.

**mujoj** aor. *mujova* 'to disprove'. Derived from *muj* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 356). ◇ CAMARDA I 47 (to Lat *mūniāre* 'to defend, to protect').

**mullë** r 'stomach'. Borrowed from Rom \**mula* > OFr *mule* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 289). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 285; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to Skt *mūrdhan-*).

**mulli** ~ **mulî** m, pl. *mullinj* 'mill'. Borrowed from Lat *molinum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 289). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43 (from Ital *molino* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1049; JOKL *IF* L 47; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 199; ERNOUT-MEILLET 411; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 137; JANSON *Unt.* 55; LANDI *Lat.* 88, 137, 158.

**mund** aor. *munda* 'to be able'. Continues PALb \**munda*, a nasal present related to Lith *mudà* 'possibility', *mudúoti* 'to try, to attempt', Skt *módate* y 'to rejoice, to be merry'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 291 (to OHG *muntar*

'fresh', Lith *mundrūs* 'cheerful, merry'), *Alb. St.* III 64, 80; *JOKL Studien* 58 (adds Lith *mandrūs* 'high-spirited', Slav \**mōdrъ* 'wise' to MEYER's parallels), *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 91, *IF* XXXIII 127, XXXVI 131; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 105; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 198; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 37; LA PIANA *Studi* I 23; FRAENKEL 467; CHANTRAINE 664; MAYRHOFFER II 693; POKORNY I 741-742; HAMP *Laryngeals* 138 (adduces Lith *išmintis* 'to be able'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 357-358 (to OHG *magan* 'to be able' or to Gk *μόγος* 'trouble, distress'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 281-283 (follows ÇABEJ).

**mungoj** aor. *mungova* 'to lack'. A more archaic variant is *mëngo*j. Borrowed from Rom \**mancāre* > Ital *mancare* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 273). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 251.

**murg** ~ **mung** m, pl. *murgj* ~ *mungj* 'monk'. Borrowed from Lat *monachus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 289). ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 14; ÇABEJ *St.* I 358; ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 49; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 23; HAARMANN 137; JANSON *Unt.* 45-46; LANDI *Lat.* 61, 138-139.

**murg** adj. 'dark, grey'. From PAIb \**murga* related to Lith *márgas* 'multicolored', *mirgúoti* 'to sparkle, to shine', Latv *mirga* 'gleam', *mùrgs* 'fantastic image'. The word for 'mould', *murgjan*, is derived from *murg*. Borrowed to Rum *murg* 'brown'. ◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 250 (from Lat *amurca*); MANN *Language* XVII 14 (to ON *myrkr*); FRAENKEL 410-411; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 333; PISANI *Saggi* 122; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279.

**murgë** f 'lees of oil'. Borrowed from Lat *amurga* id. ◊ CAMARDA II 163 (from Gk *ἀμόργη* id.).

**murmë** adj. 'dark, grey'. Related to *murrët*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 286 (related to *muer* ~ *mor* id. borrowed from Turk *mor* id.).

**murmuroj** aor. *murmurova* 'to murmur'. Borrowed from Lat *murmurāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43; MEYER *Wb.* 292).

**murtajë** f 'plague'. Another variant is *mortajë*. Borrowed from Rom \**mortālia*, based on Lat *mortālis* (MEYER *Wb.* 287). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; HAARMANN 137; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 88, 147.



**murrash** m, pl. *murrashë* 'sparrow'. Identical with *murrash* 'dark, dark grey', cf. *mëllenjë*.

**murrelē** f, pl. *murrela* 'horsefly, gadfly'. Related to *murrët*.

**murrë** ~ **murrâ** m 'North wind'. Borrowed, with an assimilation of the initial *b-*, from Rom *\*horeānus*, an adjectival formation of *Boreas* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 42). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1052; ÇABEJ *St.* I 358-359 (to *murrët*).

**murrët** adj. 'dark'. A derivative in *-ët* based on *\*murr* continuing PALb *\*mura*. The latter is etymologically related to Lith *mùras* 'mud', *mùrinas* 'dirty', Latv *murît* 'to besmirch' and other reflexes of *\*meu-ro* 'dirt'. ◇ FRAENKEL 419; POKORNY I 742.

**murriz** m, pl. *murriza* 'brier, hawthorn, whitethorn'. Since it is also translated as 'Schwarzdorn' by MEYER, *murriz* may be linked to *murrët*. ◇ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 250 (connected with Ital *marruca* 'Christ-thorn'); MEYER *Wb.* 292 (from *\*mburniz-* connected with NGk προουελιά 'briar'); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 148 (agrees with SCHUCHARDT); TREIMER *Slavia* III 455 (from a compound *\*mollë drizë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 359 (to *morr*).

**mushicë** f, pl. *mushica* 'midge'. Another variant is *mushiqe*. Borrowed from Slav *\*mušica* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *mušica*, SCr *mušica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 198; SVANE 155.

**mushk** m, pl. *mushqe* 'mule'. Together with Bulg *мъск* id., ORuss *мъскъ* id. and other Slavic forms (presumably, spreading from the South), *mushk* forms an areal Balkan word for 'mule'. Rum *muşcoi* id. is derived from *\*muşcu* borrowed from Albanian. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 26 (from Slavic); CAMARDA II 158; STIER *KZ* XI 149; HIRT *IF* XII 225 (to Lat *mūlus* id., Gk μυχλός id.); MEYER *Wb.* 293-294 (to Lat *mūlus* id. < *\*muslus*; adduces Ital dial. *musso* 'ass'), Alb. *St.* III 64; BARIĆ *ARSt* 56; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 139; ERNOUT-MEILLET 420; PISANI *Saggi* 129; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 346; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; CHANTRAINE 720; HAARMANN 137; CLACKSON *LR* 231.

**mushk** m 'shoulder'. Results from the recomposition of *mushkull*. ◇

MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 549 (borrowed from Lat *musculus* 'muscle'); CAMARDA II 158; MEYER *Wb.* 294 (follows MIKLOSICH); BARIĆ *ARSt* 56 (to Lat *umerus* 'shoulder'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 200; ÇABEJ *St.* I 359-360; HAARMANN 137.

**mushkëllyer** adj. 'dun, grey-brown, red-brown'. A parallel form is *mushkyl-luar*. Borrowed from Rom *\*muscellārius* 'colored like a mouse', cf. Lat *muscellārium* 'mouse-trap'.

**mushkëri** ~ **mushkni** f, pl. *mushkëri* ~ *mushkni* 'lung, liver'. As *mëlçi*, this word may be used in phrases *mushkëri e bardhë* 'lung' and *mushkëri e zezë* 'liver'. Derived from *mushk* 'shoulder'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43 (from Lat *musculus*).

**mushkuar** ~ **mushkuer** m 'buffalo steer'. A prefixal derivative of *shkuar*, participle of *shkoj*. Here a wide-spread pattern of calling cattle as 'walking' is used (cf. BENVENISTE *Inst.* I 145). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 360 (somehow related to Gk *μόσχος* 'young bull').

**mushkull** f 'muscle'. Borrowed from Lat *musculus* id.

**mushllinzë** f, pl. *mushllinza* 'clambering vetch'. A parallel (secondary) form is *bushllizë*. Based on *\*mushllî* borrowed from Rom *\*mustëllna*. The latter is a derivative of Lat *mustëla* 'weasel'. For the semantic development cf. Russ *myšij gorošek* 'mouse vetch'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 360 (from *\*mbëshhtëllizë*, to *mbëshhtëll*).

**musht** m 'must, new wine'. Borrowed from Lat *mustum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43; MEYER *Wb.* 294). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 137.

**mushtëkohem** refl. 'to settle down'. Borrowed from Rom *\*domesticāre* based on Lat *domesticus* 'belonging to the house'.

**mushtuar** ~ **mushtuer** adj. 'adult, ripe (of human beings)'. A participial form of *mushtoj* 'to train, to accustom, to make ferment (of wine)', derived from *musht*.

**mut** m, pl. *mutra* ~ *mutna* 'excrement'. Continues PAIb *\*mukta* for-

mally identical with Skt *muktá-* 'released' (MEYER *Wb.* 294, *Alb. St.* III 5, 64). The latter is derived from *muñcáti* 'to loose, to free', cf. also Lith *mùkti* 'to get free, to flee' and the like. ◊ FRAENKEL 418; MAYRHOFER II 649-650; POKORNY I 744.

**muz** m 'corn-measure'. A rare word from a Shkodran document in Turkish reflecting a Latin loanword from *modius* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 360).

**muzg** m 'dusk'. From PALb *\*muzga* borrowed from to Slav *\*mъzga* 'rainy weather'. The position of *muzgë* 'mud' is not clear: it may be related to *muzg* or, less probably, to represent a borrowing from Slav *\*muzga* 'sap, mud' (but neither Bulgarian, nor Serbo-Croatian preserve the meaning 'mud').

(T) **mvrojtur** adj. 'dark'. A secondary phonetic form of *mvrëjtur*, a participle of *mvrëj* 'to cloud over'. The latter is a prefixal derivative of *vrër*.

**mycë** f, pl. *myca* 'brushwood'. Derivative in *-cë* of *myjë*.

**myjë** f 'hardwood interior of trees, medulla'. Another variant is *my* ~ *mi*, *mî* id. Borrowed from Lat *medulla* id. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 195 (related to *mëllenjë* and based on IE *\*melə-* 'black').

**myk** m 'mould, slime'. Borrowed from Lat *mācus* 'slime' (MEYER *Wb.* 295). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 137; LANDI *Lat.* 138.

**mykë** f 'back edge (of knife)'. From PALb *\*mūkā* etymologically related to Gk *μυχός* 'innermost part', Arm *mxem* 'to put into, to insert'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 360 (identical with *pykë*); FRISK II 279; POKORNY I 745.

**myll** m 'mule'. Borrowed from Lat *mūlus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 295). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24.

**mys** m 'clod (of earth); bread crust'. From PALb *\*mūtja*, based on IE *\*meuə-* 'wet, dirty, to wash'. For the development of meaning, cf. LGerm

*moder* 'mould', Dutch *modder* 'slime, mud' continuing the same root. ◇ POKORNY I 741-743; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195.

**myshk** m, pl. *myshqe* 'moss, musk'. Another form is *mushk*. Borrowed from Lat *muscus* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 360-361). As to *myshnjë* 'moss', it is derived from *myshk*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 280 (from Turkish *misk*); SKOK *ZfslavPh* VIII 409 (< \**mus* + *ko-*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; LANDI *Lat.* 66, 138, 140.

**mzith** m 'ankle'. Derived from an unattested \**zi*. The latter continues PALb \**džija* etymologically identical with the Indo-European word for 'tendon, bow-string': Skt *jyā*, Av *jyā*, Gk βίός. ◇ FRISK I 237-239; POKORNY I 481.

## N

**na** interj. 'here you are!' Borrowed from Slav \**na* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *na*, SCr *na* (MEYER *Wb.* 296).

**napë** f, pl. *napa* 'cloth, napkin, towel, kerchief'. Borrowed from Rom \**nappa* > Fr *nappe* 'table-cloth' (MEYER *Wb.* 297). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 138.

**naplungë** f, pl. *naplunga* 'cheese-cloth (used as strainer)'. Borrowed from an unattested Bulg *napl'unka*, cf. *napl'unčvam* 'to smear (with saliva)', *pl'unka* 'saliva'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

**nartë** adj. 'bright, clear'. A derivative of *nartoj* 'to polish, to clean, to make bright'. Borrowed from Rom \**inauritäre* replacing Lat *inauräre* 'to cover with gold' ◇ OREL *Orpheus* VI 68.

**natë** f, pl. *net, netë* 'night'. From PALb \**nakti-* corresponding to IE \**nokʰ-* id.: Skt *nákt-*, Gk νόξ, Lat *nox* and the like (BOPP 460; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 40; MEYER *Wb.* 298, *Alb. St.* III 65) and particularly to the Balto-Slavic *i*-stem reflected in Lith *naktis*, Lett *nakts*, OPrus *naktin*, Slav \**nokt'ь* (HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 254). ◇ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 114; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 123; JOKL *LKUBA* 65 (ablaut in pl.), *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 90; TRAUTMANN 193; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34; POKORNY I 762-763; TAGLIAVINI

*Dalmazia* 204; PISANI *Saggi* 98; FRISK II 327-328; FRAENKEL 481-482; MAYRHOFER II 121-122; WALDE-HOFMANN II 181-182; VASMER III 86-87; ANTTILA *Schw.* 111; HAMP KZ LXXVII 254-256; HULD 96-97; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* 688; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; DEMIRAJ *AE* 283-284.

**natyřě** f 'nature'. Borrowed from Lat *nātūra* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 298 (from Ital *natura* id.). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1047; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 267; HAARMANN 138.

**ndaj** prep. 'among, with; towards'. Based on *ndaně* 'near'. The latter is a compound of *ndě* and *aně* (MEYER *Wb.* 11). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 58-59 (*ndaj* < \**nd-anj* explained as an old locative in a sandhi position).

**ndaj** ~ **ndâj** aor. *ndava*, *ndajta* 'to divide, to separate'. From PAIb \**danja* etymologically related to Skt *dáyate* id., *dāti* 'to cut, to divide', Gk *δαίωμα* 'to divide' (CAMARDA I 37; MEYER *Wb.* 59). ◇ FRISK I 341-342; MAYRHOFER II 20-21, 31; POKORNY I 175.

**ndal** aor. *ndala* 'to stop, to hold up'. Another morphological variant is *ndaloj* id. Originally, an antonym of *dal*, this verb goes back to PAIb \**en-dala*, a prefixal form derived from *dal*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 60 (from Slav \**dal'*ь '(long) distance'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 202 (against MEYER); KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 239; ÇABEJ *St.* I 361 (to W *dal*, *dala* 'to hold')

**ndej** ~ **nděj** aor. *ndeva*, *ndejta* 'to stretch out, to spread'. Other morphological variants are *nder*, *nděr* and *ndeh*. This stem is used as a suppletive aorist stem of *rri*. Continues PAIb \**en-tenja* related to Gk *τείνω* 'to stretch', *ἐν-τείνω* 'to stretch out' and, further, to Skt *tanóti*, 'to expand', OHG *denen* 'to stretch' and other reflexes of IE \**ten-* (CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 299-300, *Alb. St.* III 24). ◇ MANN *Language* XXVIII 38 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); PISANI *Saggi* 101; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 107; FRISK II 863-865; MAYRHOFER I 475; POKORNY I 1065-1066; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 48; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 243; DEMIRAJ *AE* 284-285.

**nder** m 'honor, fame, name, reputation, worth'. A suffixal derivative of *ndej* ~ *nder* depicting 'fame' as '(wide)spread'. ◇ BOPP 497 (to the non-existent Skt *dar-* 'to respect'); CAMARDA I 81 (to *njeri*); MIKLOSICH

*Rom. Elemente* 31 (borrowed from Lat *honōrem* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 298-299 (continues an unattested \**ner* borrowed from Lat *honōrem* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 202-203 (follows MEYER), *Origini* 366; TREIMER *ZfromPhil* XXXVIII 402 (prefixal formation in *nd-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; ÇABEJ *St.* I 361-363 (to *ëndërr*); LANDI *Lat.* 64-65, 101.

**ndes** aor. *ndesa* ‘to have troubles’, refl. *ndeset* ‘to get tangled up (of threads)’. Goes back to PALb \**en-datša* reflecting IE \**dek*<sup>h</sup>- and closely related to the isolated Lith *dāktyti* ‘to mix up, to put in disorder’, *dāknyti* id., *dākanoti* id. ∅ FRAENKEL 80-81; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

**ndesh** aor. *ndesha* ‘to meet’. Continues PALb \**en-da-sja* etymologically related to Gk *δῆω* ‘to find’ (OREL *Orpheus* VI 69). ∅ PEDERSEN *IF* V 47 (to Slav \**desiti* ‘to meet’ - but it continues IE \**dek*<sup>h</sup>-); JOKL *Studien* 60-61 (follows and compares *ndesh* with *ndieh*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 203; FRISK I 383; POKORNY I 217; DEMIRAJ *AE* 285.

**ndez** aor. *ndeza* ‘to set alight, to ignite’. From PALb \**en-dadžja*, a causative formation based on *djeg* and continuing \**-dog<sup>h</sup>hejō* (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 323-324). ∅ JOKL *LKUBA* 333; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 208; LA PIANA *Studi* I 74, *St. Varia* 33; ÇABEJ *St.* III 124, VII 217, 219; HULD 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 286.

**ndë** prep. ‘in, into’. A frequently used parallel form is *në*; in Old Albanian the initial vowel was still preserved in *ende* (BUZUKU). Goes back to PALb \**en-da* composed of IE \**en* ‘in’ (cf. Gk *ἐν*, Lat *in* and the like) and IE \**do*: Slav \**do* ‘to’, Gmc \**tō* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 299). ∅ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 201; MANN *Language* XVII 22; FRISK I 508-509; WALDE-HOFMANN I 687-688; ONIONS 927; POKORNY I 181-183, 311-313; KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 59-66; TRUBAČEV *ËSSJa* V 37-38; HULD 97-98 (separates *ndë* from *në* and derives the latter from IE \**eni*).

**ndër** prep. ‘under, between’. Borrowed from Lat *inter* (MEYER *Wb.* 299). ∅ BOPP 500 (related to Lat *inter*); PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX 213; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; HAMP *Laryngeals* 136 (reconstructs \**Henter*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 208; DEMIRAJ *AE* 286-287.

**ndërgoj** aor. *ndërgova* 'to suck'. Borrowed, with a metathesis, from Lat *integrāre* 'to restore, to refresh'.

**ndërliq** aor. *ndërliqa* 'to tangle up threads; to interlace, to weave'. Another variant is *ndërlik* preserving the original form of the auslaut velar. Derived from *liq* (KRISTOFORIDHI 271). The dialectal form *ndërliks* id. < \**ndërliks* is derived from *ndërlik* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 364). ◊ CAMARDA I 42 (to Gk ἐντυλίσσω 'to roll, to wrap up'); MEYER *Wb.* 301 (follows CAMARDA); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 80.

**ndërtoj** aor. *ndërtova* 'to build, to construct'. A derivative of Rom \**directāre*, cf. Lat *directus* 'straight' (MEYER *Wb.* 66). ◊ CAMARDA I 123 (derived from *drejt*); WEIGAND 60 (follows CAMARDA); MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* I 364-365 (to *trajtoj*).

**ndërzej** aor. *ndërzeva* 'to mate'. A prefixal derivative of *zë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 300 (borrowed from Slav \**drazniti* 'to irritate, to arouse'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 250.

**ndërroj** aor. *ndërrova* 'to change, to alter'. Borrowed from Lat *alterāre* id., with an irregular change of the sonorant (MEYER *Wb.* 300, *Alb. St.* IV 15). ◊ CAMARDA I 45 (to *tjetër*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 203; HAARMAN 110; ÇABEJ *St.* I 365 (to Skt *ántara-* 'other' and the like); MANN *Comp.* 27 (same as ÇABEJ).

**ndëshkoj** aor. *ndëshkova* 'to punish'. A prefixal derivative of \**dëshkøj* borrowed from Lat *dēspicārī* 'to despise'. ◊ MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 14; ÇABEJ *St.* I 365-366 (from Lat *castīgāre* 'to correct, to chastise, to punish'); HAARMANN 116 (same as ÇABEJ).

**ndiç** adv., conj. 'well, at any rate'. Another form is *ndish*. Goes back to *në diç* 'if you know' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 366).

**ndiçëm** adj. 'old, withered, stale'. Another form is *ndishëm*. Historically identical with *ndishëm* 'sensitive', an adjectival derivative of *ndiej*.

**ndiej** aor. *ndjeva* 'to feel, to perceive, to hear'. A prefixal derivative of *di* (MEYER *Wb.* 66). ◊ CAMARDA I 81 (to Gk νοέω 'to see, to perceive'); MEYER *Alb. Gr.* (to *gjegj*, variant of *dëgjoj*); JOKL *Studien* 60, *IF* XXXVI 112; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 33-34; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 547 (to

*dëgjem*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 203; ÇABEJ *St. I* 366-367 (related to Goth *þagkjan* 'to think'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 287-288.

**ndih** ~ **ndif** aor. *ndiha* ~ *ndifa* 'to help'. Continues PALb *\*en-diska* related to Gk *δίεμαι* 'to hurry, to drive', Skt *dīyati* 'to fly, to soar' and the like. For the semantic development cf. Russ *s-po-speš-estvovat'* 'to assist, to help' ~ *spešit'* 'to hurry'. ◊ CAMARDA I 135 (to Gk *τείχος* 'wall' or *τύχη* 'luck, fortune'); MEYER *Wb.* 300 (to Goth *þeihan* 'to thrive, to flourish'), *Alb. St.* III 6-7; SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ LVI* 208-209 (to the non-existent Skt *dāy-* 'to take care'); FRISK I 389-390; ÇABEJ *St. I* 367-368 (continues IE *\*deik-* 'to show'); MAYRHOFER II 46; POKORNY I 187.

**ndikoj** aor. *ndikova* 'to influence'. Borrowed from Lat *indicare* 'to impose, to inflict'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St. VII* 257-258.

**ndjej** aor. *ndjeva* 'to pardon, to forgive'. More archaic forms are *ndëj* and *ndëlej*. Borrowed from Lat *indulgere* 'to be indulgent, to concede' (MEYER *Wb.* 299). Note the development of the group *-lg-* as in *mjel*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 23; HAARMANN 130.

**ndjek** aor. *ndoqa* 'to follow, to chase, to pursue'. From PALb *\*en-teka*, a prefix formation related to IE *\*tek-* 'to run, to flow': OIr *techim* 'to flee', Lith *tekù, tekėti* 'to run', Slav *\*tekq, \*tekti* 'to flow, to run' (MEYER *BB VIII* 185, *Wb.* 300-301, *Alb. St.* III 3, 24). Another verb, *\*awa-teka*, is relected as *vdjek* 'to pursue' instead of *\*fijek* under the influence of *ndjek*. ◊ FRAENKEL 1074-1075; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 291; VENDRYES [T] 40; VASMER IV 37; POKORNY I 1059; PISANI *Saggi* 120 (to Gk *διώκω* 'to pursue'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 96; HAMP *Laryngeals* 126 (on *v-* in *vdjek*); ÇABEJ *St. VII* 269; HULD 97; KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 227; DEMIRAJ *AE* 288.

**ndjell** aor. *ndolla* 'to entice, to lure; to call (to an animal)'. Continues PALb *\*en-delna*, a denominative related to the Balto-Slavic word for 'palm (of the hand)': Lith *dëlna*, Slav *\*dolnъ*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 301 (to Lith *dëlka* 'fishing-rod'); FRAENKEL 87-88; TRUBAČEV *ĚSSJa V* 63-64.

**ndodh** aor. *ndodha* 'to happen, to take place, to occur'. From PALb



\**en-tādza* continuing IE \**tāǵ-* (or \**tāǵ-* as implied by Baltic): Gk τάσσω 'to arrange, to put in order', τᾶγή 'ordering, array', Lith *pa-togùs* 'comfortable', *su-tógti* 'to marry'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 301 (to Lat *tangō* 'to touch' or to Goth *tekan* id.), Alb. *St.* III 17; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 57-58 (to Lat *cadō* 'to fall'); FRISK II 845-846, 859; FRAENKEL 551; POKORNY I 1055; ÇABEJ *St.* I 369-370 (to Gk τεύχω 'to prepare').

(T) **ndohhtë** adj. 'dirty, foul'. Based on *ndoh* 'to make dirty', an inchoative derivative of *ndyj* (MEYER *Wb.* 301; KRISTOFORIDHI 229). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 61-62 (to *dhjes*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 290-291.

**ndorë** f 'charge, tutelage, patronage'. A back-formation based on *ndoroj* 'to manage, to control, to protect'. A metathesized borrowing from Rom \**pantōrāre* < \**patrōnāre*, cf. Lat *patrōnus* 'protector, defender'.

**ndormë** adj. 'unleavened; ordinary'. Derived from *dorë* with the original meaning 'handy, easy to make' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 370). ◇ CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 321 (to Skt *tāruṇa-* 'young, fresh'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 212, 242.

**ndorrina** conj. 'although'. Other variants are *ndorina* and *ndori*. More frequent variants use the adverbial element *-na* but the original conjunction is *ndori*, a form of *ndor* ~ *ndorë*. The underlying meaning is '(even) with the protection of'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 370-371 (from *ndorri* 'although you are sitting').

**ndoshta** adv. 'perhaps, maybe'. Derived from *ndosh* 'to happen', a secondary formation based on *ndodh* (KONITZA apud ÇABEJ *St.* I 371). ◇ WEIGAND *BA* I 260 (from *në do të ishte*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 370-371 (from SCr *doista* 'truly'); MURATI *Probleme* 92.

**ndrag** aor. *ndraga* 'to make dirty'. From PALb \**en-traga*, a denominative verb related to OHG *drec* 'dirt, dung', ON *þrekkr* id., Gk στεργάνος 'dung' (Hes.) and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 301). ◇ KLUGE 141; FRISK II 790; POKORNY I 1032.

**ndreq** aor. *ndreqa* 'to put in order, to arrange'. Derived from *ndreq* ~ *ndrejt*, adv. 'straight, direct', cf. *drejtë*.

**ndrikull** f, pl. *ndrikulla* 'godmother; midwife'. Borrowed from Lat *mātrīcula* used in the sense of Rom \**mātrīna* id. > Ital *madrina* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 40; MEYER *Wb.* 301). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1054 (from Lat *nutrīcula*); HAARMANN 135.

**ndrizë** f, pl. *ndriza* 'band, bandage'. Continues \**n-dridh-zë* related to *dredh* (JOKL *Studien* 18).

**ndrydh** aor. *ndrydha* 'to press, to squeeze, to twist'. From PALb \**en-trūda* etymologically connected with Lat *trūdō* 'to thrust, to push, to press on', Goth *us-priutan* 'to burden' and the like. The verb *ndrydh* is a source of secondary expressive forms *ndryp* 'to press, to squeeze' and *ndrys* 'to massage' (the later may be a derivative in \*-*tja*). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 301 (from Rom \**intrūdō*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 261; WALDE-HOFMANN II 710; FEIST *Goth.* 535-536; POKORNY I 1095-1096; ÇABEJ *St.* I 372 (to *dredh*).

**ndryj** aor. *ndryva* ~ *ndryna* 'to lock'. Derived from *dry*. MANN *Language* XVII 16 (from *dru*). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

**ndryqem** ~ **ndriqem** refl. 'to stretch oneself'. Continues PALb \**en-truka* related to W *trychu* 'to cut', OHG *drucken* 'to press', Lith *trūkti* 'to get torn, to come off', Latv *trūkt* 'to break, to get torn'. ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 181 (from Rom \**intuberculāre*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 58 (to Lat *dārus* 'hard' and IE \**dreu-*); FRAENKEL 1130-1131; POKORNY I 1074; ÇABEJ *St.* I 372 (a secondary formation based on *ndreq*).

**ndryshkull** m, pl. *ndryshkulla* 'boil, abscess'. Derived from *ndryshkë* 'rust', cf. *dryshk*.

**ndryshkull** m, pl. *ndryshkulla* 'kind of large scented plant'. Derived from *dushk* ~ *dyshk* 'oak' with an epenthetic *-r-*.

**ndryshoj** aor. *ndryshova* 'to differentiate, to differ, to vary'. Based on *ndryshe* 'otherwise', derived from *ndërroj*.

**nduk** aor. *nduka* 'to pluck out, to pull out, to tear'. Continues PALb \**en-duka* related to Goth *tiuhan* 'to pull', Lat *dūcō* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 301-302). ◊ CAMARDA I 140 (to Gk δάκνω 'to bite');

ERNOUT-MEILLET 186; MANN *Language* XXVI 384; KLUGE 885; FEIST *Goth.* 478-479; WALDE-HOFMANN I 377-378; POKORNY I 220-221; ÇABEJ *St.* I 373-374; DEMIRAJ *AE* 291.

**ndulkem** refl. 'to ripen'. From PALb *\*en-tulka* etymologically linked to Lith *telkiù, telkti* 'to gather, to bring together', Slav *\*telkti* 'to beat, to pound'. MEYER *Wh.* 313 (derived from Lat *dulcis* 'sweet'); VASMER IV 73-74; FRAENKEL 1078; ÇABEJ *St.* I 374 (to *tul*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

**ndyj** ~ **ndyej** aor. *ndyra* 'to make dirty, to soil, to dip, to immerse'. From PALb *\*en-dünja* related to Gk *δύω* 'to sink, to cause to sink, to plunge in'. ◊ MEYER *Wh.* 307 (to OHG *tūhhan* 'to immerse'); FRISK I 427-428; POKORNY I 217-218.

**ne** pron. 'we'. From PALb *\*nō(s)* etymologically related to Skt *nas-*, Av *nō*, Lat *nōs* id. and other continuations of this stem in Indo-European (BOPP 464; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 216-217; MEYER *Wh.* 296, *Alb. St.* III 63, 65). Oblique cases have *na* from the Indo-European form of accusative with a short vowel. In some dialects, *na* appears in nom. sg. while *ne* represents oblique cases. ◊ JOKL *Sprache* IX 142; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 204; LA PIANA *Studi* I 85, 90; ERNOUT-MEILLET 445; MANN *Language* XVII 18, XXVIII 37; PISANI *Saggi* 130; WALDE-HOFMANN II 175-176; MAYRHOFER II 148; POKORNY I 758; HULD 96; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 222; DEMIRAJ *AE* 291-292.

**ne** prep. 'to, at'. A parallel and more authoritative form is *nek* from which *te* evolved as an allegro variant (cf. *te*). Both *nek* and *tek* require nominative - an unusual feature that can only be explained by its etymology below. It continues PALb *\*anai ka* 'to that which' consisting of a dative of a demonstrative comparable with Skt *ana-* 'this', Lith *anàs* 'that', Slav *\*onъ* id. and of a relative pronoun *\*k'o-*. ◊ FRAENKEL 10; VASMER III 141; MAYRHOFER I 32; POKORNY I 319-321; ÇABEJ *St.* I 374 (etymologically identical with *te* ~ *tek*).

**nemak** adj. 'dumb, stuttering'. Derived from *\*nem* borrowed from Slav *\*němъ* 'dumb', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *n'am*, SCr *nijem, nem*.

**nemec** m, pl. *nemeca* 'dumb, stuttering person'. Borrowed from Slav \**něťсь* id. also denoting Germans, cf. in South Slavic Bulg *nemec*, SCr *nijemac*, *nemac* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27). The form *nemc* 'German' goes back to the same source. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 204; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195, 286.

**nepërkë** f, pl. *nepërkë* 'adder, viper'. A more archaic form is *nepërtkë*. Borrowed from Slav \**nepъrtkъ* attested in Bulg *nepъrtъkъ* 'buttercup, yellowgold' (its other name being *žabun'ak* 'related to toads') connected with some other marginal Slavic forms such as \**jъzportъkъ* 'miscarried fetus' and \**vyportъkъ* id. The original form being the source of *nepërkë* described a freshly hatched snake. The Albanian word was borrowed to Rum *năpîrcă*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71 (from Lat *vîpera* 'viper'); MEYER *Wb.* 303 (follows MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 139; VASMER I 369; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 346; ROSETTI *ILR* I 279; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195, 204; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* XXXII/2 204 (borrowed from Rum *năpîrcă* continuing Rom \**natricipertica*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

**nesër** adv. 'tomorrow'. From PALb \**natšōr* continuing \**nok'tiōr*, an adverbial derivative of \**nok't-* 'night', cf. W *neithiwr*, *neithwyr* 'last night', Bret *neizær*, *neizür* id. (MANN *Hist. Gr.* 204). ◊ CAMARDA I 309 (to Gk ὑστεραία 'the day after tomorrow'); MEYER *Wb.* 303 (to Goth *nehva* 'near' and the like), *Alb. St.* III 13, 65; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 236-237, *KZ* XXXVI 336 (from an earlier \**nati herë* 'at the hour of night'), *Kelt. Gr.* I 123; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 58-60 (from \**en auso-* 'at dawn'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 204 (supports PEDERSEN); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 41, 109; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 45-46 (compound of *nes-* < \**en ōku-* 'swift' and *herë*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 374-375 (from *në esëll herë* 'at the time of morning fast'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 292-293.

**neveris** aor. *neverita* 'to desert, to neglect'. Borrowed from Slav \**ne věriti* 'not to believe' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 304). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 192; SVANE 246.

**nevojě** f, pl. *nevoja* 'need'. Borrowed from Slav \**nevol'a* 'lack of freedom, necessity', cf. South Slavic parallels: Bulg *nevol'a*, SCr *nevolja* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27; MEYER *Wb.* 304). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178; SVANE 222

**němě ~ namě** f, pl. *němě ~ namě* 'curse'. From PALb \**namā* related to *něm ~ nam* 'to curse' from PALb \**nama*. Etymologically connected with Gk *véμω* 'to distribute', Goth *niman* 'to take' and the like, with the semantic shift justified by the development in Greek, cf. *véμεσις* 'wrath' (CAMARDA I 36; MEYER *Wb.* 297, *Alb. St.* III 64-65). ◇ FRISK II 302-304; FEIST *Goth.* 375-376; POKORNY I 763; ÇABEJ *Festschr. Pisani* I 184; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 293.

**něměroj** aor. *něměrova* 'to number, to count'. Borrowed from Lat *numerāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 312, *Alb. St.* IV 19). Other similar forms, such as *numěr* 'number', are of Italian or learned Latin origin (ÇABEJ *St.* I 384). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 138.

**něn** prep. 'under'. A more conservative variant is *nděn*. An extended form of *ndě* (MEYER *Wb.* 299).

**něně ~ naně** f, pl. *něna ~ nana* 'mother'. An onomatopoeia comparable with that of SCr *nana* id., Rum *nană* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 297, *Alb. St.* III 65). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 27 (from Slavic); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 18; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 201, *Stratificazione* 118; HULD 98 (traces *něně ~ naně* back to Indo-European); JANSON *Unt.* 97-98; DEMIRAJ *AE* 294.

**něněris** aor. *něněrita* 'to murmur'. An onomatopoeia.

**něng ~ nang** adv. 'not'. A difficult form. Probably, a Latin loanword, cf. Lat *numquam* (MEYER *Wb.* 304), but then the vowel remains unexplained. Is it a double negation from \**ne nuk* developed to \**nenk* > *něng*? ◇ HULD 99.

**něngj** m 'knot'. Borrowed from Rom \**nodunculus* (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1054).

**něntě ~ nand** num. 'nine'. The Tosk form is an analogical innovation that has replaced \**něndě*. Continues PALb \**neunti-* representing a *ti*-derivative of IE \**neun̥* id.: Skt *náva*, Lat *novem*, Goth *niun* and the like (BOPP 459; MEYER *Wb.* 304, *Alb. St.* III 65). ◇ JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 85; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 61; LA PIANA *Studi* I 84; PISANI *Saggi* 106;

MANN *Language* XVII 20; MAYRHOFER II 141-142; WALDE-HOFMANN II 179-180; FEIST *Goth.* 378-379; POKORNY I 318-319; HAMP *IF* LXXXI 43-44 (to Illyr *Neunt(i)us*), *Numerals* 915-916; HULD 154; DEMIRAJ *AE* 294-295.

**nĚpĚr** prep. 'through'. A compound of *nĚ* and *pĚr*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193.

**nĚse** conj. 'if'. A lexicalized sequence of *nĚ* and *se* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 375).

**nga** prep. 'out'. Goes back to PALb *\*en-ka*, a compound consisting of *\*en-* identical with IE *\*en* 'in' and *\*ka* (also preserved as dialectal *ka* 'out'), a reflex of IE *\*kom*, cf. Slav *\*kъ* 'to, towards' (OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 150). A particularly interesting parallel of PALb *\*en-ka* is found in Slav *\*vъn-kъ* (Czech *venkŭ*, Ukr *vonka*) < IE *\*en-kom*. The unusual semantic shift of *nga* is a part of a general transformation of prepositional meanings in Albanian, cf. *ith*. ◊ CAMARDA 84; MEYER *Wb.* 304-305 (*ka* < Gk *κατά* 'down' with an inexplicable loss of the second syllable); POKORNY I 311-312, 612-613; KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 105-106 (on Slavic prepositions); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 211.

**ngac** aor. *ngaca* 'to check, to halt'. A denominative based on *\*ngalcĕ* derived from *ngalem*.

**ngacmoj** aor. *ngacmova* 'to incite, to tease'. A form parallel to *ngallmoj* and based on *\*ngacmĕ*, derivative of *\*ngacĕ* - ultimately, to *ngas*.

**ngaj** aor. *nguva*, *ngajta* 'to run'. Another variant is *nga(h)*. From PALb *\*en-ganja* related to the reduplicated Skt *jāhāti* 'to leave, to abandon', OHG *gān*, *gēn* 'to go' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 305, *Alb. St.* III 6-7). Other morphological variants of the verb are *nga(h)* < *\*en-gaska* and *ngas* < *\*en-gatja*. ◊ CAMARDA I 40 (to NGk *ἐγγίζω* 'to touch'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 331 (borrowed from Slav *\*nukati* 'to prompt, to urge'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 205; KLUGE 241; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 44 (to Slav *\*kotiti* 'to roll'); MAYRHOFER I 426; POKORNY I 418; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (to Lat *quatiō* 'to shake'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 295 -296.

**ngalem** refl. 'to be limping, to be lame, to be paralyzed'. From PALb *\*en-gala*, a denominative based on an unattested *\*gala* 'end, obstacle' related to Lith *gālas* 'end', Latv *gals* id., OPrus *gallan* 'death'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 305 (from Ital *incagliare* 'to halt'); HELBIG 23-24 (from Rom *\*incalleāre*); OŠTIR *Anthropos* VIII 165-168 (to *gul* 'hornless');

FRAENKEL 130; ÇABEJ *St.* I 375-376 (to Lat *callum* 'hardened, thick skin').

**ngallis** aor. *ngallita* 'to sprout, to shoot'. Another morphological variant is *ngalloj*. Denominative based on *ngallë* 'flowering head of an onion' <\* 'sprout, shoot'. The latter is derived from \**ngall* 'to sprout, to shoot', a prefixal verb built from *kall* ~ *kalli* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 376-377 with differences in details). A related form with a different prefix *c-* is *ckalloj* id. (ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 51). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 80 (to *shkal, shqelm*).

**ngallis** aor. *ngallita* 'to annoy, to irritate'. A derivative of *ngas* based on an unattested nominal form \**ngall(ë)*.

**ngallmoj** aor. *ngallmova* 'to urge, to irritate, to arouse'. Based on \**ngallmë*, a deverbative noun in *-më* related to \**ngall*, see *ngallis* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 376). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 305 (from Ital *incalmare* 'to inoculate' or Rom \**incalamäre*); JOKL *LKUBA* 269 (to *akull* and Slav \**kaliti* 'to temper [iron]'); HAARMANN 130.

**ngardhuliqe** f, pl. *ngardhuliqe* 'goldfinch'. Borrowed, with a secondary *n-* and an additional suffix *-iq-*, from Lat *carduëlis* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 305 (reconstructs Rom \**cardellicula*).

**ngarend** aor. *ngarenda* 'to run fast'. A univerbation of *nga rend* or *ngas rend* still preserved in Old Albanian (ÇABEJ *St.* I 377).

**ngarkoj** aor. *ngarkova* 'to load, to charge, to burden'. Borrowed from Rom \**incaricäre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 11). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 305 (from Ital *incaricare* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048 (from Italian); MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14, 16; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMANN 130.

**ngarmoj** aor. *ngarmova* 'to drive away, to incite, to irritate'. A phonetic variant of *ngallmoj*. Cf. also *ngërmoj* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 12 (from Ital *angheria* 'oppression, tyranny'); KRISTOFORIDHI 261 (to *gërmoj*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 378-379 (agrees with KRISTOFORIDHI).

**ngas** aor. *ngava* 'to urge, to incite, to annoy'. From PAIb \**en-gatja*, a causative related to *ngaj*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 221 (to *qas*); PEDERSEN *KZ*

XXXVI 331 (borrowed from Slav *\*nukati* ‘to urge, to say nu’); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 154, 218.

**ngastër** f, pl. *ngastra* ‘piece, part, section; block, quarter’. Another variant is *ngasër*. Derived from *ngas* (MEYER *Wb.* 221). Note a secondary cluster *-st- < -s-*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 377 (from NGk γάστρα ‘wide part of a jar’).

**ngashërej** aor. *ngashëreva* ‘to touch, to move, to affect’. Another variant is *ngashëroj*. The Geg form is preserved in *ngashnjej* ‘to incite, to rouse’. Built on the basis of Rom *\*incausinäre*, cf. Lat *causa* ‘cause’.

**ngatërroj** aor. *ngatërrova* ‘to entangle, to complicate’. The antonym is *shkatërroj* ‘to undo, to disentangle’. Derived from *ngatërr* ‘hair ribbon’ <\*‘thread’. The latter is based on *ngas*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 305 (to *ngathet* and/or Ital dial. *ingattiar* ‘to entangle’); SPITZER *MRIW* I 325 (from Rom *\*inquaternäre*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* 60-61 (to *shtie* and *shtri*); ÇABEJ *St.* I 377-378 (back-formation of *shkatërroj* based on *katër*).

**ngathem** refl. ‘to grow numb, to grow stiff’. From *\*ngalth* related to *ngalem*.

**nge** f, pl. *nge* ‘time, leisure, chance, opportunity’. Goes back to *ngae* preserved in dialects. From PAIb *\*en-gadā* etymologically related to Slav *\*godъ* ‘time, year’ with which it shares the temporal meaning (JOKL *Studien* 62-63). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 305-306 (to Lith *gaivùs* ‘cheerful, merry’), *Alb. St.* III 7, 39; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 46; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VI 191-192; MURATI *Probleme* 92-93.

**ngec** aor. *ngeca* ‘to get stuck, to halt, to hesitate’. A morphological variant of *ngac*.

**ngel** aor. *ngela* ‘to get stuck, to remain’. A morphological variant of *ngalem*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 238-239.

**ngeq** aor. *ngeqa* ‘to become worse, to get bad’. Derived from *keq*.

**ngërç** m ‘cramp, stiffness’. Derived from *kërç*.

**ngërdhej** aor. *ngërdheva* ‘to mock, to sneer, to mimic’. Another variant is *ngërdhesh*. Derived from *ngrydh*.



**ngërhis** aor. *ngërhita* 'to snore, to snort'. Another variant is *ngërhas*. A prefixal derivative of *gërhas*.

**ngërthej** aor. *ngërtheva* 'to press, to encircle'. A prefixal derivative of *k(ë)thej* with an epenthetic *-r-*. Cf. *kthej*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 379 (to *gardhë*).

**ngërzis** aor. *ngërzit* 'to annoy'. A prefixal derivative of an unattested *\*gërzis* borrowed from Slav *\*groziti* 'to threaten', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *groz'a*, SCr *groziti*.

**ngij** ~ **ngij** aor. *ngiva* ~ *ngina* 'to sate, to suckle'. Dialectal forms preserve *gl-* and *gj-*. From PALb *\*gleinja* related to Lith *gliejù, gliëni* 'to smear', OHG *klënan* id. and the like. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 62 (from *\*ni-gŭno-* 'swallowed down'); FRAENKEL 157; POKORNY I 362-363; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201.

**ngojoj** aor. *ngojova* 'to mention; to slander'. Derived from *gojë* 'mouth'.

**ngoloj** aor. *ngolova* 'to try, to taste'. Historically identical with *ngojoj*. Derived from *golë*, a phonetically archaic variant of *gojë*.

**ngollar** m 'sodomite; sodomite sexual act'. Derived from *golle* on the basis of an intermediate verb *\*(n)golloj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 306 (from Slav *\*gǫzlarь*, to *\*gǫzь* 'anus, bottom'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* 61 (prefix *n-* followed by a cognate of Gk κήλη).

**ngop** aor. *ngopa* 'to sate, to cram'. Related to *gop* 'greedy, gluttonous'. The latter continues PALb *\*gāpa* probably related to IE *\*gēp-/gēbh-* 'to eat'. A parallel form *ngos* 'to sate' goes back to *\*en-gāptja* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LV* 194). ◊ POKORNY I 382; ÇABEJ *St.* I 379 (*ngos* borrowed from NGk *\*ἀγγώνω* 'to choke').

**ngordh** aor. *ngordha* 'to die (of animals), to stiffen, to become erected (of penis)'. A synonymic form is *kordh*. Continues PALb *\*kār(i)da* going back to IE *\*kēr dhē-* 'to take a root', hence - 'to stiffen' and, finally, 'to die'. For the first component cf. Lith *kēras* 'root', Slav *\*korenь* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 306 (from Rom *\*incordāre*, cf. *kordhë*); KRISTOFORIDHI 265 (to NGk κορδόνωμαi 'to show off'); FRAENKEL 241; POKORNY I 572-573; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XI 62-65; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 80, VII 184.

**ngratě** adj. 'wretched, miserable, unhappy'. Borrowed from Lat *ingrātus* id. (MEYER Wb. 306). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1041; HAARMANN 131.

**ngre** aor. *ngrita*, *ngrejta* ~ *ngrĕjta* 'to lift, to raise'. A parallel form is *ngreh* ~ *ngref* reflecting an inchoative in \*-sk-. Continues PAIb \**en-gradā* and \**en-gradska* related to Lat *gradior* 'to step, to walk', Goth acc. *grid* 'step', OIr *in-grenn-* 'to pursue', Slav \**grędę*, \**gręsti* 'to walk'. ◊ CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk ἐγείρω 'to rouse, to stir up'); MEYER Wb. 306 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 8, 71; PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 545; JOKL *Sprache* IX 128; LA PIANA *Studi* I 93; WALDE-HOFMANN I 615-616; FEIST *Goth.* 222; POKORNY I 456-457; HAMP *Laryngeals* 139; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 76; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* VII 123-124; DEMIRAJ *AE* 296-297 (to Lat *crĕscō* 'to grow').

**ngrij** ~ **ngrij** aor. *ngriiva* ~ *ngriina* 'to freeze'. From PAIb \**en-kreinja*, a denominative verb related to Lith *krenà* 'film, thin skin (on milk)', Latv *kriena* id. For the semantics cf. another Baltic cognate - Lith *krygà* 'floating pieces of ice'. ◊ MEYER Wb. 306-307 (to Gk κρύος 'frost'); JOKL *Studien* 63-64 (to Slav \**čbrstvъ* 'hard, dry'); SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 245 (to Frioul *criure* 'cold'); FRAENKEL 297; POKORNY I 618; ČABEJ *St.* VII 243.

**ngroh** ~ **ngrof** aor. *ngroha* ~ *ngrofa* 'to warm'. From PAIb \**en-grāja* etymologically identical with Slav \**grĕję*, \**grĕti* id. (MEYER Wb. 307, *Alb. St.* III 8, 71; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 46), continuing IE \**g<sup>h</sup>er-* 'to burn'. ◊ PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 321, 324-325, *Kelt. Gr.* I 108; PISANI *Saggi* 125 (follows MEYER); VASMER I 456 (*ngroh* from \**en-grĕsko*); POKORNY I 493-495; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 48; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 77; ČABEJ *St.* VII 217, apud DEMIRAJ (to Lith *kárštas* 'warm'); HULD 98 (on *sk-*formations in Albanian), KZ CVII 169; DEMIRAJ *AE* 298.

**ngrydh** ~ **ngriđh** aor. *ngrydha* ~ *ngriđha* 'to work up, to foment, to ferment', refl. 'to be in heat (of horses)'. From PAIb \**en-krūda* etymologically related to Lith *grūžiu*, *grūsti* 'to stamp, to punch', Latv *grūst* id. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to Slav \**sbrđiti se* 'to get angry'); FRAENKEL 173-174; POKORNY I 460-462; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 684 (to Skt *gřdhyati* 'to wish').

**ngrys** aor. *ngrysa* 'to darken'. Goes back to PAIb \**en-krūtja* further

connected with Slav *\*kryti* 'to cover', Lith *kráuju, kráuti* 'to pile'. ◊ JOKL *Studien* 64 (to Lat *creper* 'dusky, dark'); BARIĆ *Glasnik SND* II 167-170 (to Gk γρόφος 'darkness, gloom'); FRAENKEL 291; POKORNY I 616-617; ÇABEJ *St.* I 379-380 (to IE *\*kers-* 'black'); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* XIII 71-72.

**nguc** aor. *nguca* 'to rouse, to incite'. A phonetic variant of *ngus*.

**ngujoj** aor. *ngujova* 'to enclose, to lock up'. A prefixal derivative of *kunjoj*. ◊ WEIGAND 62 (denominative based on *kunj* 'peg, wedge'); ÇABEJ *St.* I 380 (follows WEIGAND).

**ngul** aor. *ngula* 'to thrust in, to stick in'. From PAIb *\*en-kula*, a zero grade etymologically related to Lith *kùlti* 'to thresh', Latv *kùlt* 'to strike' and further connected with IE *\*kel(ə)-* 'to strike' (MEYER *Wb.* 307, *Alb. St.* III 4). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 206; MANN *Language* XVII 14; FRAENKEL 211; POKORNY I 545-546; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

**ngulmoj** aor. *ngulmova* 'to insist'. Derived from *ngulmë* 'insistence', a deverbative of *ngul*.

**nguq** aor. *nguqa* 'to redder'. A prefixal derivative of *kuq* (MANN *HAED* 322).

**nguroj** aor. *ngurova* 'to growl, to howl'. Based on an unattested noun *\*gur* etymologically related to Skt *gavate* 'to sound', Gk γόος 'lamentation', Latv *gaura* 'chatter', Lith *gáuti* 'to howl' and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 307 (onomatopoeia comparable with Germ *gurren* 'to coo' and similar); FRAENKEL 141-142; MAYRHOFER I 445; FRISK I 317-318; POKORNY I 403.

**nguroj** aor. *ngurova* 'to harden, to petrify'. Derived from *gur*. Another form based on *gur* is *ngurr* 'to stiffen'.

**ngurroj** aor. *ngurrova* 'to hesitate, to falter, to stop'. From late Lat *incurrere* 'to commit (a fault)', see WEIGAND *BA* I 259. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* I 380-381 (to *gur* and *nguroj*).

**ngus** aor. *nguta* 'to urge, to force'. From PAIb *\*en-kutja* related to Lith

*káuti* 'to strike', Slav \**kovati* 'to forge', Lat *cūdō* 'to strike', OHG *houwan* id. ◊ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 46-47; BÜGA II 153; FRAENKEL 232; WALDE-HOFMANN I 300-301; POKORNY I 535; OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

**ngush** aor. *ngusha* 'to annoy, to irritate'. Continues PALb \**en-kuša* related to Lith *kūšti* 'to move', Latv *kustināt* 'to move, to touch'. ◊ FRAENKEL 321-322.

**ngush** aor. *ngusha* 'to embrace, to neck'. Derived from *gush*.

**ngushtë** adj. 'narrow'. Borrowed from Lat *angustus* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; CAMARDA II 61; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 307). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 206; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMAN 111; HULD 98.

**ngushulloj** aor. *ngushullova* 'to comfort, to give consolation'. Another variant is *ngushëlloj* ~ *ngushëllonj*. Based on an unattested \**kushulloj* borrowed from Lat *consöläre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 307) ◊ HAARMANN 119.

**ngjalë** f, pl. *ngjala* 'eel'. A back-formation of \**ngjelë* understood as an umlauticized plural. The latter is borrowed from Lat *anguilla* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 308). ◊ CAMARDA I 36 (to Gk ἔγγελος id.); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 232, *KZ* XXXVI 283; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 110; ÇABEJ *St.* I 381-382 (from Illyr \**engella* related to Lat *anguilla*).

**ngjat** adv. 'near'. Derived from *gjatë*, cf. Ital *lungo* 'along, beside', Fr *le long de* 'along' and similar coinages (ÇABEJ *St.* I 382-383). ◊ CAMARDA I 323 (to *ngas*); MEYER *Wb.* 220 (to *qas*); WEIGAND *BA* I 254 (to *ngjis*).

**ngjelmët** adj. 'salty, briny'. Another variant is *ngjelbët* < *ngjelmët*. The source of this word is PALb \**en-salma* related to IE \**sal-* 'salt': Gk ἄλς, Lat *sāl*, OIr *salann*, Arm *ał* and the like (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 285). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 64-65, *LKUBA* 231; AÇAREAN *HAB* I 114-116; LA PIANA *Studi* I 41; FRISK I 78-79; VENDRYES [S] 17-18; WALDE-HOFMANN II 465-466; POKORNY I 878-879; OREL *IF* XCIII 106 (reconstructs PALb \**en-salima*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 298-299.

**ngjesh** aor. *ngjesha* 'to gird'. From PALb *\*en-jāuša* etymologically connected with Av *yāghayēiti* id., Gk ζώννυμι id., Lith *júosti* id., Slav *\*jasati* 'to tear clothes' <\* 'to tear into bands', *\*po-jasъ* 'belt' (MEYER *Wb.* 308, *Alb. St.* III 39, 61). The development of PALb *\*-s-* to *-sh* is explained by the "ruki" rule rather than by derivation of *-sh-* from *\*-sj-*. ◇ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 105; LA PIANA *Studi* I 92; PISANI *Saggi* 102, *REIE* IV 10; POKORNY I 513; FRAENKEL 198; VASMER III 351; FRISK I 617-618; HAMP *Laryngeals* 134; BARBER *JIES* III/4 294-320; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 219; HULD 99, *KZ* CVII 169; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 129; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38, *IF* XCIII 103; DEMIRAJ *AE* 299-300.

**ngjesh** aor. *ngjesha* 'to knead'. Derived from *gjesh*.

**ngjëroj** aor. *ngjërova* 'to try, to sample, to taste'. The corresponding Geg form is *gjinonj*. Borrowed from Lat *jējūnāre* 'to fast', with the further semantic development from 'not eat' to 'taste only'. The meaning 'to fast' is preserved by Geg *ngjinoj*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 308 (to *gjër*); OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

**ngjëroj** aor. *ngjërova* 'to encircle; to jump over, to wade through'. Another variant is *gjerroj*. Derived from *gjer*. A relatively rare case of a verb based on a preposition/adverb.

**ngjir** m, pl. *ngjire* 'whirlpool'. Another form is *ngjirr*. Derived from *gjerë*. ◇ SCHMIDT *KZ* L 241-242 (to Skt *sirā* 'stream').

**ngjirem** refl. 'to get hoarse'. The same verb is attested without prefix as *qirem* 'to get hoarse', cf. also *shqirem* id. An onomatopoeia (HERMANN *KZ* XLI 47). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 308 (to Gk κέρχνος 'hoarseness' or E *hoarse*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 329 (to Gk κέρχνος); ÇABEJ *St.* I 383 (to *shqerr*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 300-301.

**ngjis** aor. *ngjita* 'to stick to'. Continues PALb *\*en-gleitja* related to Lith *gliējù, gliėti* 'to smear', *glitùs* 'sticky', Gk γλοιός 'sticky stuff' and similar (MEYER *Wb.* 309). ◇ CAMARDA I 135 (to Gk ἔγκειμαι 'to press upon'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 62-63 (to Skt *sájati*); FRAENKEL 157; FRISK I 312-313; POKORNY I 363; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 219, 243.

**ngjizem** refl. 'to clot, to curdle'. Derived from *gjizë*.

**ngjok** aor. *ngjoka* 'to knock'. Derived from *qok* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 383). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 192 (derived from *klokë* 'hooked stuff' of Romance origin).

**ngjyej** aor. *ngjyeva* 'to dip, to plunge, to dye, to color'. Borrowed from Lat *unguere* 'to smear, to anoint' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 69; MEYER *Wb.* 308). ◊ CAMARDA I 67 (to Gk χέω 'to pour'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 225; HAARMANN 156.

**ninë** f 'cradle'. Borrowed from Rom *\*ninna* id.: Ital *ninna* 'lullaby', Sard *ninna* 'cradle' and similar (MEYER *Wb.* 309). The lack of rhotacism may be explained by a specific development of the geminate. Derived from *ninë* is *ninullë* 'lullaby'.

**nip** m, pl. *nipa*, *nipër* 'nephew, grandson'. Borrowed from Lat *nepōs* 'grandson' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 310). A rare case of a Latin loanword based not on the oblique stem *nepōtem* but on the restructured nom. sg. *\*nepos*. The vocalism of *nip* may reflect a relatively late borrowing from Dalm Lat *nepo* < Lat *nepōs*. ◊ CAMARDA I 200 (treats *nip* and Lat *nepōs* as cognates); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 99 (from IE *\*nepōt-*), *Kelt. Gr.* I 92; BARTOLI *Dalm* II 414; JOKL *LKUBA* 15-28; SKOK *AArbSt.* I 221 (from Dalmatian Romance); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 207 (agrees with PEDERSEN), *Stratificazione* 118-119; HULD 99 (follows PEDERSEN); LANDI *Lat.* 51, 143-145; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; BEEKES *CIEL* 139 (same as PEDERSEN); KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 226; DEMIRAJ *AE* 301-302.

**nis** aor. *nisa* 'to start, to begin, to prepare for journey'. Continues PAIb *\*neitša* going back to IE *\*neikʷjō* and related to Lith *su-nikti* 'to set upon, to attack', Slav *\*niknŕti* 'to rise, to grow'. If this comparison is accepted, the dubious Greek parallel in *νεῖκος* 'quarrel, struggle' should be dropped. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 310 (from Gk ἐκίνησα 'to set off, to start out' - not without doubt); LAMBERTZ - PEKMEZI *Lesebuch* 107 (follow MEYER); BARIĆAR*St* 63 (to Gk ἐνεγκεῖν); FRAENKEL 503; FRISK II 297; VASMER III 74-75; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; OREL *Orpheus* VI 69.

**noçkë** f, pl. *noçka* 'knuckle, joint'. There exists a close form *noçë* id. Unclear.

**nofkë** f, pl. *nofka* 'nickname'. Borrowed from an unattested South Slavic

\**novъka* 'new (name)', cf. SCr *Novka*, a feminine proper name.

**nofull** f, pl. *nofulla* 'jaw, jawbone, cheekbone'. Back-formation based on the borrowing of Lat *in offulae*, cf. *offula* 'small piece, little bit' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 383-384), with a semantic evolution opposite to that of *bukě*, cf. Ital dial. *gnoffele* 'jaw' of the same origin. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 310-311 (compares *nofull* with Ital *ganascia* 'jaw, jowl'; similarity with *offula* is accidental); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* I 150-151 (compound of *no-* related to Lat *gena* 'face, cheek' and of *-full* compared with Slav \**čel'ustь* 'jaw'); TREIMER *KZ LXV* 114 (to Skt *snāpayati* 'to make wash'); TAGLI-  
AVINI *Stratificazione* 93-94.

**nokër** adj. 'small, tiny'. Derivative of \**nokë* borrowed from Lat *innocuus* 'harmless, innocent'. ◊ CAMARDA I 137 (to Gk μικρός id.); MEYER *Wb.* 311 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology).

**noshtër** f, pl. *noshtra* 'sprout, young plant, sapling'. Borrowed from Rom \**novaster* > Ital dial. *novastro* id. (JOKL *IF XXXVI* 98-100, *LKUBA* 212-213). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 31; HAARMANN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 129, 136.

**notoj** aor. *notova* 'to swim'. Borrowed from Rom \**notāre* replacing classical Lat *natāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 43-44; MEYER *Wb.* 311). ◊ MANN *Language XXVIII* 39 (from IE \**snē-* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 18; HAARMANN 138.

**nozikë** f 'knife worn at the belt'. An early loanword from Slav \**nožikъ* unattested in South Slavic, a diminutive of \**nožь* 'knife' (MEYER *Wb.* 311). Note a peculiar substitution of Slav \*-ž-. ◊ SVANE 85.

**nu** adv. 'when'. Continues PALb \**nu* etymologically identical with IE \**nu* 'now': Skt *nú*, Gk *vûv*, Goth *nu*, OHG *nũ* and the like. ◊ FRISK II 325; KLUGE 515-516; FEIST *Goth.* 380; MAYRHOFER II 175; POKORNY I 770.

**nuhar** m, pl. *nuharë* 'lair of young deer'. Derivative of *nuhas*, cf. also its derivative *nuhuris* 'to track (of hounds)'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 311 (*nuhuris* from Slav \**n'uxati* 'to smell').

**nuhas** aor. *nuhata* 'to smell, to sniff'. Another variant is *njuhas*. Bor-

rowed from Slav *\*n'uxati* id., otherwise unattested in South Slavic. The same root is attested in SCr *njušiti* id. (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◇ SVANE 257.

**nuk** adv. 'not'. From PALb *\*nuka* composed of *\*nu* < IE *\*ne* colored under the influence of the following labiovelar and *\*ka* < *\*k'o-*, a pronominal stem (JOKL *AArbSt* I 34-35), cf. such negatives in Skt *naca*, Lat *neque*, Goth *nih*, OIr *na-ch*, MW *na-c*, OBret *na-c* 'and not'. ◇ BOPP 490 (analyzes *nuk* as *ne* + an element identical with Gk οὐκ 'not'); CAMARDA I 312 (follows BOPP); MEYER *Wb.* 304 (from Lat *nunquam* 'never' - phonetically impossible as Lat *-nqu-* may not yield *-k-*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 207; MANN *Language* XXVI 385 (to Lat *nec*); CLACKSON *LR* 158; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; HULD 99-100.

**nulë** f 'grandmother'. Borrowed from Rom *\*anulla* based on Lat *anus* 'old woman' (JOKL *LKUBA* 40-41). ◇ BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 413 (against JOKL in view of the unrhottacized *n-*); TREIMER *Slavia* III 45 (agrees with BARIĆ); ÇABEJ *St.* I 384 (from *nunël* 'grandmother' based on *nun* 'grandfather, godfather' < NGk *vovvός* 'godfather').

**nullë** f 'gum'. Borrowed from Lat *alveolum* in its later meaning as a word for a dental alveole. The Albanian form implies an earlier *\*lullë* with dissimilation of sonorants.

(G) **nus** m. 'thread, string'. Continues PALb *\*snutja* related to Skt *snávan-* 'band, sinew' and other continuants of IE *\*sněu-* 'to turn, to spin' (JOKL *Studien* 65), cf. in particular Skt *snuta-* 'of sinew'. ◇ POKORNY I 977; DEMIRAJ *AE* 302 (to *nyej*).

**nuse** f, pl. *nuse* 'bride, young woman, younger daughter-in-law'. Singularized plural of *\*nusë*. Borrowed from Rom *\*nūptia*, a local variant of Lat *nāpta* 'married woman, wife, bride'; for the formation cf. *nūptiae* 'wedding' (MEYER *Wb.* 312). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *snusā* 'daughter-in-law'); CAMARDA I 52 (links *nuse* to the continuants of IE *\*snusos* 'daughter-in-law'); MEYER *BB* VIII 191 (follows CAMARDA and reconstructs *\*nusjä*), *Alb. St.* IV 89, V 97 (accepts PEDERSEN's interpretation); PEDERSEN *BB* XIX 295 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology and supposes a dissimilation of sibilants leading to the preservation of the inlaut *-s-*), *KZ* XXXVI 279, 283, 339; WIEDEMANN *BB*



XXVII 214 (reconstructs \**nuġā*); JOKL *LKUBA* 14, *Balkangerm.* 132; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 207-208, *Stratificazione* 119 (reconstructs \**snusjē*); ERNOUT-MEILLET 452; SZEMERÉNYI *Syncope* 319; CHANTRAINE 760; POLÁK *Orbis XVI* 137-138 (to Mingr *nosa, nis* 'daughter-in-law'); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 89; ÇABEJ *St. VII* 258; HULD 100 (derives *nuse* from IE \**nubh-tjā*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 302-303 (to dialectal Rom \**nunta* 'bride', \**nuntiae* 'marriage').

**nxeh** aor. *nxeha* 'to heat, to warm'. Another variant is *nxej*. Continues PALb \**en-dzerska* related to *zjarr* (MEYER *Wb.* 485). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 84 (to *dhez*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 308; ÇABEJ *St. VII* 217, 239.

**nxit** aor. *nxita* 'to urge, to stimulate, to hurry'. There also exists *zit* id. From PALb \**džita* related to IE \**gʷ-* 'to live': Skt *jīvati*, Lat *vīvō* and similar (MANN *Language XXVIII* 36). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 302 (to Skt *dīyati* 'to fly, to soar'), 485 (from SCr *zatka*); JOKL *Mélanges Pederesen* 150-151 (to *nxeh* and *ndez*); MAYRHOFER I 439; WALDE-HOFMANN II 808-810; POKORNY I 467-469; ÇABEJ *St. I* 385-386, II 327 (prefixal derivative of *cys*); HAMP *SGI* 89 (from \**gʷyVt-*, semantically cf. E *quick*).

**nxjerr** aor. *nxorra* 'to pull out, to draw out'. A prefixal derivative of *çjerr* (CAMARDA I 43). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 70 (derived from *djerr*); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 325 (derived from *bie*); HAMP *Sprache XXX/2* 157 (follows PEDERSEN), *Münch. St. Spr. XLI* 52; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (agrees with MEYER); DEMIRAJ *AE* 303-304 (to *ngre*).

**nyç** adj. 'hard, strong; gnarled'. Derived from *nyell*.

**nyell** m, pl. *nyej* 'ankle, gnarl, knot'. Borrowed from Lat *nōdulus* 'little knot'.

**nyje** f, pl. *nyje, neje* 'knot'. Singularized plural (originally, *nye*) of *ne* borrowed from Lat *nōdus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 302). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; JOKL *Studien* 60 (on *-y-*), *LKUBA* 64-65; MANN *Language XXVI* 386-387, XXVIII 32; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 18; ÇABEJ *St. VII* 272, 276; HAARMANN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 64-65.

**nytěroj** aor. *nytěrova* 'to murmur, to whisper'. Borrowed, with a dis-

similation of sonorants, from Lat *reiterāre* 'to repeat'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* I 386 (onomatopoeia).

## Nj

**njegull** f 'fog, mist'. A dialectal phonetic variant of *mjegull* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 386). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 283-284 (from Lat *nebula* 'fog'); JOKL *Studien* 57.

**njeh** ~ **njef** aor. *njeha* ~ *njefa* 'to count, to consider'. From PALb *\*nemska* further connected with IE *\*nem-* 'to divide, to take, to arrange, to count', cf. Gk *νέμω* 'to divide', Goth *niman* 'to take', Lat *numerus* 'member, element, number' and *nummus* 'coin, money' (OREL *IF* XLIII 113-114). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 314 (identifies *njeh* with *njoh* which is not very plausible semantically); BENVENISTE *Inst.* I 81; FEIST *Goth.* 375-376; WALDE-HOFMANN II 186-187; FRISK I 302-304; POKORNY I 763-764.

**njeri** m, pl. *njerëz* 'man, person, human being'. A more archaic form of sg. *njer* is preserved in Geg dialects. Goes back to PALb *\*nera* further connected with Skt *nār-* 'man', Gk *άνήρ* id., Arm *ayr* id. (BOPP 461-462; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 186; MEYER *Wb.* 313, *Alb. St.* III 66, 71). Note a rare plural in *-ëz* < *\*-adja* (JOKL *LKUBA* 89). ◇ PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX 242; JOKL *Studien* 102; AČAREAN *HAB* I 173-174; FRISK I 107-108; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 208-209; MANN *Language* XXVIII 38; PORZIG *Gliederung* 155; PISANI *Saggi* 131; MAYRHOFFER II 148-149; POKORNY I 765; HULD 100-101; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 142; DEMIRAJ *AE* 304-305.

**njerkë** f, pl. *njerka* 'stepmother'. Borrowed from Lat *noverca* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 313). The masculine form *njerk* is built on the basis of *njerkë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 386). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 138.

**njethet** refl. 'to fertilize, to be fertile, to grow, to bud'. From *\*ngjethet*, derivative of *gjethe*.

**një** ~ **nji** num. 'one'. From PALb *\*ainja*, a derivative of IE *\*oi-no-* id.: Lat *ūnus*, Goth *ains*, OPrus *ains* and the like (CAMARDA I 169). ◇ MEYER

*Wb.* 313-314 (prefers an erroneous comparison with Skt *anyá-* 'other', Gk ἔντοι 'some'), *Alb. St.* III 66; BARIĆ *ARSt* 64-65 (from \**n-sem-*); HAMP *Anc. IE* 113 (follows MEYER and connects *një* with Messap *ennan*); TRAUTMANN *APSpr.* 296-297; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 209 (agrees with MEYER); FEIST *Goth.* 24; WALDE-HOFMANN II 821-823; POKORNY I 286; HULD 101 (without any serious reason, postulates a back-formation from fem. \**smjeH*); OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 39; HAMP *Numerals* 903-904; CLACKSON *LR* 175.

**njicë** f, pl. *njica* 'big fishing net'. From \**ngjicë*, derived from *ngjis* in view of the expression (*peshku*) *ngjis* '(the fish) sticks to the net' = 'gets into the net' (ÇABEJ *St.* I 386-387).

**njilë** f, pl. *njila* 'tench'. A dialectal form of *ngjalë* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 387).

**njoh** ~ **njof** aor. *njoha* ~ *njofa*, *njova* 'to know'. From PAIb \**gnaska* related to IE \**ǵenā-* ~ \**ǵnō-* id., cf. particularly, Gk γυνώσκω, Epidaur γνώσκω, Lat (*g*)*nōscō* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23; CAMARDA I 47; MEYER *Wb.* 314, *Alb. St.* III 17, 66). The vocalism of present was changed under the influence of aor. *njova* which is identical with OE *cnāwan* id. < \**ǵnē-y-* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXII/1 82-83). ◊ ASCOLI *KZ* XVII 351; BARIĆ *ARSt* 65-66; FRISK I 308-309; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 339 (reconstructs \**ǵnē-sk-*), *Kelt. Gr.* II 547; LINDEMAN *IF* LXXI 283 (to ON *kná*, *knégum* < Gmc \**knē-jan*); HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 54; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 209; LA PIANA *Studi* I 93; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34; WALDE-HOFMANN II 176-177; POKORNY I 376-378; ANTTILA *Schw.* 71; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239; HULD 101-102 (clumsy reconstruction of a causative \**ǵnoH-ēskoH*); KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 130; OREL *IF* XCIII 113; DEMIRAJ *AE* 305-306 (similar vocalism in Hitt *ganēš-* 'to know').

**njollë** f, pl. *njolla* 'spot, mark, stain'. Dialects preserve a more archaic form *ngjollë*. From PAIb \**en-sālā* related to ON *sǫlr* 'dirty', OIr *sal* 'dirt' (JOKL *Studien* 65-66). ◊ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 47 (to *njoh*); VENDRYES [S] 16; POKORNY I 879; ÇABEJ *St.* I 387 (to *ngjyjej*).

**njomë** ~ **ngjomë**, **nglomë** adj. 'wet'. The verb *njom* 'to make wet' is derived from the adjective. Based on PAIb \**glāima* related to OE *clām* 'clay', Lith *glėimės* 'slime' and other continuants of IE \**glēi-* (JOKL *Studien* 66). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 315 (borrowed from Lat *unguō* 'to spread, to smear'); POKORNY I 364; ÇABEJ *St.* I 387-388 (verbal adjective of

*ngjyëj*); DEMIRAJ AE 306-307 (to Goth *hnasqus* 'soft, fine' or to OHG *naz* 'wet').

## O

**oborr** m, pl. *oborre* 'yard, court'. Borrowed from Slav \**obvorъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *obor*, SCr *obor* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 314). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 210; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 150-151; MLADENOV *Ist.* 77; SVANE 58.

**ofiq** m, pl. *ofiqe* 'service, function'. Borrowed from Lat *officium* id.

**ofsh** m 'glow, heat'. Variant of *afshë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 3 (to *afë* 'breath').

**ofshë** f, pl. *ofsha* 'curse'. Derived from *ofsh*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 220.

**ograjë** f, pl. *ograja* 'pasture'. Borrowed from Slav \**ogordja* 'fencing', cf. SCr *ograda*. As to Alb *-j-*, it may either reflect an early South Slavic \**-dj-* or, rather, go back to \**-gj-* < SCr *-dj-*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 315 (to SCr *ograda* 'fence, yard'); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 305-306 (from Chakavian *ograja*); ; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 159; RUSAKOV *LIs* 1982 195; SVANE 58.

**okër** f 'kind of grain, Einkorn'. Borrowed from Gk ὄξρος 'birds' pease, *Lathyrus Ochrus* (ÇABEJ *St.* I 389) or, rather, from substantivized ὄχρος 'pale-yellow'. ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk ὄκτιμον).

**okitë** f 'frost or snow (on tree branches)'. Borrowed from Slav \**ob(ъ)kytъ* id., cf. SCr *okit* id. (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 14).

**okoll** adv. 'around'. Borrowed from Slav \**okolъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *okol*, SCr *oko*, *okolo* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 22; MEYER *Wb.* 315). ◇ BERNEKER I 548; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197, 303; ÇABEJ *St.* I 389 (local borrowing from Serbo-Croatian); SVANE 271.

**opingë** f, pl. *opinga* 'sandal'. Other variants are *opangë*, *opengë*. Borrowed from Slav \**ob(ъ)рѣнѣкъ* 'sandal, shoe', cf. SCr *opanak* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 315). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-*

*lenie* 175-176; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216; FLORESCU *REF* IX/6 594 (on the Dacian origin of this type of sandals); SVANE 100.

**orendi** pl. 'equipment, utensils'. An early borrowing from Slav \**orǫdъje* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* I 389). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 316 (from Ital *arredo* 'fittings, furnishings'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173, 192; SVANE 65.

**orok** m 'time, term, limit, appointment'. Borrowed from Slav \**ob(ъ)rokъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *obrok*, SCr *obrok*. Note that *oroqe* 'wish' is a singularized plural of *orok*. ◇ SVANE 176.

**orrl** m 'eagle, buzzard'. Borrowed from Slav \**orьль* id., cf. Bulg *orel*, SCr *orao* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 316). ◇ SVANE 148.

**osh** adv. 'trailing, along the ground'. A fossilized form of a rare *osh* 'harrow'. Thus, the original meaning of the adverb was 'trailing as a harrow'.

**oshtë** f, pl. *oshta* 'pole, drawbar'. Borrowed from Slav \**ojište* id.: Bulg *oište*, SCr *ojište* (MEYER *Wb.* 316). ◇ SVANE 29.

**otavë** f 'second crop of hay'. Borrowed from Slav \**otava* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *otava*, SCr *otava* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 11). ◇ SVANE 41.

## P

**pa** prep. 'without', conj. 'before, then', particle 'let' (in imperative). From PAIb \**apa* reflecting IE \**apo*: Skt *ápa* 'away, off', Gk *ἀπό* 'from', Goth *af* 'from' and, in particular, Lith *pa-* (prefix), Slav \**po* 'on, along' (BOPP 500; CAMARDA I 320; MEYER *Wb.* 317, *Alb. St.* III 30). ◇ JOKL *IF* XXXVII 107-108 (*pa* 'before' < \**parj* related to *prej*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 224; FEIST *Goth.* 3; POKORNY I 53-55; MAYRHOFER I 37; FRAENKEL 519-520; VASMER III 292-293; ÇABEJ *St.* II 5 (against JOKL), apud DEMIRAJ (to Osc *perum* 'without'); HULD 156; OREL *SBJa Lek-sikol.* 151-152; DEMIRAJ *AE* 307-308 (to Goth *fawai* 'few, little').

**padis** aor. *padita* 'to accuse'. Borrowed, with a semantic change, from

Slav *\*padati* 'to fall', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *pada*, SCr *padati* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 317). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 181, 294; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 303 (from Slav *\*pǫditi*); SVANE 238.

**pagëz**oj aor. *pagëzova* 'to baptise'. A parallel form is *pakëz*oj. Borrowed from Lat *baptizāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 317, *Alb. St.* IV 25). The unusual development of *\*hapt-* > *\*pagt-* is a combination of a dissimilation and shift of voicedness. ◊ CAMARDA I 139 (to Gk βαπτίζω id.); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 6 (from Italian); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1055; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 212; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *St.* II 5-6.

**pah** m 'scab, dust'. From PALb *\*pauja* connected with IE *\*peu-* 'to blow up' and, in particular, with Arm *hogi* 'breath' < IE *\*poujo-* (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45). ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 304 (to Gk πάχνη 'frost'); AČAREAN *HAB* III 107-108; POKORNY I 847; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 80.

**pajë** f 'side, party, dowry'. Also attested as *palë*. Historically identical with *palë* 'pair'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 318 (in the meaning 'dowry', borrowed from Lat *pallium* 'cover, coverlet'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 212 (*pajë* 'dowry' from Ital *palia* 'prize, reward'); HAARMANN 140.

**pajt** prep. 'thanks to'. Borrowed from Lat abl. *pactō*, cf. *hoc pactō* 'this way', *aliō pactō* 'otherwise' and the like. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 6 (from *\*për anë të* 'from the side of').

**pajtoj** aor. *pajtova* 'to appease, to reconcile, to hire, to engage'. Other variants are *paqoj*, *paqtoj*. Borrowed from Rom *\*pāctāre* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45; MEYER *Wb.* 319) in which derivatives of Lat *pāx* 'peace' and *pāciscor* 'to make a bargain' have converged (CAMARDA I 105). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1054; JOKL *LKUBA* 324 (on *-jt-* < Lat *-ct-*), *RIEB* II 64 (Albanian derivative in *-toj* of *paq*); DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 56-60; ÇABEJ *St.* II 6-7 (follows JOKL *RIEB*); HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 83-85.

**pak** adv. 'a little, few'. Borrowed from Lat *paucus* 'few, little' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48; CAMARDA I 53; MEYER *Wb.* 318). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 212; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HULD 102; HAARMANN 59, 141; LANDI *Lat.* 72.

**pakĕ** f, pl. *pakĕ* 'side of ham, buttock'. Borrowed from West Gmc *\*bakkon* 'ham, flitch' (Frankish *bako*, OHG *bahho*), derivative of Gmc *\*bakan* 'back' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 7).

**palavi** f, pl. *palavi* 'obscenity; pus'. Two historically unrelated homonyms of which one *palavi* 'pus' is a compound of *pa-* 'not' and *laj*, cf. *palarĕ* 'unwashed' (MEYER *Wb.* 237) and another *palavi* 'obscenity' continues NGk *παλάβρα* 'talking big', of Romance origin. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 8 (treats both words as one compound *pa-lav-* 'dirty, unwashed').

**palcĕ** f 'marrow, pith'. Note that the same word appears as *palsĕ* and *palĕz* (JOKL *LKUBA* 115, 284). Derived from *palĕ* 'pair; fold'. Semantically, an important *tertium comparationis* is found in Slavic parallels of *palĕ* - *\*polъ* 'half' and *\*polъ* 'hollow', since *palcĕ* designates a substance with which hollow spaces in a bone or a plant are filled (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 430-431). ◊ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 47-48; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 213.

**pale** part. 'even so, anyway' (in request or indirect speech). A sequence of two particles, *pa* and *le* (KRISTOFORIDHI 299). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 319 (to Slav *\*le*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 8 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI).

**palĕ** f, pl. *palĕ* 'pair; fold; group, class, party'. Goes back to Palb *\*pala* further related to Slav *\*polъ* 'half; hollow', Lat *palam* 'evidently, manifestly', Hitt *palhi-* 'wide' (JOKL *Studien* 66-67, 83; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 431). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 320 (to Gk *πέλομαι* 'to turn' but the Greek word belongs to IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>el-*), *Alb. St.* III 30; JOKL *Studien* 83 (compares with *shpall* 'to declare' but this verb is a phonetic variant of *shpĕrrall*, derived from *pĕrrallĕ* < Lat *parabola*); MANN *Language* XVII 18 (to Gk *δι-πλόος*); POKORNY I 803-805, 985-986; WALDE-HOFMANN II 237; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24 (from Lat *pāla*); HULD 143, 147 (from *\*polteH*); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 308-309 (to ON *fel* 'fold').

**palnjĕ** f, pl. *palnja* 'maple'. Other variants are *panjĕ*, *pĕnjĕ*. Borrowed from Rom *\*plătania* derived from Lat *platanus* 'plane-tree', with a metathesis in the first syllable. As shown by an Albanian loanword in Rum *paltin* 'maple' < *\*paltĕn*, the form *platanus* was also borrowed.

◊ MEYER *Wb.* 332 (from SCr *panj* 'stump'); PUŞCARIU *EWB* 109; JOKL *LKUBA* 188-190 (to Lat *palpāre* 'to stroke, to pat'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 9 (cognate of Gk *πλάτανος*, Lat *platanus*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 309-310.

**pall** aor. *palla* 'to bray, to bellow'. A variant of *përrall* 'to jest, to trifle' with compensatory long [a:] reflecting the fall of an intervocalic consonant. For the phonetic development cf. *shpall*. ◊ CAMARDA I 240 (to Lat *palam* 'evidently, manifestly'); JOKL *Studien* 83-84 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); ÇABEJ *St.* II 9-10 (adds non-existent Tokh *pal-* 'to celebrate').

**pallë** f, pl. *palla* 'pole, club, washing-stick, sword, mallet'. Borrowed from Lat *pāla* 'spade, shovel' (MEYER *Wb.* 319-320). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 111.

**pallë** f 'rest, quiet'. In a phrase *běj pallë* 'to rest, to be quiet'. Borrowed from Gk *παῦλα* 'rest, pause'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 320 (from NGk *παῦλα*).

**pam** particle. A synonym of *pa*, it is a compound of *pa* and *më* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 10).

**pamëta** adv. 'again'. A parallel form is *pameta*. A compound of *pa* and *meta* 'again', from NGk *μετά* 'afterwards' (CAMARDA I 310; MEYER *Wb.* 270). ◊ LAMBERTZ *KZ* LIII 295; ÇABEJ *St.* II 10.

**panderë** f 'apron, embroidered sash'. Borrowed from Rom *\*panticarium* based on Lat *pantex* 'paunch', cf. a semantically different but formally close Rum *pîntecaraie* 'diarrhea' (MEYER *Wb.* 320). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 10-11 (borrowed from Ital dial. *bandiera* ~ *bandera* 'flag').

**paq** m 'peace'. Borrowed from Lat *pacem* id. (CAMARDA I 305; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48; MEYER *Wb.* 318-319). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 47, V 97; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1041, 1048, 1051; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* II 11; HAARMANN 139.

**paqyll** adj. 'dull, limited, stupid'. Derived from *pak*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 11 (a prefixal derivative in *pa-* < *\*po-* of *qull*, *qullët*).

**par** m, pl. *par* 'pair'. Borrowed from Lat *parem* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 321).



◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 140.

**para** adv., prep. 'before'. A parallel form is *parĕ*. From PALb *\*para* related to IE *\*per-* 'before, forward': OHG *furi*, Lat *prae* and the like (CAMARDA I 303; MEYER *Wb.* 321-322). This word appears as a first element in such compounds as *paravesh* 'slap in the face' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 12), *pardje* 'the day before yesterday' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 214) and the like. ◊ BOPP 503 (to *parĕ*); PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* 213; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 107-108; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 214; WALDE-HOFMANN II 351; POKORNY I 812; WATKINS *IER* 49-50; ÇABEJ *St.* III 193; HAMP *Numerals* 904-905 (reconstructs IE *\*p<sub>ṛ</sub>H-<sub>u</sub>-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 310.

**pare** f, pl. *pare* 'fish scale'. A singularized plural of *\*par* continuing PALb *\*para*, a deverbative related to Lith *periù*, *peřti* 'to strike', Slav *\*p<sub>ṛ</sub>ǫ*, *\*p<sub>ṛ</sub>ti* 'to press'. ◊ FRAENKEL 578; VASMER III 240; POKORNY I 818-819.

**parĕ** adj. 'first'. From PALb *\*para* etymologically identical with and derived from the adverb *para* (CAMARDA I 303). The adjective *parmĕ* 'front' is derived from *parĕ*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 321-322 (connection with *para* and Indo-European words for 'first': Lith *pirmas* and the like), *Alb. St.* III 30, 71; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 108 (to Skt *pūrva-* id.), *Sprache* IX 141; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 214; PORZIG *Gliederung* 186; MANN *Language* XVII 18; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82, *BSL* LXVI 223, *LB* XXIV/3 48; ÖLBERG *KZ* LXXXVI 133; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 68; HULD 68; DEMIRAJ *AE* 311.

**parmĕndĕ ~ parmendĕ** f, pl. *parmĕnda ~ parmenda* 'plow'. Borrowed from Rom *\*perarāmentum*, cf. Lat *perarāre* 'to plow through, to scratch' (MEYER *Wb.* 322). ◊ JOKL *IF* XXXVI 155, *LKUBA* 136 (agrees with MEYER); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 30; HAARMAN 111; ÇABEJ *St.* II 12 (from Rom *\*parāmentum* or Lat *apparāmentum* 'preparation').

**parzĕm** f, pl. *parzma* 'breast'. A parallel form, *parmĕz*, reflects the original structure of the word, a derivative in *-ĕz* of *parmĕ*, cf. *parĕ* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 12-13). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 322 (to Slav *\*p<sub>ṛ</sub>si* 'breast'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 48 (from Lat *parma* 'kind of shield'); SKOK *RIEB* I 298

(against MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 215-216 (follows MEYER), *Stratificazione* 94; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187, 204.

**parriz** m 'paradise'. Borrowed from Lat *paradtsus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Lat. Elemente* 593). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 322 (from Ital *paradiso* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 214-215 (follows MIKLOSICH); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 13-14 (loss of the intervocalic *-d-* as characteristic of Latin loanwords); HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 109.

**pas** adv., prep. 'after, behind'. A parallel form is *mbas*. Goes back to PA1b \*(*en*) *apa t̥si* continuing IE \*(*en*) *apo k'id*. For the etymology of components see *pa* and *çĕ*. ◊ BOPP 500 (to Skt *paścá-* 'back, posterior'); GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (same as BOPP); MEYER *Wb.* 322-323 (same as BOPP), *Alb. St.* III 13, 30; PEDERSEN *Festskr. Thomsen* 250, *KZ* XXXVI 311 (to *pa* and *-s* as in *mos*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 184; LA PIANA *Studi* I 33; ERNOUT-MEILLET 527; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387 (to Gk *πoτί* 'against, towards'), XXVIII 32; HAMP *KZ* LXXXV 23 (to Lith *pāskui* 'behind'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 311-312.

**pash** m, pl. *pash* 'fathom, pace, outstretched arms'. Borrowed from Lat *passus* 'step, pace' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 47; MEYER *Wb.* 323). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1041; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 139, 148-149.

**pashkĕ** f, pl. *pashkĕ* 'Easter'. Borrowed from Lat *Pasqua* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 47; MEYER *Wb.* 324). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 216; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 120, 147.

**pashnik** m, pl. *pashnikĕ* 'cloth, cover, towel'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav \**pašĕnikъ*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 323 (from Turk *başlık* 'hood'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 14 (derived from *parcĕ* segmented from *pĕrparcĕ*).

**pashtrak** m 'pasture rent, pasturage money'. Borrowed from Rom \**pastūrācus* based on Lat *pastūra* 'pasture'. ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* II 14-15 (from Rom \**pastūrāticus*); HAARMANN 140.

**patĕ** f, pl. *pata* 'goose'. A cultural *Wanderwort* attested in Slavic as well as in Romance, cf. Spanish *pata* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 324). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 23 (to Skt *pata-ga-* 'bird'); MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28

(from Slavic); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 216 (from Slavic); SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 244 (from SCr *patok*).

**patkua** ~ **patkue** m, pl. *patkonj* 'horseshoe'. Borrowed from Slav \**podъkovъ* id., a morphological variant of the more widespread \**podъkova* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; OREL *LB XXIX/4* 70). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 349-350 (from Slav \**podъkova*); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselelenie* 306, 326; JOKL *Slavia XIII* 641 (from Slav \**podъkova*); HAMP *LB XIV/2* 13; SVANE 85.

**pe** ~ **pê** m, pl. *penj, penjë, pêjna* 'thread'. Borrowed from Lat *pānus* 'thread wound upon the bobbin' (MEYER *Wb.* 331). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1041; JOKL *Zb. Belić* 44; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 218; MANN *Language XVII* 20-21 (from IE \**petino-*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 24; HAARMANN 140.

**pec** adj. 'shortsighted, blind'. Continues PALb \**paitsa* (with the preserved affricate as in some other cases) related to ON *feigr* 'close to death', Lith *paĩkas* 'stupid' from IE \**peik-*. ◇ POKORNY I 794.

**peçë** f, pl. *peca* 'cloth, rag, napkin'. From PALb \**paitså* related to Gk ποικίλος 'multicolored', OHG *fēh* id., Slav \**pъstrъ* id. For the semantic development cf. Slav \**gun'a* 'cloth' borrowed from Iran \**gaunya-* 'multicolored'. ◇ POKORNY I 795; VASMER III 251.

(G) **pêjnë** f 'fringe'. Singularized plural of *pe* (MANN *HAED* 358). ◇ CANDREA-DENSUȘIANU 1378 (borrowed from Rom \**pedinus* > Rum *piedin* 'fringe' > Alb *pedim* id.); ÇABEJ *St. II* 16 (repeats MANN's etymology).

**pejzë** f, pl. *pejza* 'muscle, sinew, string'. Derivative of *pe*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St. VII* 273.

**pek** m, pl. *peqe* 'worry, concern'. Based on Slav \**pekti se* 'to worry, to care' (MEYER *Wb.* 324).

**pelenë** f, pl. *pelena* 'diaper'. Borrowed from Slav \**pelena* 'cover, napkin', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *pelena*, SCr *pelena* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 326). ◇ SVANE 96.

**pelë** f, pl. *pela* 'mare'. From PAIb *\*pōulā* related to Gk πῶλος 'foal', Goth *fula* id. (XYLANDER 279; CAMARDA I 172; MEYER *Wb.* 326). ◊ STIER KZ XI 147; MEYER *Alb. St.* III 88; JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 83 (reconstructs *\*pōlnā* with *\*-ln- > -l-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 218 (agrees with JOKL), *Stratificazione* 139; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; BARIÇ *Hymje* 22; FRISK II 634; CHANTRAINE 961; POKORNY I 843; FEIST *Goth.* 170-171; PORZIG *Gliederung* 150; SCHMIDT *Sybaris* 134; ÇABEJ *Die Sprache* XVIII 153, *St.* II 16; HULD 102 (beware of the inaccurately summarized literature!); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 314.

**pelin** m 'wormwood'. Borrowed from Slav *\*pelynъ* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *pelin*, SCr *pelin* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 326). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 163; SVANE 109.

**pelq** aor. *pelqa* 'to stir up (water)'. Goes back to PAIb *\*pelkja* related to Lith *pelkėti* 'to become marshy', *pėlkė* 'marsh, swamp', Latv *pelce* 'puddle', *pelcēt* 'to urinate'. ◊ FRAENKEL 567; POKORNY I 805.

**pellë** f, pl. *pella* 'comb'. From PAIb *\*petslā*, a derivative in *\*-l-* related to Gk πέκω 'to comb', Lith *pėšti* 'to pull, to pluck', Lat *pecten* 'comb'. ◊ FRISK II 492-493; FRAENKEL 580-581; WALDE-HOFMANN II 269-270; POKORNY I 797.

**pellg** m, pl. *pellgje* 'pond, pool, depth'. In Old Albanian the word is preserved as *pellëg* (BUZUKU, BUDI). Borrowed from Gk πέλαγος 'high sea' (ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 43). ◊ CAMARDA I 40 (unspecified connection with Gk πέλαγος); LOEWENTHAL *WuS* X 176 (related to Gk πέλαγος); MEYER *Alb. Studien* I 24 (related to Lith *pėlkė* 'marsh, swamp'), *Wb.* 326 (borrowed from NGk πέλαγος); BARIÇ *AArbStar* I 151-152 (from *\*pō-leugā* compared with *lēgatē* and Slav *\*luža*); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 87; PORZIG *Gliederung* 151; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 337; ROSETTI *ILR* 273 (related to Rum *bîlc* 'marsh'); GINDIN *Form. SN* 60; ÇABEJ *St.* II 16-17; OREL *RRL* XXX/2 105-106 (agrees with LOEWENTHAL).

**pemë** f, pl. *pemë* 'fruit-tree, fruit'. Borrowed from Lat *pōmum* 'fruit', *pōmus* 'fruit-tree' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 326). ◊ CAMARDA II 190 (to Gk πέπω 'to ripen'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1039; MANN *Language* XXVI 387;

MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 64.

**pendar** m, pl. *pendarë* 'watchman'. An early borrowing from Slav \**pōdarь* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *pъdar*, SCr *pudar* (MEYER *Wb.* 332). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 181, 291; SVANE 197.

**pendë** f, pl. *pendë* 'feather; pair (of oxen)'. Borrowed from Lat *pinna*, *penna* 'feather' (CAMARDA II 73; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48; MEYER *Wb.* 326). The second meaning 'pair of oxen' seems to be a metaphoric derivative of Lat *penna* 'plumage' or the like. Note *pendull* id. and *penëll* derived from *pendë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 17). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1050; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 178 (to Lith *spândau* 'to stretch'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 218; CANDREA-DENSUSIANU 199 (*pendull* from Lat *pinnula* 'little plume'); JOKL *LKUBA* 302 n. 1 (*penëll* borrowed from Lat *pinnula*); MANN *Language* XVII 20-21, XXVI 386; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 65; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 58, 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 314-315.

**pendoj** aor. *pendova* 'to repent'. Borrowed from Lat *poenitere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 332). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 143.

**penez** m, pl. *peneza* 'silver coin (used as ornament)'. Borrowed from Slav \**penędzь* 'coin', preserved in South Slavic as Bulg *penez*, SCr *penez* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 28; MEYER *Wb.* 327). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 176, 182; SVANE 90.

**peng** m, pl. *pengje* 'pledge, pawn'. Borrowed from Lat *pignus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER *Wb.* 327). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 68 (to *pendë*); SKOK *AArbSt* II 341-344; MEYER-LÜBKE *AArbSt* III 205-206; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 113 (suffix -g); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 125, 130, 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 314.

**pengë** f, pl. *penga* 'fetters (for horse)'. Borrowed from Lat *pedica* 'shackle, fetter' with a secondary inlaut nasal (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48; MEYER *Wb.* 327). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 141.

**perëndoj** aor. *perëndova* 'to set (of the sun)'. A difficult word from which *perëndi* 'god' is derived. Borrowed from Lat *parentäre* 'to bring

a sacrifice (to the dead), to satisfy' or, rather, from its passive correlate *parentāri*. ◇ BOPP 341 (*perëndi* < Lat *imperantem*, phonetically difficult, cf. *mbret*); CAMARDA I 341-342 (unsuccessful attempt of segmenting the word as *per-ëndi*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 32 (agrees with BOPP); JOKL *LKUBA* 13 (derives *perëndoj* from *anë*); MEYER *Wb.* 328 (parallelism between *dielli perëndon* and NGk ὁ ἥλιος βασιλεύει leading to the derivation of *perëndi* from Lat *imperantem*); PEDERSEN *BB* XX 229 (to Slav *\*perunъ*); LOEWENTHAL *ANF* XXIX 99 (same as PEDERSEN); HASDEU *EMR* II 495; HESSELING *Neophilologus* V 165-169 (*dielli perëndon* as a calque from Greek); PISANI *IF* LXXIX 152-153, *Saggi* 124; POKORNY I 54; FRAENKEL 635; GINDIN *Onom.* 87; ÇABEJ *St.* II 17-20; NEROZNAK *BF* 84-87; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* VIII/1-2 148-160 (same as HESSELING); HAARMANN 130; OREL *SBJa Leksikol.* 151-152 (derived from *rëndë ~ randë*).

**pesë ~ pēsë** num. 'five'. From PALb *\*pentše* going back to IE *\*penkʰe* 'five': Skt *pāñca*, Gk πέντε, Lat *quīnque* and the like (BOPP 512; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; CAMARDA I 169 without explanation of *-së*; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 307-309). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* II 47-48, *Wb.* 329 (from *\*penkʰiā*), *Alb. St.* III 5, 25, 30; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 37; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89, *Mélanges Pedersen* 157-158, *Sprache* IX 123; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 26; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 218-219 (follows PEDERSEN); LA PIANA *Studi* I 72; PISANI *Saggi* 102; FRISK II 506-507; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; MAYRHOFER II 187; WALDE-HOFMANN II 407-408; POKORNY I 808; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 109-110; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 79, *Numerals* 910-911; HULD 102-103 (admits the conflation of *\*penkʰe* and *\*pŋkʰti*); KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 126, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 227; DEMIRAJ *AE* 315-316.

**peshë** f, pl. *pësha* 'weight; stone, boulder'. Borrowed from Lat *pensum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 49; MEYER *Wb.* 336). ◇ PEDERSEN *IF* V 47 (*peshë* 'stone' - to Skt *pāñsú-* 'crumbling soil' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 219; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* II 20-21; HAARMANN 141.

**peshk** m, pl. *pëshq, pishq* 'fish'. Borrowed from Lat *piscem* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 125, *Wb.* 329). In singular, *-k-* (instead of *-q-*) may result from the restructuring of the Albanian paradigm or from a morphological change in Romance. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043 (from Italian); TAGLI-

AVINI *Dalmazia* 219; HAARMANN 46; HAMP KZ LXXVII 256-257 (*peshk* as an indigenous form!), JIES I 512; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 21-22 (the morphological development and the original paradigm of *peshk*); HULD 103; HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 57, 120, 144.

**peshkop** m, pl. *peshkopë* 'bishop of the Orthodox church'. Borrowed from Lat *episcopus* 'bishop'.

**petë** f, pl. *petë, peta* 'layer (of a flaky pâté); metal plate; flat stone'. From PAIb \**pati-* 'flat object' to be compared with IE \**pet-* ~ \**petā-* 'to stretch': Gk *πετάννυμι* id., Lat *pateō* 'to stretch, to be spread' and the like (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 431-432). One of the derivatives of *petë* is *petull* 'small flat stone' (DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz.* VIII 153). Note also *patë* 'plectrum' < PAIb \**patā*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 330; POKORNY I 824-825; FRISK II 520; WALDE-HOFMANN II 262.

**petk** m, pl. *petka* 'clothes, garment'. A parallel form is *petkë*. From PAIb \**patika*, derivative of *petë* (CAMARDA 180; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 431-432). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 330 (related to Goth *paida* χιτών, Gk βαίτη 'peasant leather clothes'); JOKL *LKUBA* 215-216, *RIEB* II 73-75 (derived from *pjetë*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 219; TREIMER KZ LXV 88-89; XHUVANI *BShkSh* VI/2 32; POKORNY I 92-93; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 113 (suffix *-kë*); OREL *Balcanica* 114 (with unvoicing from \**baitā*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 316.

**pezëm** m 'inflammation, irritation, sorrow, anger'. Derived from an unattested \**pezë* (cf. *buzëm* from *buzë*), itself a form in *-zë* related to *pjek*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 336 (reconstructs \**për-zëm-* to be compared with Slav \**sz-męto* 'to sweep away'); KRISTOFORIDHI 305 (from Gk *πεισμο* 'persuasion, confidence'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 22 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI).

**pëgëj ~ pugāj** aor. *pëgëva ~ pugana* 'to make dirty, to soil'. An early borrowing from Slav \**poganiti* id. The adjective *pëgërë ~ pëgan* 'filthy' goes back to Slav \**poganъ* 'pagan, unclean, filthy' while the Geg form *pëgam* 'soiled' is a regular participle of *pëganj* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46 (from Lat *pāgānus* 'pagan'); MEYER *Wb.* 331 (follows MIKLOSICH); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; THUMB *IF* XXVI 55-57; JOKL *LKUBA* 132 (from

Balkan Romance); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 213; HAARMANN 139, 210; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 80.

**pēlcas** aor. *plasa*, *pēlcita* 'to burst, to explode'. Derived from *plas*. Preserves an archaic *-c-* < \**-tj-*. ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 337 (to Germ *platzen*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 324 (from \**placas*).

**pēlhurē** f, pl. *pēlhura* 'cloth, stuff'. Other variants are *plēhurē*, *plihurē*, *pluhurē*. Derivative of *plah*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 343 (to *plaf*); JOKL *Studien* 69-70 (follows MEYER and links *plaf* and *pēlhurē* to Lat *plectō* 'to plait'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 215, 230; DEMIRAJ *AE* 316.

**pēlqej** aor. *pēlqeva* 'to please'. Borrowed from Lat *placēre* id. (CAMARDA I 55; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER *Wb.* 331-332); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 142.

**pēlqyer** m, pl. *pēlqerē* 'thumb'. A phonetic variant of *pulqyer*.

**pēllas** aor. *palla*, *pēllita* 'to bray'. A morphological variant of *pall*.

**pēllas** m 'palace'. Borrowed from Lat *palātium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 319 (from Ital *palazzo*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1041 (follows MIKLOSICH); CANDREA-DENSUSIANU 1330 (same as MIKLOSICH); JOKL *LKUBA* 93-94 (follows CANDREA-DENSUSIANU); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* II 22-23; HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 80, 111, 125.

**pēlle** f, pl. *pēlla* 'milch cow, ewe or goat'. A suffixal derivative of *pjell* (JOKL *LKUBA* 225). Another derivative is *plle* ~ *pllē* 'fertile domestic animal'.

**pēllēmbē** ~ **pēllambē** f, pl. *pēllēmbē* ~ *pēllambē* 'palm (of the hand)'. Borrowed from Gk *παλάμη* 'hand, palm' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 23). The cluster *-mb-* < \**-m-* is a secondary feature. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46 (from Lat *palma*); MEYER *Wb.* 331 (borrowing from NGk *παλάμη* id.), *Alb. St.* IV 93; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 248 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); MANN *Language* XVII 20 (from IE \**płmā*); HULD 103 (agrees with ÇABEJ).

**pēllumb** m, pl. *pēllumba* 'pigeon, dove'. Borrowed from Lat *palumbes*,



*palumbus* 'wood-pigeon' (CAMARDA II 160; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46; MEYER *Wb.* 331). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 80, 93, 115.

**pëqi** ~ **pëqî** m, pl. *pëqinj* 'seam, hem'. A parallel form *spëlqi* may reflect an earlier \**pëlqi* borrowed from Rom \**plicînus* 'fold', cf. Lat *plicō* 'to fold' (MEYER *Wb.* 331).

**për** prep. 'for'. The reflexes of PALb \**peri* and \**pra* related to Skt *pāri* 'round, about', Gk πέρι 'around' and Gk πρό 'before, forward', Lat *prō* id. correspondingly (BOPP 503-504; GIL 'FERDING *Otm.* 23; CAMARDA I 320-321; MEYER *BB* VIII 189, *Alb. St.* III 30) were contaminated with PALb \**per* borrowed from Lat *per* 'for' (MEYER *Wb.* 332). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1057 (from Latin); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89, *IF* XXXVII 106; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 213-214; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 246; FRISK II 512-513, 596-597; CHANTRAINE 886; MANN *Language* XVII 22; MAYRHOFER II 216-217; WALDE-HOFMANN II 364-365; POKORNY I 811-816; ÇABEJ *St.* II 23-25 (of Indo-European origin); DEMIRAJ *AE* 316-317.

**përbalcë** f 'contest, tournament'. A suffixal derivative of *përball* 'to face, to defy' similar to *përballje* 'contest'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 332 (to Ital *balzare*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 25 (to *përbalt* 'to bespatter with mud').

**përcëlloj** aor. *përcëllova* 'to roast'. A prefixal derivative from *sjell* with a secondary *c-* < *s-* (CAMARDA I 88). The original meaning must have been 'to roast by rotating on a spit'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 334 (from Slav \**prъskati* 'to sprinkle'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 25 (follows CAMARDA).

**përç** m, pl. *përça* 'uncastrated he-goat'. Borrowed from South Slav \**prъčъ*, cf. Bulg *prъč*, SCr *prč* (MEYER *Wb.* 334). ◊ KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 43-44; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 235.

**përçlam** m 'ivy'. Other variants are *përçllan* and *berçlen*. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *brъšl'an*, SCr *bršljan* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 25).

**përdëlej** aor. *përdëleva* 'to pity'. Another form is *përdëllej*. Borrowed from Rom \**per-indulgëre*, cf. *ndëlej* (MEYER *Wb.* 299). ◊ LA PIANA *Vocale* 23 (from Lat *perdolëre* 'to grieve greatly'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15 (follows LA PIANA); ÇABEJ *St.* II 25-26 (Albanian forma-

tion based on Lat *dolēre* 'to grieve, to deplore'; HAARMANN 141.

**përgjëroj** aor. *përgjërova* 'to swear'. A prefixal formation based on \**gjëroj* borrowed from Lat *jūrāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 332). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 17.

**përgjoj** aor. *përgjova* 'to pry, to peep, to spy'. A prefixal derivative of *gjuaj* (CAMARDA I 113; WEIGAND 68). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 332 (from Lat *pervigilare* 'to remain awake, to watch all night'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; ÇABEJ *St.* II 25 (based on an erroneous segmentation of *ndëgjoj* in which *ndë-* is treated as a prefix); HAARMANN 141.

**përkas** aor. *preka*, *përkita* 'to touch'. Derivative of *prek*.

**përkorë** ~ **përkuer** adj. 'temperate, moderate (in food)'. Derived from *kuaj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 333 (from \**përkoj*, borrowed from Lat *parcere* 'to spare'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; HAARMANN 140.

**përkul** aor. *përkula* 'to bend'. From PAIb \**per-kula*, a prefixal derivative of IE \**k<sup>h</sup>el-* 'to turn' in zero grade, cf. *sjell* (JOKL *LKUBA* 229). ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 14; POKORNY I 639-640; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 30, 81; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 113; DEMIRAJ *AE* 317.

**përkund** aor. *përkunda* 'to swing, to sway, to rock (a cradle)'. Another variant is *përkun*. A prefixal derivative of an unattested \**kund*, see *lëkund*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 333 (from *kunë* 'cradle', an Italian loanword).

**përlij** aor. *përlijja* 'to pay off, to avenge, to requite'. A denominative derivative of *lij* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 27). ◊ JOKL *WuS* XII 83-85 (to Lith *lygūs* 'equal' and its cognates).

**përlim** m. pl. *përlime* 'duty, obligation'. A prefixal deverbative based on *lë*. ◊ XHUVANI *Minerva* III/27 22 (from \**për-ligjim*, to *lij*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 27-28 (to *lyej*).

**përmbi** prep. 'over'. Goes back to PAIb \**per-ambi*, with the first element identical with *për* and the second representing *mbi*.

**përmbys** aor. *përmbysa* 'to overturn, to overthrow', adv. 'upside down'. Other variants are *përmys*, *përmis*, *përmbis*. The verb is a secondary

formation based on the adverb whose first part is identical with *përmbi*. As a whole, *përmbys* goes back to PALb *\*per-ambi-uptja*, the third component *\*uptja* 'under, lower' connected with Skt *úpa* 'toward, near to', Gk *ὑπό* 'under', Goth *uf* 'under' and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 268 (identical with *përmbys* 'to flood', cf. *mbys*); JOKL *Studien* 56 (follows MEYER); MAYRHOFER I 105; FRISK II 971-972; FEIST *Goth.* 509; POKORNY I 1106-1107; ÇABEJ *St.* II 28 (to *mys*).

**përmend** aor. *përmenda* 'to mention, to recall, to nominate'. Derivative of *mend* (WEIGAND *BA* I 260). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 94; ÇABEJ *St.* II 28 (follows WEIGAND).

**përmëles** aor. *përmëleta* 'to break a fast, to season with butter'. Other variants are *përmbles*, *përhules*, *burbules*. A denominative based on *\*përmbletë*, the latter unattested form must have been borrowed from Rom *\*praeambulatus* 'premature', to Lat *praeambulāre* 'to walk before'. ◊ CAMARDA I 339 (to Gk *παρὰ-μελέω* 'to disregard, to neglect'); MEYER *Wb.* 333 (from SCr *izmeljati* 'to besmear'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 28-29 (considers *burbules* to be the original form).

**përmjerr** aor. *përmorra* 'to urinate'. Goes back to PALb *\*per-medzra* related to IE *\*meiǵh-* id.: Skt *méhati*, Gk *ὀμείχω*, Lat *meiō*, ON *míga* (CAMARDA I 70). Note the irregularities in the development of the root vowel and the consonantal cluster. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 335 (to Skt *mála-* 'dirt', *maršati* 'to sprinkle'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 74 (to Skt *madati* 'to be inebriated, to boil'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 49-51; MAYRHOFER II 690; WALDE-HOFMANN II 60-61; FRISK II 385; POKORNY I 713; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

**përpjetë** adj. 'rising, uphill', f 'rise, slope', adv. 'up, uphill'. Continues PALb *\*pra-peta* compared with Gk *προπετής* 'prominent', *προπέτομαι* 'to fly forwards' and further connected with Skt *pátati* 'to fly, to soar', Gk *πέτομαι* 'to fly' (CAMARDA I 304; MEYER *Wb.* 333-334, *Alb. St.* III 23, 30, 84). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 548 (adduces dialectal *përpjelta* = *përpjetë* as an argument against MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 14, *LKUBA* 164 (repeats PEDERSEN 's arguments); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 75 (to Lith *pùlti* 'to fall' and the like); PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRISK II 521-522; MAYRHOFER II 199; POKORNY I 825-826; ÇABEJ *St.* II 29-30 (explains *përpjelta* as a metathesis of *përpjetë*).

**përposh** adv. 'below, underneath'. A parallel form is *përposht*. A prefixal derivative of *poshtë* (MEYER *Wb.* 349). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290 (-*posh* from loc. sg. \*-*pēd-su* 'at the foot'), *Kelt. Gr.* I 50; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

**përpush** aor. *përpusha* 'to poke, to stir up'. From \**për-prush*, cf. *prush* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 30).

**përqell** aor. *përqella* 'to deride, to mock'. Derived from *qell* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 30-31). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 225 (from Lat *percellere* 'to beat down'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538-539 (against MEYER as Lat -*ll-* cannot yield Alb -*ll-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 188, 258.

**përqi** f, pl. *përqi* 'dowry'. Borrowed from MGk προικίον id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 31). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 333 (from SCr *prćija* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 78 (follows MEYER).

**përskas** aor. *përskita* 'to sprinkle'. Borrowed from Slav \**prъskati* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *prъskam*, SCr *prskati* (MEYER *Wb.* 334).

**përshesh** aor. *përshesha* 'to crumble, to break up, to raze to the ground'. A prefixal denominative of *shesh*. From the verb, the noun *përshesh* 'sop of bread, milk and butter' has been derived. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 329 (noun *përshesh* - from Turkish *parça* 'piece' and *aş* 'soup'), 355 (noun *pshesh* < \**mshesh*, from Slav \**měšati* 'to mix'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 31- 32 (deverbative of *shij*).

**përshpjetem** refl. 'to arrive unexpectedly'. An active form *përspjes* (with dialectal -*s-*) means 'to train, to drill, to rear'. Corrupt forms of \**përshpejt* based on *shpejt*. ◊ JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 31 (from SCr *prispjeti* 'to be on time').

**përshtat** aor. *përshтата* 'to fit, to adapt'. A denominative prefixal verb based on *shtat*. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 250 (to IE \**sthā-* 'to stand'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 32 (univerbation of *për shtat* 'for stature').

**përtoj** aor. *përtova* 'to be lazy'. Borrowed from Lat *pigrītārī* 'to be slow, to be sluggish' (MEYER *Wb.* 334). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundrīß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 142.

**përtyp** aor. *përtypa* 'to chew'. Derived from \**typ*, see *typth*. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 59 (to Lat *stīpō* 'to squeeze tightly'); JOKL *Studien* 85-86 (to Gk *τραπέω* 'to press (grapes)'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 263; MANN *Language XXVI* 387; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 11; DEMIRAJ *AE* 317-318.

**përvëloj** aor. *përvëlova* 'to boil down, to boil, to ignite, to kindle'. A phonetic variant of *pravulloj*.

**përvjel** aor. *përvola* 'to fling out, to let fly, to turn over, to roll up, to cut fleece on sheep's belly'. A prefixal derivative of *vjel* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 32), probably, influenced by a partial synonym *përvesh* 'to roll up (sleeves)'.

**përzhis** aor. *përzhita* 'to scorch, to roast, to bake'. Borrowed from Slav \**pržiti* 'to roast', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *pržza*, SCr *pržiti* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 334). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 155; SVANE 238.

**përrallë** f, pl. *përralla* 'tale, story'. Borrowed from Lat *parabola* 'proverb, speech' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 47; MEYER *Wb.* 350). ◇ CAMARDA II 72 (to Gk *παραβολή* 'proverb, parable'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1055; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 536; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 33; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 72, 80, 130.

**përrua ~ përrue** m, pl. *përrenj, përronj* 'brook; river-bed'. Early borrowing from Slav \**porovъ ~ \*parovъ*, cf. Pol *parów* 'ravine', name of a source in Greece Πορόβος (of Slavic origin), see OREL *LB XXIX/4* 70-71. Alb *përrua* was borrowed to Rum *părău*. ◇ CAMARDA I 312; MEYER *Wb.* 335 (reconstructs \**per-rĕn-* connected with \**rĕ(i)-* 'to flow'); JOKL *Studien* 282-284, *LKUBA* 277 (explains \**per-rĕn-* as a formation etymologically close to OHG *rinnan* 'to flow', Slav \**roniti* 'to drop'), *IF XXXVII* 90-91, *ZONF X* 189-190, *Sprache IX* 130; SPITZER *MRIW* I 296; BARIĆ *A ArbSt* I/1-2 152-153 (from IE \**per-srouno-*), *Hymje* 70; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 51 (from Bulg *poroj*); MANN *Language XXVI* 383 (from IE \**per-ĕjo-* 'passage'); GEORGIEV *Festschr. Rosetti* 287-290; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 346; ROSETTI *ILR* I 280; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 52; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, apud DEMIRAJ (to Gk *περάω* 'to penetrate, to pierce'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 318.

**pësoj** aor. *pësova* 'to suffer, to endure'. Borrowed from Rom \**patiäre*,

cf. Lat *patior* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 335). ◇ CAMARDA I 62 (to Lat *patior*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1050 (from Lat *patior*); MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227; HAARMANN 140.

**pëshkoj** aor. *pëshkova* 'to wash up, to rinse'. Borrowed from Rom \**persiccāre* 'to dry up', cf. Lat *persiccātus* 'quite dry'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 336 (from \**shkëpoj* borrowed from Ital *scopare* 'to sweep out'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 33-34 (from \**përshkoj*, derivative of *shkoj*, 'to go again' > 'to rinse').

**pëshjtjell** aor. *pështolla* 'to wrap up'. From \**për-shtjell*, based on *shtjell* (MEYER *Wb.* 416).

**pështjerë** adv. 'down, low'. An obsolete Old Albanian form representing a deverbative \**për shtjerë* based on *shtie*. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 59-60 (from \**pëd-s-t-ero-* related to *përposh*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201.

**pëshpëris** aor. *pëshpërita* 'to whisper, to sigh'. An onomatopoeia connected with the adverb *pësh pësh* 'in whispers'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 220.

**pështyj** aor. *pështyta*, *pështyva* 'to spit'. A denominative descriptive stem continuing PALb \**pistūnja* and similar to those of Lat *spuō* id. and Gk πύω id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 336 (from Rom \**sputire* 'to spit'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1055 (from Lat *sputāre*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 231-232 (questions MEYER's solution in view of the metathesis in Rum *stupi* id.); MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Gk πύω); FRISK II 617-618; WALDE-HOFMANN II 580-581; POKORNY I 999-1000; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

**pështym** aor. *pështyma* 'to dry wood, to smoke out'. A denominative verb based on the participle of *pështyj* describing the process of wood-drying as 'spitting out' water.

**pi** aor. *piva* 'to drink, to suck'. From PALb \**pīja* with the regular loss of \*-j- (OREL *FLH* VIII 41-42). Related to IE \**pō(i)-* ~ \**pī-* 'to drink': Skt *pāti* 'to drink', Gk πίνω, Lat *bibō* (BOPP 483; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; CAMARDA I 17). Note a structural similarity between \**pīja* and Slav \**pījo*. Aor. *piva* displays PALb \*-w- reminiscent of Skt I sg. perf. *papáu* (OREL *ZfBalk* XXII 82-83). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 336, *Alb. St.* III 30, *Gr. Gr.* 105; TOMASCHEK *Thr.* II 18 (participle *pirë* ~ *pinë* < \**pīno-*

compared with Thr [?] πῖνον 'beer'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 219-222; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; KRAUSE *Corolla linguistica* 137-144; POKORNY I 839-840; MAYRHOFER II 252; FRISK II 540-542; CHANTRAINE 905; WALDE-HOFMANN I 103-104; HULD 103; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ (reconstructs PAIb \**pīnō*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 318-319 (from a reduplication \**pipH-* > PAIb \**pip-*).

**picas** aor. *picata* 'to catch mice'. Derived from the stem *pic-*, cf. *picërr*.

**picërr** adj. 'tiny, small'. Together with *picë* 'little girl', *picël* 'needle-point' and *picak* 'naked', this word is derived from *pic* 'tip, end, top' borrowed from Ital *pizzo* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 34-35). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 341 (to Ital *picciolo* 'little', *piccino* id.).

**pidh** m, pl. *pidhëra* ~ *pidhna*, *pidhe* 'female pudenda'. From PAIb \**p(e)izda* directly related to Slav \**pizda* id. and OPrus *peisda* 'bottom' (MEYER *Wb.* 336-337, *Alb. St.* III 16, 30). ◇ WIEDEMANN *BB* XXX 207-209 (reconstructs \**peighdh-*); JOKL *IF* XXX 198-200; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 94; PISANI *Saggi* 125; POKORNY I 831; HAMP *IJSLP* XI 25-26, *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 43; HULD 149; DEMIRAJ *AE* 319-320.

**pihatem** refl. 'to be tired, to be exhausted'. Borrowed from Slav \**pyxati* (*se*) 'to be short of breath', cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *pxam*, Slovene *pihati* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◇ SVANE 257.

**pik** m 'spotted woodpecker'. Derived from *pik* 'to fill holes, to pierce'.

**pik** aor. *pika* 'to fill holes, to pierce'. A descriptive stem similar to that of Ital *piccare* 'to prick'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 337 (from Romance).

**pik** aor. *pika* 'to make bitter'. A metaphorical usage of *pik* 'to fill holes, to pierce' (MEYER *Wb.* 337).

**pikë** f, pl. *pika*, *pikë* 'drop'. A descriptive stem similar to Rum *pic* id. The verb *pikoj* 'to sprinkle' is derived from *pikë*. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 49 (from Lat *picca*); MEYER *Wb.* 337 (related to *pik* 'to make bitter'); PUŞCARIU *EWB* 114; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044 (from Rom \**pica*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 221; ÇABEJ *St.* II 35-36 (derived from *pjek* 'to meet').

**pilas** pl. 'eyebrows'. Based on sg. \**pil* borrowed from Lat *pilleus* 'felt cap, \*protective hair' (ÇABEJ St. II 35).

**pilë** f, pl. *pila* 'heap, pile, pebble, group of stones used in a game'. Borrowed from Ital *pila* 'pile' (ÇABEJ St. II 36-37). ◊ HAARMANN 142 (from Lat *pīla* id.).

**pilikuri** adv. 'bare, naked'. A derivative with an expressive prefix *pili-* based on *korë*. A fossilized noun *pilikor* 'unconsciousness' is a folk etymology derivative of *pilikuri*. ◊ PEDERSEN Alb. Texte 177 (from *për* and *lakur*); ÇABEJ St. II 37 (from *për* and *lëkur*).

**pilipizgë** f, pl. *pilipizga* 'kind of pipe'. A derivative with an expressive prefix *pili-* based on *pizgë*.

**pilivesë** f, pl. *pilivesa* 'dragonfly'. Another variant is *pilivoesë*. A derivative with an expressive prefix *pili-* based on *ve, voe* (ÇABEJ St. II 37).

**pillë** f, pl. *pilla* 'stone trough'. Borrowed from Lat *pīla* 'mortar', in Romance - 'trough', cf. Ital *pila* (MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ St. II 37-38). ◊ DEMIRAJ AE 320-321.

**pillë** f, pl. *pilla* 'flax comb'. Borrowed from an unattested derivative of Lat *pīlō* 'to comb' (DEMIRAJ AE 320-321). ◊ JOKL Studien 68-69 (from IE \**pek-lā* related to Lat *pectō* 'to comb' and the like); OREL ZfBalk XXIII 145.

**pillë** f, pl. *pilla* 'small stone (for play)'. Borrowed from Lat *pila* 'ball, playing-ball' (MEYER Wb. 337). ◊ PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 538 (against MEYER as \**pellë* is expected); VASMER Alb. Wortforsch. I 51 (from an Italian dialect); TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 221; ÇABEJ St. II 38 (agrees with MEYER).

**pingë** f, pl. *pinga* 'top'. Goes back to PALb \**pinkā* related to Lith *pīnklas* 'wicker-work', Latv *pinka* 'tuft', *pinkāt* 'to tousle'. From *pingë*, *pingul* 'downwards, vertically' and *pingël* 'tip, top, point' are derived. ◊ FRAENKEL 594; ÇABEJ St. II 39 (*pingul* from a compound of *për* and *ngul*).



**pingroj** aor. *pingrova* 'to twitter, to chirp'. Borrowed from Rom \**pin-nigerāre* 'to behave as a bird, to bear feathers', cf. Lat *pinniger* 'feather-bearing'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 39 (onomatopoeia).

**pip** m, pl. *pipa* 'sprout, shoot, pipe, tube'. Borrowed from Rom \**pīpa* 'tube, pipe', cf. OFr *pipe*, Spanish *pipa* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 338). ◇ HAARMANN 142.

**pip** aor. *pipa* 'to peep, to chirp'. A descriptive stem similar to Germ *piepen* id., Lat *pipire* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 39-40). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 338 (borrowed from *pipire*); HAARMANN 142.

**pir** m 'habit, sprite'. A metaphoric usage of *pirë* 'prick, thorn', see *pirrë*.

**pirem** refl. 'to bend, to bow'. A dialectal form of *prierem*, see *prier* (MANN *HAED* 387).

**pirë** f, pl. *pira* 'pore'. Goes back to Palb \**pirā*, a zero grade form related to Gk *πέρω* 'to bore', Slav \**perjō* id. and the like. Note a derivative *piri* 'funnel'. ◇ FRISK II 491-492; VASMER III 240; POKORNY I 816-817; ÇABEJ *St.* II 40 (*piri* borrowed from Venetian *peiria* or its Greek source).

**pirrë** f, pl. *pirra* 'couch-grass, rye-grass; hedge'. Another variant is *pirë* 'prick, thorn'. Borrowed from Slav \**pyrь* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: SCr *pir* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 222). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 216-217 (*pirrë* 'hedge' related to Gk *πέρω* 'to pierce' and its cognates); DEMIRAJ *AE* 321.

**pisë** f 'cat, tabby-cat'. An onomatopoeia similar to that of Rum *pisă* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 339-340).

**piskas** aor. *piskata* 'to shout, to cry'. Borrowed from Slav \**piskati* 'to peep', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *piskati* (MEYER *Wb.* 339). ◇ SVANE 261.

**pispillohem** refl. 'to dress up, to smarten oneself'. An expressive reduplication of *pillohem* id., a reflexive form of *pilloj* 'to hackle (flax)', cf. *pillë*.

**pisputh** m 'swine, bastard'. A compound of *pis* 'dirty, filthy' (derived from a Modern Greek loanword *pisē* 'hell') and *puth*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 40 (to *purth* and *spurdhis*).

**pishĕ** f, pl. *pisha* 'pine'. Continues PALb *\*pī-s-a*, with *\*-s-* > *-sh-* according to the "ruki" rule, related to other Indo-European names of pine with different suffixes: Gk *πίτυς*, Lat *pīnus* (from *\*pitsnos* or *\*pisnos*). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 340 (related to Lat *pīnus*), Alb. *St.* III 30, 61 (to Gk *πέύκη* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 32 (reconstructs *\*pīt-s-ja*); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 95 (to Lat *picea* id.), *Hymje* 50; FRISK II 545-546; CHANTRAINE 908; WALDE-HOFMANN II 308; POKORNY I 794; FRIEDRICH *Trees* 34; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 212; HAMP *IF LXVI* 51; HULD 142, *KZ XCV* 303 (from *\*pīt-so-* related to Lat *pīnus*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 321-322 (old collective in *\*-s(i)o-*).

**pishkulloj** aor. *pishkullova* 'to whisper'. A parallel form is *pishtëlloj*. Borrowed from Rom *\*fistulāre* 'to sound like a pipe', cf. Lat *fistula* 'pipe'. Note the irregular substitution of Lat *f-* > Alb *p-*.

**pitās ~ pītas** adv. 'numb, numbly (of cold)'. Derived from *pij* 'to benumb', cf. *mpij*.

**pite** f, pl. *pite* 'honeycomb'. Borrowed, with phonetic irregularities, from Lat *pecten* 'comb'. The immediate source must have been Rom *\*pectum* > *\*pejtĕ*.

**pite** f, pl. *pite* 'gruel'. A singularized plural of *\*pitĕ* continuing PALb *\*pītu-* further related to Lith *piētus* 'noon meal, lunch', Skt *pīnū-* 'feeding', OIr *ith* 'grain, corn' and the like. ◇ FRAENKEL 587-588; MAYRHOFER II 278; POKORNY I 794.

**pitĕ** f, pl. *pita* 'kind of bread, cake'. A Mediterranean cultural *Wanderwort* present in South Slavic (Bulg *pita*, SCr *pita*), Turk *pita*, Hbr *pītā* and NGk *πίττα*, *πίττα* as well as in Romance where it seems to continue Rom *\*picta* (MEYER *Wb.* 340).

**pitĕr** adj. 'frequent'. Based on PALb *\*pim(i)ta* related to OIr *éim* 'quick, fast', ON *fimr* id. ◇ POKORNY I 795.

**pizgĕ** f, pl. *pizga* 'kind of wind instrument'. Borrowed from Slav *\*piska*, cf. in South Slavic: SCr *piska* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 339). Note the unusual

substitution of Slav \*-sk- > -zg-, probably, reflecting an early date of borrowing when there were no unvoiced sibilant in the Albanian consonantal system. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193; SVANE 218, 261.

**pizgull** f, pl. *pizgulla* 'piece, splinter'. Derived from *pizgë* 'chip, splinter, loop', a phonetic variant of *pisk*.

**pjalm** m 'dust, thin dust, fine flour'. From PALb *\*pelma* related to Gk *πάλη* 'fine flour', Skt *palala-* 'ground sesamum', Lith *pelenai* 'ashes', Latv *pēlni* id., Slav *\*polmę* 'flame', Lat *pollen* 'dust, fine flour' (SCHMIDT KZ L 243, 248). ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (to Osset *fælm* 'fog' < *\*pelmp*); VASMER III 273; FRAENKEL 566-567; WALDE-HOFMANN II 331-332; MAYRHOFER II 232; FRISK II 467; POKORNY I 802; ÇABEJ *St.* II 40-41.

**pjavicë** f, pl. *pjavica* 'leech'. Borrowed from Slav *\*pjavica* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *pjavica*, SCr *pjavica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29). A parallel form *piskavicë* results from an influence of *piskoj* 'to pinch' (MEYER *Wb.* 339). ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 324; JOKL *Studien* 113; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 220; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 99; SVANE 157.

**pjek** aor. *poqa* 'to bake, to cook'. Goes back to PALb *\*peka* etymologically continuing IE *\*pek-* id.: Skt *pácati*, Gk *πέσσω*, Lat *coquō*, Slav *\*pekq*, *\*pekti* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; CAMARDA I 67; MEYER *BB* VIII 185, *Wb.* 341). ◊ MEYER *IF* V 181 (on the *ē*-grade in aorist), *Alb. St.* III 3-4, 30; JOKL *Studien* 11; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 129; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 220; ERNOUT-MEILLET 141; LA PIANA *Studi* I 45; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; BARIÇ *Hymje* 20; FRISK II 519-520; CHANTRAINE 890; MAYRHOFER II 185-186; WALDE-HOFMANN I 270-272; POKORNY I 798; HAMP *BSL* LXVI/1 222; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 124; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 239; HULD 103-104; DEMIRAJ *AE* 322.

**pjek** aor. *poqa* 'to touch, to meet'. From PALb *\*peka*, related, with an irregular development of IE *\*-k-*, to Gk *πέκω* 'to comb', Lith *pešū*, *pėšti* 'to pull, to pluck' and the like. ◊ CAMARDA I 113 (to Gk *πήγνυμι* 'to stick, to fix in'); MEYER *Wb.* 341 (to Gk *πλέκω* 'to plait'), *Alb. St.* III 4, 32; MANN *Language* XXVIII 35; FRAENKEL 580-581; FRISK II 492-493; POKORNY I 797.

**pjekë** f, pl. *pjekë* 'eyelash'. From PALb *\*pekā* related to *pjek* 'to touch, to meet' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 41-42) < *\*to comb*, cf. for the semantic development Skt *pākṣma-* 'eyelash' derived of the same root (JOKL *Studien* 69). ◊ MAYRHOFER II 184.

**pjell** aor. *polla* 'to beget, to produce, to bear'. From PALb *\*pelna* connected with Lat *pellō* 'to drive, to push' (OREL *Alb.* 64; DEMIRAJ *AE* 323), Gk *πάλλω* 'to poise, to swell, to swing'. Note important derivatives *\*en-pelna* > *mbiell* 'to sow' and *\*pelā* > *pjellë* 'child'. For the semantic development of this root in Albanian cf. Germ *werfen* 'to bear (of animals)' and Slav *\*kotiti* 'to roll; to bear (of animals)'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 342 (to Goth *fula* 'foal' and - at the same time - to IE *\*pelā-* 'to fill'), *Alb. St.* III 30; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 543; FRISK II 469; WALDE-HOFMANN II 276-277; POKORNY I 801; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 39, 99; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230; HULD 104 (follows MEYER and reconstructs *\*pelō*).

**pjepër ~ pjepën** m, pl. *pjepra ~ pjepna* 'sweet melon'. Borrowed from Rom *\*pepinem* id., cf. Lat *pepōnem* 'kind of large melon, pumpkin' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48; MEYER *Wb.* 342). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1043; THUMB *IF* XXVI 44 (from Greek); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 141; ÖLBERG *SPhAen* 43.

**pjerdh** aor. *pordha* 'to fart'. From PALb *\*perda* etymologically identical with Skt *párdate*, Gk *πέρδομαι* id., OHG *ferzan* id., Lith *pérdžiu*, *pérsti* id. and the like (CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 342, *Alb. St.* III 28, 30, 72). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 230-231 (zero grade), *Sprache* IX 130; ERNOUT-MEILLET 493; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 26 (medial form); MANN *Language* XXVI 382; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 246; FRAENKEL 577; FRISK II 511-512; MAYRHOFER II 225; POKORNY I 819; DEMIRAJ *AE* 323.

**pjergull** f, pl. *pjergulla* 'vine-arbor, pergola'. Borrowed from Lat *pergula* 'shed, booth, vine-arbor' (MEYER *Wb.* 342). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 48 (from Ital *pergola*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1043; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 141; LANDI *Lat.* 50, 135, 137.

**pjerk** adj. 'hanging (down)'. A derivative in *-k* from *pjerr*.

**pjerr** aor. *pora, porra* 'to bend, to incline'. Continues PALb *\*pera* related

to Lith *periù, perti* 'to strike', Slav \**пърѡ*, \**perti* 'to press'. ◇ FRAENKEL 578; VASMER III 240; POKORNY I 819; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 206, 243.

**pjesë** f, pl. *pjesë* 'part'. Borrowed from Rom \**petia* id. (Ital *pezza*, Fr *pièce*), see MEYER *Wb.* 342. ◇ CAMARDA I 112 (comparison with Fr *pièce*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 49 (from Ital *pezza, pezzo*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 141; LANDI *Lat.* 53.

**pjeshkë** f, pl. *pjeshkë, pjeshka* 'peach'. Borrowed from Rom \**pesca* < Lat *persica* id., cf. Ital *pesca* and the like (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 49; MEYER *Wb.* 342, *Alb. St.* IV 102). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 221; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 141; LANDI *Lat.* 53, 114.

**pjetem** refl. 'to be ruptured, to have hernia'. Based on PALb \**peta* 'to be ruptured' < \*'to widen', related to Gk *πετάνωμι* 'to widen', Lat *pateō* 'to be open' and the like. This word may be the first element of *pjetëposhtë* 'downwards' (for the second element see *poshtë*). ◇ FRISK II 520-521; WALDE-HOFMANN I 262; POKORNY I 824-825.

**plaf** m, pl. *plafë, plëfënj* 'wool blanket, rug'. A deverbative based on *plah* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 324) and, apparently, of Geg origin. There existed also an older form *plah*. From the Proto-Albanian plural form \**plaskai tai* > \**plaxai tai* the Balkan and Carpathian Slavic \**plaxъta* 'sack, underskirt' was borrowed. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 343 (to *pëlhurë*); JOKL *Studien* 69-70 (to Lat *plectō* 'to plait' and its cognates); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 51-52 (to MHG *vlies* 'fleece'); DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 11 (from Slav \**plaxъ*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230.

**plagë** f, pl. *plagë* 'wound'. Borrowed from Lat *plāga* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 343 (from early Ital \**plaga* > *piaga*); ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1041 (from Italian), 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 103, 113, 134.

**plah ~ plaf** aor. *plaha ~ plafa* 'to cover'. Goes back to PALb \**p(e)laska*, inchoative formation related to Gk *-πέλας* 'skin', Lith *palà* 'linen kerchief', *plenė* 'thin skin, membrane', ON *fjall* 'skin' and the like. ◇ FRAENKEL 615; FRISK II 499-500; POKORNY I 803; DEMIRAJ *AE* 323-324 (from IE \**p̥l̥H-skō/e-*).

**plak** m, pl. *pleq* 'old man'. From PAIb \**p(ē)laka* < \**pelākos* etymologically close to Lith *pīlkas* 'grey' < \**pīlākos* (SOLTA *Sprache* II 122-124). Further parallels may be grouped under IE \**pelā-*, cf. Gk *πολιός* 'grey, grizzled' and the like (BOPP 491; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 224). ◊ CAMARDA I 46 (compares *plak* with Gk *παλαιός* 'old, ancient' but the latter has π- < \**k<sup>h</sup>*-); MEYER *Wb.* 344 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 31; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 328; PORZIG *Gliederung* 204; FRAENKEL 591; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 115 (suffix -*k*); HAMP *Language* XXXIII 530-531 (interprets -*k*- as a continuant of \**H*); SOLTA *Sprache* II/1 122-126; FRISK II 575-576; POKORNY I 804-805; HULD 104-105; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 43; DEMIRAJ *AE* 324.

**plang** m 'board, plank'. Borrowed from Lat *planca* 'board, slab'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 344 (from early Ital \**planca* > Piem *pianca* 'plank').

**plang** m, pl. *plangje* 'property, building site, house, farm'. Borrowed from Rom \**planticus* derived from Lat *plantō* 'to set, to plant'. ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114.

**plas** aor. *plasa* 'to burst, to split'. From PAIb \**platja*, a denominative verb related to Skt *pr̥thú-* 'broad, wide', Gk *πλατός* id., Lith *platus* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 344 (to Lith *plėšti* 'to tear', Slav \**pleskati* 'to splash'), *Alb. St.* III 13, 32; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 82 (to *plis*); FRAENKEL 606-607; FRISK II 553-554; MAYRHOFER II 333; POKORNY I 833; DEMIRAJ *AE* 324-325.

**pleh** ~ **plēh** m, pl. *plehra* ~ *plēhna* 'sweepings, dung, rubbish'. Derivative of *plah*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 345 (from Slav \**pelva* 'membrane, skin'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 160 (agrees with MEYER); JOKL *LKUBA* 129, *IF* XLIX 289; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 223.

**pleme** f, pl. *pleme* 'barn, hayloft'. Borrowed from Bulg *plemna* id. < Slav \**pelvьna* (MEYER *Wb.* 345). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 315 (follows MEYER).

**pleng** m 'bandage'. Borrowed from Slav \**pel(e)nъka* id., diminutive of \**pelena* 'cover'. ◊ VASMER III 228-229.

**pleng** m 'baseness, disgraceful act'. Metaphorically used *pleng* 'heavy object'.

**pleng** m, pl. *plengje* 'heavy object'. A related form is *plengë* 'catapult'. Borrowed from Lat *phalanga*, *palanga* 'roller or pole for moving heavy objects'.

**plep** m, pl. *plepa* 'poplar'. Borrowed from Rom \**plōpus*, metathesis of Lat *pōpulus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 345). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 259; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 223; ERNOUT-MEILLET 522; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 64.

**pleq** m 'council, congress'. Singularized plural of *plak* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 42-43). ◇ WEIGAND *BA* I 261 (from Rom \**placium*, cf. Lat *placitum* 'order, opinion').

**plesht** m, pl. *pleshta* 'flea'. From PAIb \**pleusta*, a taboo transformation of IE \**bhlusā*, cf. Lith *blusà*, Slav \**blъxa*, Gk ψύλλα, Arm *lu* < \**plus-* (MEYER *Wb.* 345, *Alb. St.* III 32, 62). ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 244; BUGGE *Beiträge* 11; PEDERSEN *IF* V 33, *KZ* XXXIX 347; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 223, *Stratificazione* 139; AČAREAN *HAB* II 299-300; PISANI *Saggi* 116, 121; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* II 129-131; FRISK II 1140-1141; FRAENKEL 51-52; POKORNY I 102; DEMIRAJ *AE* 325 (reconstructs \*-ou- in the root).

**plevas** aor. *plevata* 'to swim'. Borrowed from Slav \**plyvati* id., cf. Bulg *plivam*, SCr *plivati* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16). ◇ SVANE 258.

**plevicë** f, pl. *plevica* 'barn, hayloft'. Borrowed from Slav \**pelvьnica* id.: Bulg *plevnica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 345). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 315 (follows MEYER); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 151, 160; SVANE 60.

**plēndēs ~ plandēs** m, pl. *plēndēsa ~ plandēsa* 'paunch, stomach (particularly, of a ruminant animal)'. Other variants are *blēndēs ~ blandēs*, *blēnx ~ blānx*, *plēnc ~ plānc*. Of those, the latter is more archaic as it reflects Venet *panza* 'paunch' influenced by old Venet \**splenza* 'spleen' (HELBIG *JbIRS* X 83). Other forms reflect a secondary interpretation of *plēnc ~ plānc* as a deverbative in -ēs. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 39 (from Lat *panticem* 'paunch, bowels' and its Romance reflexes); JOKL *LKUBA* 291 (follows HELBIG); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 223; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 83.

**plim** ~ **plym** m ‘mass, crowd’, adv. ‘in heaps, in piles’. A deverbative in *-(i)m* based on an unattested verb *\*plyej* continuing PALb *\*plānja* ‘to fill’. The latter is related to IE *\*plē-* ‘full, to fill’, cf. *plotĕ*.

**pliq** m, pl. *pliqe* ‘twisted woollen cord’. Borrowed from Lat *plecta* ‘border of interwoven lines in relief, \*plait’. Note the development of *-ct-* > *\*-jt-* > *-q-*.

**plis** m, pl. *plisa* ‘clod of earth, sod, piece of turf’. Continues PALb *\*plitja*, a zero grade derivative in *\*-to-* related to Skt *phálati* ‘to burst, to split’, Lat *spolium* ‘stripped skin or hide, spoil’ and other reflexes of IE *\*(s)pel-* (JOKL *Studien* 70-71, *LKUBA* 215).  $\diamond$  MEYER *Wb.* 345 (from NGk  $\pi\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$  ‘brick’); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 43 (follows MEYER); WALDE-HOFMANN II 577-578; MAYRHOFER II 393; POKORNY I 985-987; ÇABEJ *LP VIII* 82 (to *plasĕ*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 82 (same as ÇABEJ); DEMIRAJ *AE* 325-326.

**plis** m, pl. *plisa* ‘felt’. From PALb *\*p(i)litja* related to OHG *filz* id., Lat *pellis* id., Gk  $\pi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  id., Slav *\*pъlstъ* id.  $\diamond$  FRISK II 536; VASMER III 318; WALDE-HOFMANN II 275-276; POKORNY I 830.

**plish** m, pl. *plisha* ‘kind of reed, Phragmites communis’. Continues PALb *\*plūši-* connected with Lith *pl(i)ūšis* ‘reed’ (ÇABEJ *St.* II 43).  $\diamond$  JOKL *LKUBA* 32-33, 215-216 (to *plis*), *Slavia XIII* 309 (from *\*(s)phel-* ‘to split’; reconstructs *\*pļsjo-* > *plish*); FRAENKEL 628; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 114; JANSON *Unt.* 183; OREL *Sprache XXXI* 285, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (*-sh-* < *\*-s-* according to the “ruki” rule); DEMIRAJ *AE* 326.

**plitĕ** f, pl. *plita* ‘sun-dried brick’. Borrowed from Slav *\*plita* ‘plate, slab’, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *plita*, SCr *plita* (SVANE 63).

**plog** m, pl. *plogje* ‘granary, barn, heap’. From PALb *\*plāga* related to Gk  $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$  ‘placed sideways, sloping, leaning’, Lat *plaga* ‘quarter, region’ (OREL *Fort.* 79). For the semantic development, cf. Slav *\*klĕtъ* ‘barn’ < IE *\*klei-* ‘to lean, to be inclined’.  $\diamond$  JOKL *Studien* 71-72 (from IE *\*plē-g-*, to *\*plē-* ‘full’); FRISK II 547; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (related to *plotĕ*); WALDE-HOFMANN II 314; POKORNY I 832-833; DEMIRAJ *AE* 326 (borrowed from Bulg *blog*).

**plogĕ** adj. ‘lazy’. Historically identical with *plog*, the meaning ‘lazy’



developping from 'leaning, lying without moving'. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 71 (from \**pě-log-*, a prefixal form related to Lat *neglegō* 'to slight, to neglect' - but *-ě-* of the first syllable left no traces), *LKUBA* 155; *CAMAJ Alb. Wortb.* 114, 122; *SEILER KZ CVI* 2 (to Gk ἀλέγω 'to take account of'); *SZEMERÉNYI Syncope* 144-160; *BEEKES Laryngeals* 26; *DEMIRAJ AE* 327.

**ploje** f, pl. *ploje* 'slaughter, carnage'. From \**ploe* < PALb \**plāga* related to Gk πληγή 'blow', Lat *plāga* 'blow, slaughter'. ◇ *WALDE-HOFMANN* II 315; *FRISK* II 561-562; *POKORNY* I 832.

**plotë** adj. 'full'. From PALb \**plāta* identical with IE \**plēto-* 'full' derived from \**pelə-* 'to fill': Skt *prātá-*, Lat *com-plētus* (*CAMARDA* I 59, 138; *MEYER Wb.* 345, *Alb. St.* III 23, 32). ◇ *JOKL Studien* 71, *Sprache* IX 117; *TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia* 224; *PISANI Saggi* 99; *MANN Language* XVII 22; *WALDE-HOFMANN* II 322; *POKORNY* I 799; *KLINGENSCHMITT Verbum* 68; *ANTTILA Schw.* 145; *HULD* 105; *DEMIRAJ AE* 327-328 (related to MLat *plovum*).

**pluar** ~ **pluer** m, pl. *plorë* 'plowshare; prow'. Borrowed from NGk πλώρη 'prow' (*ÇABEJ St.* II 43-44). ◇ *MAKUŠEV Varš. Univ. Izv.* 1871 122 (from Slav \**plugarь*); *MEYER Wb.* 346 (adduces MLat *plovum* 'plow' borrowed from Germanic but prefers *MAKUŠEV*'s explanation); *OŠTIR AArbSt.* II 377 (to OHG *pflug* id.); *MERINGER IF* XVII 113 (borrowed from Germ dial. *pflua* 'plow' < *Pflug* id.); *SCHUCHARDT KZ* XX 255 (follows *MEYER*); *JOKL LKUBA* 130-141 (suggests a segmentation \**pë-luar* 'divider'); *TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia* 229 (against *JOKL*); *DEMIRAJ AE* 327-328.

**plug** m, pl. *plugje* 'plow'. Borrowed from Slav \**plugъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *plug*, SCr *plug* (*MEYER Wb.* 346). ◇ *SELIŠČEV Slav. nase-lenie* 15, 156; *SVANE* 28.

**pluhur** ~ **pluhun** m 'dust, powder'. A phonetic development of \**plëhur* ~ \**plëhun* derived from *pleh*. ◇ *CAMARDA* I 70 (related to Lat *pulvis* 'dust, powder'); *MEYER Wb.* 346 (from Rom \**pluverem* < Lat *pul-verem* id.); *MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1053 (same as *MEYER*); *SCHUCHARDT KZ* XX 251; *TAGLIAVINI Origini* 239, 366; *ÇABEJ St.* VII 277; *HAARMANN* 144.

**plumb** m, pl. *plumba* 'lead'. Borrowed from Lat *plumbum* id. (CAMARDA I 198; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER *Wb.* 346). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 224; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 142; LANDI *Lat.* 115, 141.

**plusk** m 'blizzard; fine flour; dust'. Other variants are *pluskë*, *pluskë*, *plyskë*. Borrowed from Slav \**pl'uska* 'bubble, hull, husk', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *pl'uska*, SCr *pljuska* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29). ◊ SVANE 174.

**plljajë** f, pl. *plljaja* 'upland, gentle slope'. Borrowed from Rom \**plagius* id. (Rum *plai*, Ital *piaggia* and the like), cf. JOKL *LKUBA* 174-175.

**pllangë** f, pl. *pllanga* 'supporting beam, support, lever; spot, mark'. A more phonetically conservative variant is *pëllangë* which is a dialectal form of *pëllëmbë* ~ *pëllambë*.

**pllashicë** f, pl. *pllashica* 'whitefish'. Borrowed from Slav \**plašica* 'kind of fish', cf. Bulg *plašica*. ◊ SVANE 152.

**pllaz** m 'sole of plow'. Borrowed from Slav \**polzъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *plaz*, SCr *plaz* (SVANE 28).

**pllenoj** aor. *pllenova* 'to make pregnant (of animals)'. A recent derivative of *plle* ~ *pllē* (see *pëlle*).

**plloçë** f, pl. *plloça* 'flat stone, slab'. Borrowed from Slav \**ploča* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *ploča* id., SCr *ploča* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 343).

**plloskë** f, pl. *plloska* 'flat wooden bottle, wooden vessel'. Other variants are *pllockë* and *plloçkë*. Borrowed from Slav \**ploska* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *ploska*, SCr *ploska* (MEYER *Wb.* 343). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 154; SVANE 69; MURATI *Probleme* 132.

**pllymëz** f, pl. *pllymëza* 'kind of fishing net'. From \**për-lym-ëz*, see *lym*.

**po ~ por** adv. 'yes; so, well', conj. 'but'. Borrowed from Lat *porrō* 'then, moreover; but' (MEYER *Wb.* 346). The loss of the final *-r* seems to be explained by the permanent unstressed position of the conjunction.

The same adverb is used as a particle of progressive forms. ◊ CAMARDA I 314 (comparison with Skt *ápāra-* 'posterior, later' or with Lat *porrō* 'further'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 225.

**pobratim** m 'friend, adopted brother'. Other variants are *probatim*, *probotim*, *probatin*. Borrowed from Slav \**pobratimъ* 'adopted brother', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *pobratim*, SCr *pobratim* (MEYER *Wb.* 354). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 184; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 307; MANN *Language* XVII 12; SVANE 187.

**poč** m, pl. *poče*, *poča* 'pot, vase, vessel'. A cultural term derived from *pot*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 350 (to Fr *pot*, Spanish *pote* 'pot').

**pod** m, pl. 'story, floor, cellar'. Borrowed from Slav \**podъ* 'bottom, ground', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *pod*, SCr *pod* (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 52). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 148; SVANE 55.

**pohoj** aor. *pohova* 'to admit'. A derivative of *po*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 273.

**pojak** m, pl. *pojakë* 'field guard'. Another variant is *polak*. Borrowed from Slav \**pol'akъ* 'man related to the field', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *poljak* 'field guard' (MEYER *Wb.* 347). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 181, 302; SVANE 197.

**pojatë** f, pl. *pojata* 'cabin, shack, cattle-pen, porch'. Borrowed at an early stage from Slav \**polata* 'palace, building, tent', cf. OCS *polata*. From Albanian, this word - as a shepherding term - was passed to Rum *poiată* and other Carpathian and Balkan languages. ◊ OKDA *Voprosnik* 38; SVANE 63.

**pokrovë** f, pl. *pokrova* 'cloth, sheet'. Borrowed from Slav \**pokrovъ* 'cover', cf. Bulg *pokrov*, SCr *pokrov* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 347). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 174, 325.

**pol** m, pl. *pola* 'fold; door-hinge'. Another variant is *polë*. Borrowed from Slav \**pola* 'fold', cf. Bulg *pola*, SCr *pola* (MEYER *Wb.* 347). ◊ SVANE 49.

**policë** f, pl. *polica* 'shelf, ledge'. Borrowed from Slav \**polica* id., cf.

South Slavic continuants: Bulg *polica*, SCr *polica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 29; MEYER *Wb.* 347). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 149; SVANE 66.

**pollë** f, pl. *polla* 'apron'. Historically identical with *pol*.

**ponicë** f, pl. *ponica* 'flower pot; oven, stove'. Borrowed from Slav *\*podǫnica* 'pot, oven', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *podnica*, *ponica* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 347-348). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 149, 153-155; SVANE 72.

**ponis** aor. *ponita* 'to honor, to respect'. Borrowed from Slav *\*pomъniti* 'to remember', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *pomn'a*, SCr *pomniti*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 347 (from SCr *poniziti se* 'to let oneself down').

**pop** m, pl. *popa* 'Orthodox priest'. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *pop* id., SCr *pop* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30).

**popël** f, pl. *popla* 'boulder, pebble'. A descriptive stem similar to that of OE *popel* 'pebble' and the like. ◇ CAMARDA II 73 (to Gk πομφόλυξ 'water bubble'); JOKL *Studien* 72, LKUBA 215 (to IE *\*(s)phel-* 'to split'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 222-223; DEMIRAJ *AE* 329.

**popull** m, pl. *popuj* 'people'. Borrowed from Lat *populus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 348). ◇ LANDI *Lat.* 107, 130, 145.

**pordhë** f, pl. *pordhë* 'fart'. Continues PAIb *\*pārdā* related to *pjerdh*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 218.

**porend** m, pl. *porenda* 'thorn hedge'. Borrowed from Slav *\*porędzъ* 'order, row' (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.*12). ◇ SVANE 59.

**porez** m, pl. *poreza* 'tax'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *por'az*, *porez*, SCr *porez* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 348).

**porosit** aor. *porosita* 'to order, to demand'. An early loanword from Slav *\*poročiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 348) with Slav *\*-č-* > PAIb *\*-tš-* > *-s-*. ◇ JOKL LKUBA 93; SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-*

*lenie* 181, 293; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 15; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 68; SVANE 239.

**portë** *f*, pl. *porta* 'door'. Borrowed from Lat *porta* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 348). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 60, 114.

**porriq** *m* 'leek'. Borrowed from Rom *\*porricium* derived from *porrum* id. Another derivative Rom *\*porrinum* is the source of *porri* ~ *porrî* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 348). ◊ HAARMANN 143.

**porrc** *m* 'honeycomb stomach, reticulum'. Derive from *porr* 'stove, oven' continuing PALb *\*pārā* related to Gk fut. *πρήσω* 'to burn, to set on fire', Slav *\*parъ* 'vapor, steam'. ◊ POKORNY I 809; FRISK II 538-539; VASMER III 203.

**porris** aor. *porrita* 'to extinguish, to destroy'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. SCR *pobrisati* 'to blur, to efface' (MEYER *Wb.* 349). Note the development of the cluster *-br-* > *-rr-*.

**porropi** *f* 'devastation, ruin, misadventure'. Other variants are *poropi*, *perupi*. The word is identical with *përrëpi* 'precipice, drop', *përrëpirë* ~ *përrëpinë* id., deverbatives based on an unattested prefixal *\*për-rjep*, cf. *rjep*. ◊ XHUVANI apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 44 (from NGk ἀπρέπεια 'inconvenience'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 44 (from NGk ῥοπή 'inclination, decline').

**posaçe** adv. 'especially, separately'. A compound of *posa* ~ *porsa* 'just, hardly, scarcely' (from *po* and *sa*) and *çë*. Its synonym *pos* is an allegro form of *posa*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 266 (*pos* from SCR *\*po se*, cf. *na po se* 'separate, singular'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 44 (agrees with MEYER).

**postaf** *m* 'stone trough'. Borrowed from Slav *\*postavъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *postav*, and in a different meaning SCR *postav* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 349). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 154; SVANE 67.

**postafat** adv. 'on purpose, deliberately'. Based on *\*postavë* borrowed from Slav *\*postava* 'something set'.

**postahe** f, pl. *postahe* 'blanket, quilt used for sitting'. Borrowed from Slav \**postaja* 'bed cover', cf SCr *postaje*. The meaning of the word may have been influenced by a Turkism *postiqe* id. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 349 (from SCr *postav* 'cloth, kerchief'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 174; JOKL *IF XLIX* 288 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St. II* 45 (on *postiqe*); SVANE 48.

**postas** aor. *postata* 'to weaken, to exhaust'. Borrowed from Slav \**postati*, cf. Bulg *postan* id. (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 16: reconstructs \**po-ustati*). ◊ SVANE 263.

**postat** m, pl. *postate* 'garden plot, bed'. Borrowed from Slav \**postatъ* id., cf. SCr *postat* (MEYER *Wb.* 349). ◊ SVANE 59.

**postre** ~ **postrê** f, pl. *postre* ~ *postrê* 'shelter, porch'. Another variant is *postrehë*. Borrowed from Slav \**postrêxa*, a prefixal derivative of \**strêxa* 'roof' reflected in Albanian as *strehë* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 148). Cf. SCr *postrešiti* 'to thatch'. ◊ SVANE 54.

**posullë** f 'bill, slip, note, letter'. Other variants are *pusullë*, *pusollë*, *pustull*. An early borrowing from Slav \**posyla*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 349 (from Slav \**posълъ* 'messenger').

**poshtë** adv. 'down, below', prep. 'under'. Borrowed from Lat *post*, *poste* 'behind, back' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 349) with a radical change of meaning corresponding to other similar shifts in the Albanian system of prepositions and adverbs. The adjective *poshtër* 'mean; lower' is derived from *poshtë*. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (to Skt *paścá-* 'back, posterior'); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 290 (to *përposh* and, further, to loc. pl. \**pëd-su* 'down, at the feet'), *Kelt. Gr.* I 50, 181; JOKL *Studien* 59-60, *LKUBA* 32-33, *Festschr. Kretschmer LXXXVIII*; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 231; ÇABEJ *St. II* 45-46 (follows PEDERSEN), III 114; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 142; HAARMANN 143; HAMP *ZfceltPh XXXIV* 20-22; DEMIRAJ *AE* 329-330.

**pot** m, pl. *pota* 'mill-hopper, flour-bin; little boy'. Borrowed from Rom \**pottus* 'pot' > Fr *pot*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 349 (from Turk *pota* id. of Romance origin).

**potere** f 'noise, din, crash, pursuit of robbers'. Borrowed from South

Slavic *\*poter'a* id., cf. Bulg *potera*, SCr *potera* (MEYER *Wb.* 349).

**potkë** f, pl. *potka* 'scarecrow, boundary mark, landmark'. Borrowed from Slav *\*potъka* 'landmark', cf. SCr *potka* 'kind of boundary mark' (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 182). ◇ SVANE 206.

**pothuj** ~ **pothue** adv. 'nearly, almost'. A univerbation of 2 sg. *po thuj* 'you say' (MANN *HAED* 397). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 46 (repeats MANN's explanation).

**pra** adv. 'so, therefore'. Results of an erroneous segmentation or of the allegro reduction of Old Albanian *prashtu* id., *prato* id. (BUZUKU) continuing *\*për ashtu*, *\*për ato*. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 80 (to OCS *proče* 'therefore').

**praf** m 'dust, powder'. Borrowed from Slav *\*porъxъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *prax*, SCr *prah* (SVANE 164, 239).

**prafullimë** f, pl. *prafullima* 'spark (thrown out of an engine)'. Deverbativ of *prafulloj* 'to toast, to singe' derived from *praf*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 221.

**prag** m, pl. *pragje* 'threshold'. A parallel form is *prak*. Borrowed from Slav *\*porъgъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *prag*, SCr *prag* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 30; MEYER *Wb.* 350). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 148; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 226; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13; SVANE 53.

**pranë** adv. 'alongside, beside, nearby', prep. 'near, by'. Goes back to *për anë*.

**prandaj** conj. 'therefore, thus'. Goes back to *\*për andaj* (CAMARDA I 306; MEYER *Wb.* 11). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 46-47.

**prangë** f, pl. *pranga* 'fetter, chain, handcuff'. Borrowed from Gmc *\*pranga-* 'constriction, cramping', cf. Germ *Pranger* 'pillory' (MEYER *Wb.* 350-351). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63 (from Ital *spranga* 'bolt'); KLUGE 562-563.

**pranoj** aor. *pranova* 'to admit, to accept'. Derived from *pranë* (MEYER *Wb.* 11). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 202.

**prapa** adv. 'back, backwards, beyond', prep. 'behind'. Another form of the same word explained by accentual modifications in Proto-Albanian is *prapë* 'back, again, the other way round'. Continues *\*për apa* ~ *\*për apë*, the second component being historically identical with *pa* (BOPP 502; CAMARDA I 306; MEYER *Wb.* 351). The Proto-Albanian form must have been *\*per apa* or *\*pra apa*. ◇ JOKL *MRIW* I 302, *IF* XXXVII 108; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 187-188; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 111; HAMP *Laryngeals* 125 (to *hap*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 330-332.

**praqe** pl. tantum 'stirrups'. Semantically modified plural of *prak*, variant of *prag*.

**praroj** aor. *prarova* 'to gild'. From *\*për-aroj*, denominative of *ar* (MEYER *Wb.* 14).

**prashis** aor. *prashita* 'to hoe over, to rake over, to cultivate'. Borrowed from Slavic *\*poršiti* 'to turn into dust, to cover with dust, to hoe', cf. Bulg *praša*, SCr *prašiti* (MEYER *Wb.* 351). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nasele-nie* 158; SVANE 77, 239.

**pravulloj** aor. *pravullova* 'to boil down, to boil, to wash in hot water'. Continues *\*për-avulloj*, a denominative based on *avull*.

**pre** f, pl. *preja* 'prey, booty, plunder'. Borrowed from Lat *praeda* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 351). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 71.

**pregjim** m 'party on the occasion of child-birth; visit paid to mourners after a death'. Other variants are *përgim*, *përgjim*. A regular deverbative of *përgjoj*. ◇ ENDZELIN *KZ* XLV 230 (to Lith *gimti* 'to give birth', Latv *dzimt* id.); ÇABEJ *St.* II 47-48 (from MGk πρωτογέννημα 'first birth'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 332 (agrees with ÇABEJ).

**preh** ~ **pref** aor. *preha* ~ *prefa* 'to sharpen'. Continues *\*për-eh*, a prefixal derivative of *eh* (MEYER *Wb.* 352). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239.

**prehaluq** adj. 'emaciated'. A suffixal derivative of *preh*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 48 (contamination of *preh* and *halë*).

**prehër** ~ **prehën** m 'bosom, lap; apron'. From PALb *\*prōjēna* \*'front',



originally, an adjective built (as Gk πρώιος 'early') on the basis of the locative Gk πρώί 'early, in the morning' = OHG *fruoī* id. derived from IE \**prō* 'forward, in front of, before' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 353 (to Slav \**pręgō* 'to tighten'), *Alb. St.* III 31, 72; ÇABEJ *St.* II 48 (compares with Lith *sprīngti* 'to choke, to swallow' connected with Slav \**pręgō*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 95; FRISK II 607-608; POKORNY I 814.

**prej** prep. 'to, towards; from, out of'. In fact, from disyllabic PALb \**prei* identical with the locative Gk πρώί 'early, in the morning' = OHG *fruoī* id. derived from IE \**prō* 'forward, in front of, before', cf. *prehēr*.

**prek** aor. *preka* 'to touch'. From PALb \**praka*, a derivative of an adverbial \**pra-k-* related to Gk πρόκα 'forthwith, straightaway', Slav \**prokъ* 'remainder, remaining' and similar formations of \**pro* 'forward'. ◇ CAMARDA I 242 (analyzes *prek* as \**pre-k-*); MEYER *Wb.* 352 (to Gk πράσσω 'to do, to work'); FRISK II 599; VASMER III 373.

**prell** m 'sunny side'. Borrowed from Gk παρήλιος 'near the sun'.

**prente ~ prēnte** f 'Friday'. Other variants are (T) *premp̄te*, (G) *prende*. Deverbative based on *premtōj* in its unattested meaning 'to forebode, to prepare in advance' and representing a translation of Gk παρασκευή 'getting ready, preparing; Friday'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 266 (to *mbrēmē*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 227.

**premtōj** aor. *premtova* 'to promise'. Borrowed from Lat *prōmittere* 'to forbode, to promise'. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52 (from Ital *promettere* 'to promise'); MEYER *Wb.* 352 (same as MIKLOSICH).

**pres** aor. *preva* 'to cut'. From PALb \**p(e)retja* related to Lith *periù*, *peřti* 'to beat, to thump', Gk πρώω 'to saw' (CAMARDA I 42; MEYER *Wb.* 353, *Alb. St.* III 31, 72). ◇ SCHMIDT *KZ* L 243-244; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 227; FRAENKEL 578; FRISK II 596; POKORNY I 819; HAMP *KZ* LXXVI 135; HULD 105; DEMIRAJ *AE* 332-333 (to *eh*).

**pres** aor. *přita* 'to wait, to expect'. Continues PALb \**pratja* etymologically related to Goth *frapjan* 'to think, to understand', Lith *prantù*, *pràsti* 'to get used, to understand'. ◇ CAMARDA I 143 (a prefixal verb related to IE \**es-* 'to be'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 169 (a prefixal verb related

to Lat *emō* 'to buy, to purchase'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 90 (to OIr 3 sg. *frith* 'is found'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 228; FRAENKEL 646-647; FEIST *Goth.* 165-166; POKORNY I 845; HAMP KZ LXXVI 135 (from IE \**pr̥kto-*, to \**prek-* 'to ask').

**presh** m, pl. *presh* 'leek'. Borrowed from Gk *πράσον* id. (THUMB *IF* XXVI 19). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 278, 281.

**prevë** f, pl. *preva* 'open way, track, ford'. Borrowed from Lat *privum* (*iter*) 'private (road, passage)'. ◊ CAMARDA I 27 (identical with *trevë*); MEYER *Wb.* 353 (repeats CAMARDA's identification); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 52-54; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 233.

**prëj** ~ **prâj** aor. *prëjta* ~ *prâjta* 'to incline, to cling to, to lean; to infect'. The semantic development 'to cling' > 'to infect' is quite frequent, cf. E *to stick*. The original meaning of PALb \**per(i)-anja* appears to be 'to incline, to bend to the side'. It is derived from *anë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 46 (separates *prëj* 'to infect' and connects it with *ëj*).

**prëj** ~ **prâj** aor. *prëjta* ~ *prâjta* 'to comfort, to soothe'. Goes back to PALb \**prainja* related to Skt *prīṇāti* 'to please', Goth *frijon* 'to love', Slav \**prijati* id. and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 5 (to *ëj*); FEIST *Goth.* 168; MAYRHOFER II 380; VASMER III 369; POKORNY I 844.

**prëndverë** ~ **prandverë** f 'spring'. Borrowed from Rom \**prīma vēra* (> Ital *primavera*, Rum *primăvară*), cf. MEYER *Wb.* 466. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52 (from Ital *primavera*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 226; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 144; LANDI *Lat.* 108.

**prënjjë** f, pl. *prënjka* 'freckle, sunspot'. A derivative in *-jë* of PALb \**priknja* related to Skt *p̥ś̥ni-* 'spotted, speckled', Gk *περκνός* 'dark, spotted', *W erch* 'spotted' and the like. ◊ MAYRHOFER II 336; FRISK II 515-516; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 43; POKORNY I 820-821; ÇABEJ *St.* II 46 (derived from *prëj* ~ *prâj*).

**prier** aor. *prora* 'to incline, to lean, to turn aside'. Goes back to PALb \**per(i)-era*, a prefixal verb etymologically related to Hitt *arnumi* 'to move, to shift', Skt *ṛṇóti* 'to arise, to move', Gk *ῥρνυμι* 'to stir up', Lat *orior* 'to rise'. ◊ CAMARDA I 56-57 (a prefixal verb to be com-

pared with Gk ἀείρω 'to raise'); MEYER *Wb.* 354 (a prefixal verb related to Gk ἐλάω 'to drive, to set in motion'); FRISK II 422-424; MAYRHOFER I 122; WALDE-HOFMANN II 222-223; POKORNY I 326-328.

**prift** m, pl. *priftër, priftërinj ~ prifna, priftinj* 'priest'. Borrowed from Lat *presbyter* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52; MEYER *Wb.* 353). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 287 (on the Dalmatian Latin source); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 228; ERNOUT-MEILLET 534; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143; HAMP *SCL* XXXII/4 425-428; LANDI *Lat.* 102, 121, 130.

**prij** ~ **prîj** aor. *prina, priva* 'to lead'. Borrowed from Lat *praetere* 'to lead, to precede' (MEYER *Wb.* 353). ◊ HAARMANN 143.

**prije** f, pl. *prije* 'drainage ditch'. A derivative of *prij*, probably representing a calque of South Slavic *\*vada* 'irrigation ditch' (Bulg *vada*, SCr *vada*) related to *\*vedo*, *\*vesti* 'to lead'. ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 345 (from *\*për-ijë*); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 85.

**prijë** f, pl. *prija* 'onion-bed'. Usually, in a phrase *prijë qepësh* id. Borrowed from Lat *porrîna* id.

**prik** m 'slope'. Goes back to *\*prier-k*, a derivative of *prier*.

**prikë** f, pl. *prika* 'dowry'. Derived with the suffix *-kë* from *prij*. ◊ SKOK *ŽA* II 103-110 (from Gk προίξ 'gift, present').

**prill** m 'April'. Borrowed from Lat *aprilis* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 2; MEYER *Wb.* 353). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMANN 111; LANDI *Lat.* 118, 177.

**prime** pl. 'folk remedies'. Deverbative of *proj* 'to guard, to defend' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 48).

**prind** m, pl. *prindë, prindër ~ prindën* 'father, parent'. Borrowed from Lat *parentem* id. (CAMARDA I 42; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 47; MEYER *Wb.* 353). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1047, 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 140; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 116, 143-145.

**pringj** m 'chief, prince'. Borrowed from \**prince(s)* < Lat *princeps* 'chief' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52; MEYER *Wb.* 353). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; HAARMANN 144.

**priqe** pl. 'arthritis'. Another variant is *priç* ~ *priç*. A suffixal derivative of *prij*.

**priskoj** aor. *priskova* 'to besprinkle'. A relatively recent denominative formation based on \**prisk(ě)*. The latter was borrowed from Slav \**pryskъ* 'sprinkling' otherwise unattested in South Slavic where its variant \**prъskъ*, \**prъskati* is attested.

**prish** aor. *prisha* 'to destroy, to spoil, to waste'. From PALb \**prīša* related to Gk πρίω 'to saw' (MEYER *Wb.* 353, *Alb. St.* III 31, 61, 72). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 72-73 (adds Germanic parallels: OHG *freisa* 'danger, destruction' and the like), LKUBA 24; PISANI *Saggi* 119; ÇABEJ *St.* II 49-50; FRISK II 596 (doubts the validity of the Greek - Albanian comparison); POKORNY I 846; ÇABEJ *St.* II 49, VII 206, 228; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (-*sh-* < \*-*s-* according to the "ruki" rule); DEMIRAJ *AE* 333-334 (to IE \**per-* 'to strike').

**privoj** aor. *privova* 'to rob'. Borrowed from Lat *prīvāre* id.

**prizë** f, pl. *priza* 'gutter'. Derived from *prije*.

**probateshë** f, pl. *probatesha* 'adopted sister'. An innovative feminine in *-eshë* based on the recomposition of *probatin*, see *pobratim*.

**prodhoj** aor. *prodhova* 'to produce'. Borrowed from Lat *prōdāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 52). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 266 (to *mbrodh*).

**profkë** f, pl. *profka* 'splitting fruit; water spray; twaddle, bluff'. Another variant is *proçkë* 'blunder, slip of the tongue'. From Bulg *pročka* 'wicket-gate' in various metaphoric meanings. ◊ JOKL LKUBA 9 (to *prëj*), *Slavia* XIII 289.

**prog** m, pl. *progje* 'nail'. A secondary fonetic variant of *prokë*.

**proj** aor. *prova* 'to guard, to defend; to precede, to anticipate, to take precaution'. Borrowed from Lat *parāre* 'to make ready; to defend',

the meaning 'to defend' being typical of Romance languages (Ital *parare*, Fr *parer*), cf. ÇABEJ *St.* II 48. A noun *projë* meaning at the same time 'defense' and 'booty' is a deverbative. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 369 (to *ruaj* or from Lat *prohibere* 'to hold back, to prevent').

**prokë** f, pl. *proka* 'nail, fork'. Borrowed, with an unusual unvoicing of the anlaut, from Rom *\*brocca*, *\*broccia* 'fork, roasting-spit', cf. Ital dial. *brocca*, Fr *broche*) < fem. *\*brocca* 'projecting (of teeth)' (MEYER *Wb.* 354).

**prosek** m, pl. *prosiqe* 'hut for cattle to be rounded up'. Together with *proseqe* 'chips, chippings (from pruned tree)' is a Slavic loanword from *\*prosěkъ* 'kind of axe; opening, cutting (in a forest)', cf. Bulg *prosek*, SCR *prosjek* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 50). The meaning represented in Albanian is not attested in South Slavic. It has obviously developed from 'section, something cut out'. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 151 (from Bulg *prosek* 'section in a barn').

**prozhëm** m, pl. 'small wood, community forest'. Another, and more phonetically archaic, variant is *proshëm*. This word for the \*'nearest forest' > 'community forest' is borrowed from Lat *proximus* 'nearest'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 355 (from South Slav *\*šuma* 'forest'); BARIĆ *ARS* I 75 (from *\*kseumā* related to Slav *\*šuma*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 50-51 (borrowed from Slav *\*brъstъ* 'brushwood').

**prozhmoj** aor. *prozhmova* 'to slander, to libel'. As in *prozhëm*, a more conservative variant is *proshmoj*. It is borrowed from Lat *proximāre* 'to come near, to approach' with a complicated semantic development, presumably: 'to get close' > 'to know intimately' > 'to slander'. ◊ CAMARDA I 322 (to Gk *\*προ-σιμόω*, cf. *σιμόω* 'to turn up the nose, to sneer at' - but Greek loanwords are not adapted as verbs in *-oj*); MEYER *Wb.* 355 (from Slav *\*šumъ* 'noise'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 51 (identical with *përçmoj* 'to despise' derived from *çmoj*).

**prridh** aor. *prridha* 'to suffocate'. Continues a prefixal verb *\*për-ridh* with a root unattested in an unbound form and continuing PAIb *\*reida* related to Gk *ἐρείδω* 'to prop, to push'. ◊ FRISK I 551; POKORNY I 860.

**prroskë** f, pl. *prroska* 'brook, mountain stream'. Derivative in *-skë* of *përrua* (JOKL LKUBA 220, 327).

**prush** m 'ember, glowing coal'. From PAIb *\*pruša* etymologically related to Lat *prūna* id. < *\*prusnā*, Skt *ploṣati* 'to burn' (MEYER Wb. 355, Alb. St. III 31, 61). ⚡ CAMARDA I 52 (to Gk πῦρ 'fire'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 231; SCHULZE *Kl. Schr.* 479; POKORNY I 846; MANN *Language* XXVI 388 (to Latv *pīrksts* 'hot ash'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 334-335.

**psherëtij** aor. *psherëtiva* 'to sigh, to moan'. Other variants are *psherëtoj* and *psherëtis*. Borrowed, with a metathesis in the phonetically complicated anlaut, from Rom *\*suspīritāre*, cf. Lat *susptrāre* 'to sigh' (MEYER Wb. 356). ⚡ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 221.

**pshikëlloj** aor. *pshikëllova* 'to beat with a cane'. Another variant is *fshikulloj*. Derived from *fshikull* 'whip' borrowed from Rom *\*fisticula*, cf. Lat *fistula* 'reed, cane'.

**pshoj** aor. *pshova* 'to sigh, to moan'. A back formation of *\*pshirë* < Lat *suspīrium* 'sigh', cf. *psherëtij*.

**pshurr** aor. *pshurra* 'to urinate'. From *\*për-shurr*, a prefixal derivative of *shurrë*.

**puçërr** f, pl. *puçrra* 'blister, pimple'. Together with *puç* 'hair parting' and *puçis* 'to contort (face)', goes back to SCr *pučiti* 'to split'.

**pufkë** f, pl. *pufka* 'bubble, blister'. A derivative of *\*pufë* ~ *puhë* borrowed from SCr *puha* id. The latter is connected with SCr *puhati* 'to blow (up)' which, in its turn, has been borrowed to Albanian as *puhas* id. Finally, *puhi* 'light breeze' also belongs here (MEYER Wb. 356).

**puftë** adj. 'empty, hollow'. Appears only in a context *arrë puftë* 'empty nut'. Borrowed from Lat fem. *puncta* 'punctured, having a hole'.

**puk** adj. 'foolish'. Borrowed from Lat *pūblicus* 'public; common, ordinary, bad'.

**puke** f 'promenade, public way'. Borrowed from Lat *pūblica (via)* 'public

way' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER *Wb.* 356). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1054; HAARMANN 144.

**pulegër** f, pl. *pulegra* 'dwarf bustard'. Based on \**pulegë* borrowed from one of Italian or Dalmatian continuations of Rom \**pullicus*, cf. *pullus* 'young fowl, chick'.

**pulendër ~ pulandër** f, pl. *pulendra ~ pulandra* 'maize porridge'. Another variant is *pullëndër ~ pullandër*. Based on \**pullënd* borrowed from Lat *polenta* 'peeled barley, pearl-barley'.

**pulë** f, pl. *pula* 'hen'. Borrowed from Rom \**pulla* 'hen' (cf. Fr *poule*), see CAMARDA I 172; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER *Wb.* 356-357. As to *pulkë* 'turkey; pullet', it is borrowed from Bulg *pulka* 'pullet'. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1046, 1050, 1054; JOKL *LKUBA* 219; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 232; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 144.

**pulisht** m, pl. *pulishta* 'donkey's colt'. Another variant is *polisht*. Derived from \**pul* borrowed from Lat *pullus* 'foal' (MEYER *Wb.* 357).

**pulpë** f, pl. *pulpa* 'calf (of leg)'. Borrowed from Lat *pulpa* 'flesh' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER *Wb.* 356). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 144.

**pulqyer** m, pl. *pulqerë* 'thumb; dwarf'. Another variant is *pulqer*. Borrowed from Lat *pollicāris* 'belonging to a thumb' (MEYER *Wb.* 357). ◊ CAMARDA I 345 (reconstructs Rom \**pollicer*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1043; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 39, 83.

**pullëndër ~ pullandër** f 'washing water, lye'. A singularized plural of \**pulland* borrowed from Lat *perlavantem* 'washing thoroughly'.

**pullaz** m, pl. *pullaze* 'roof'. A secondary variant of *pëllas* 'palace' (ÇABEJ II 51-52), with the hypercorrect voicing of the auslaut. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 356 (variant of *lëpozë* 'roof, roof-timbers', cf. *lëpizë*); JOKL *LKUBA* 86-88 (follows MEYER).

**punë** f, pl. *punë* 'work, thing'. A participle in *-në* of an unattested verb

\**puaj* continuing PALb \**pānja*. The latter is related to Gk πένομαι 'to strain, to work on' and its deverbative πόνος 'work, labor' (HAHN I 251, II 28) with uncertain further links. ◇ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 188-189 (borrowed from Gk πόνος); MEYER *Wb.* 357, *Alb. St.* III 29, 58 (to Gk σπουδή 'haste, speed'), IV 45 (against BUGGE); JOKL *Studien* 3; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVIII 200 (follows MEYER); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 23; THUMB *IF* XXVI 81-82 (criticizes BUGGE); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 6 (to Slav \**pōditi* 'to push, to press'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 86 (from \**oposnā*, to Lat *opus* 'work'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 225 (disputes BARIĆ's view); LA PIANA *Studi* I 73; PISANI *Saggi* 103, 121; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 94 (to Lat *pugnō* 'to fight'); CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 46; FRISK II 504-506; CAMAJ *Alb.Wortb.* 65 (to \**spend-* 'to pull'); KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 102; ÇABEJ II 52-53 (two possibilities are suggested: HAHN's etymology or comparison with Lat *pondus* 'weight'), IV 58; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 212; HULD 156, 165; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 335-336.

**punjashe** f. pl. *punjashe* 'purse'. Deminutive of \**punjē* borrowed from East Germanic, cf. Goth *puggs* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 357).

**pupë** f. pl. *pupa* 'breast, teat; tassel, bud'. Borrowed from Rom \**puppa* 'teat' (cf. OFr *poupe*, Ital *poppa*), see MEYER *Wb.* 358. Derived from *pupë* is *pupërr* 'boil, furuncle' (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 233). ◇ DURIDANOV *Trakite* 80 (to Thr \**pupa*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 336.

**pupë** f. pl. *pupa* 'hoopoe'. Borrowed from Lat *upupa* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 357-358). From its derivative *pupëzë* id. Rum *pupăză* was borrowed. ◇ HAARMANN 156.

**pupë** f. pl. *pupa* 'stern'. Borrowed from Lat *puppis* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53; MEYER *Wb.* 357). ◇ HAARMANN 144.

**puprroj** aor. *puprrova* 'to hoe over'. Borrowed, with dissimilation of liquids, from Lat *preparāre* 'to prepare', in this case - 'to prepare the field (for sowing)'.

**pupurriqem** refl. 'to tremble'. An emphatic formation built on the basis of *puprroj*.

**puq** aor. *puqa* 'to fit together'. From PALb \**pukja*, a denominative related



to Gk *πύκα* adv. 'thickly, strongly', *πυκνός* 'thick, strong'. ◇ FRISK II 622-623; POKORNY I 849.

**puroj** aor. *purova* 'to calm, to pacify, to defend'. Borrowed from Rom \**parāre* 'to defend' (JOKL *Studien* 112). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 267 (from Rom \**barrāre* 'to bar').

**purtekĕ** f, pl. *purteka* 'rod, stick'. Borrowed, with a metathesis of *-ru-* > *-ur-*, from one of the South-East continuants of Slav \**prǫtǫkъ* 'rod, bush', cf. Bulg *prǫtak*, SCr *prutak* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31; MEYER *Wb.* 358-359). ◇ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 244 (from Lat *pertica*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

**purth** m 'diarrhea'. Derivative in *-th* of PALb \**purwa* related to Lith *puřvas* 'filth, dirt', Latv *pūrvs* 'swamp, marsh'. ◇ FRAENKEL 675.

**purř** f 'hot ashes'. Borrowed from Slav \**pyr'ь* id. (Czech *pýř*, Pol *perz*). An early loanword with Slav \*-y- rendered as Alb *-u-* (JOKL *AarbSt* I/1-2 45-46). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 298; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 291; KRISTOFORIDHI 286 (from NGk *πυρός*); SVANE 57; OREL *ZfSlav* XXX/6 913, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362.

**pus** m, pl. *puse, pusa* 'well, fountain'. Borrowed from Lat *puteus* 'well' (MEYER *Wb.* 359). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31 (from Slavic), Rom. *Elemente* 51 (from Ital *pozzo* id.); ; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 233; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; SVANE 144; LANDI *Lat.* 125, 139.

**push** m 'fluff, down, nap, pile'. Continues PALb \**puša* < \**puksja* etymologically connected with Skt *pūccha-* 'tail' < \**puksko-*, Slav \**puxъ* 'down' < \**poukso-* (ÇABEJ II 53, IV 219) going back to IE \**puk-* ~ \**peuk-* 'covered with hair, bushy'. ◇ CAMARDA I 345; MEYER *Wb.* 359 (borrowing from Turk *puş* 'to cover; cover'); POKORNY I 849; MAYRHOFER II 298-299; VASMER III 414; ADAMS *JIES* XVI/1-2 71-72; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (on the "ruki" rule in *push*).

**pushkĕ** f, pl. *pushkĕ* 'rifle, gun'. Borrowed from Slavic, cf. Bulg *puška*, SCr *puška* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31; MEYER *Wb.* 359). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13; SVANE 204.

**pushoj** aor. *pushova* ‘to have a rest’. Borrowed from Lat *pausāre* ‘to halt, to rest (in the grave)’ (PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 660) developing the meaning of ‘resting’ in Romance, cf. Ital *posare*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51 (from Ital *posare*); MEYER *Wb.* 359 (from Latin or from Ital *posare*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1049; HELBIG *JbIRS* X 127 (agrees with MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 233; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 143.

**pushtet** m, pl. *pushtete* ‘power’. Borrowed from Lat *potestātem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 51; MEYER *Wb.* 359, *Alb. St.* IV 10). The verb *pushtoj* continues Rom *\*potestāre*. The dialectal form of the verb *poshtroj* ~ *pēshtroj* results from an erroneous etymological link with *shtroj*. ◊ CAMARDA I 178 (to Gk *σπρῶννυμι* ‘to spread’); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1043; WEIGAND *BA* I 261 (*pushtoj* < *\*pushtet-oj*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 124 (*pushtoj* < Rom *\*expeditāre*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 53-55 (repeats the essence of CAMARDA’s etymology: *pushtoj* < *\*për-shtroj*, to *shtroj*); HAARMANN 143; LANDI *Lat.* 33, 39, 44.

**putë** f, pl. *puta* ‘sole’. From PALb *\*puktā* related to Gk *πύκα* adv. ‘thickly, strongly’, *πυκνός* ‘thick, strong’, cf. *puq*.

**putërë** ~ **putanë** f ‘whore’. Borrowed from Rom *\*puttana* id., cf. Ital *puttana*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 53 (from Ital *puttana*); MEYER *Wb.* 359 (follows MIKLOSICH).

**puth** aor. *putha* ‘to kiss’. From PALb *\*putsa*, an onomatopoeia similar to many other words for ‘kiss’ reflecting *bu-* ~ *pu-* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 233). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 356 (to Gk *πυκάζω* ‘to cover closely, to protect’ so that *puth* ‘to kiss’ < ‘to embrace’ similar to Fr *embracer*), *Alb. St.* III 13,31; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 333 (agrees with MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 55 (follows TAGLIAVINI); HULD 156; DEMIRAJ *AE* 336-337.

**pyes** aor. *pyeta* ‘to ask’. From the umlauticized PALb *\*pūta* related to Lat *putō* ‘to reckon, to ponder’, Slav *\*pytati* ‘to ask’ (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 217). ◊ GIL’FERDING *Otn.* 24 (to Skt *prach-* ‘to ask’); CAMARDA I 44 (to Gk *πυνθάνομαι* ‘to learn’); MEYER *Wb.* 360 (from Rom *\*petiō* based on Lat *petō* ‘to demand, to seek’), *Alb. St.* IV 50; DIEFENBACH I 43 (to Lat *poscō* ‘to ask, to beg’); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I

1044; PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX I 211 (from \**për-ves*, related to Skt *pravedayati*); WEIGAND *BA* I 261 (follows MEYER); XHUVANI *KLetr* II 14 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); WALDE-HOFMANN II 393-394; VASMER III 421; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 256; ÇABEJ *St.* II 55-57 (from \**për-v-es* related to Gk αἰτέω 'to ask, to demand').

**pylkë** f, pl. *pylka* 'wedge; end of the axe-handle'. Another, more frequent, variant is *pykë*. Borrowed from Lat *pavīcula* 'hammer'. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 360 (from Rom \**pīlicum*, cf. Lat *pīlum* 'pestle').

**pyll** m, pl. *pyje* 'forest'. Borrowed from Balk Rom \**padūlem* (cf. Rum *pādure* id.) < Lat *palūdem* 'swamp' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 46; MEYER *Wb.* 360). ∅ CAMARDA I 52 (to Gk ὕλη 'forest'?); PUŞCARIU *EWB* 108; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1039, 1046, 1052; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 92; BARIÇ *Hymje* 65; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 251; HULD 105; HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 144-146.

## Q

**qafë** f, pl. *qafa* 'neck'. Borrowed from Turk *kafa* 'occiput, head' (HULD 106). The substitution Alb *q-* < Turk *k-* is possible (BORETZKY *Türk. Einfluß* I 77). Rum *ceafă* 'neck, occiput' is an Albanian loanword (MEYER *Wb.* 219). ∅ CAMARDA I 93 (to Gk αὐχίη id.); MEYER *Wb.* 219 (comparison with Lat *collum* 'neck' and the like); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 330 (against MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 31 (to OHG *warb* 'turn, rotation'), *AArbSt* I 146 (from \**ko-osk(h)u-*, cf. Gk ὀσφύς 'hip'); JOKL *LKUBA* 328 (against BARIĆ *ARSt.*); TREIMER *AArbSt* I 32 (borrowed from Lat *capsa* 'box, chest'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 92, *Stratificazione* 95; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 339; ROSETTI *ILR* I 275; HAMP *Festschr. Schmidt* 39 (from \**kepHä*, to Lat *caput* 'head').

**qaj ~ qanj** aor. *qava* 'to cry, to weep'. Tosk and Greco-Albanian forms preserve the initial *kl-*. Goes back to Palb \**klaunja* cognate with Gk κλαίω < \*κλάφιω id. (CAMARDA I 79; MEYER *Wb.* 220, *Alb. St.* III 4). ∅ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 146; MANN *Language* XXVI 381; FRISK I 865; CHANTRAINE 538; POKORNY I 599; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 47; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 686; HAMP *Laryngeals* 126; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 110, *Verbum* 104; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; ÇABEJ

St. VII 193; HULD 106; JANSON *Unt.* 178; DEMIRAJ *AE* 337-388 (to dial. *klith* 'to cry').

**qapë** f, pl. *qapa* 'hobble'. From PALb \**klapā*, a nominal derivative of *qep* (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 432).

**qark** m, pl. *qarqe* 'circle'. Despite an irregular treatment of the vowel, this is a loanword from Lat *circus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 220, *Alb. St.* II 26-27). A synonym of *qark* - *qarkull* continues Latin diminutive *circulus*. ◊ CAMARDA I 38 (related to Gk κίρκος 'circle, ring'); JOKL *Studien* 42 (supports MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 57 (agrees with CAMARDA); LANDI *Lat.* 85, 98, 139.

**qartë** adj. 'clear'. Borrowed from Lat *clārus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 15; MEYER *Wb.* 220). ◊ CAMARDA I 56; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1040 (from Ital *chiaro* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 93 (from Italian).

**qartoj** aor. *qartova* 'to quarrel'. From Lat *certāre* 'to compete' (MEYER *Wb.* 220). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 116.

**qarr** m, pl. *qarra* 'Turkey oak, bitter oak'. Borrowed from Lat *cerrus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 220). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 98, 138-140.

**qas** aor. *qasa* 'to approach'. From PALb \**ketja* etymologically connected with the isolated Lith *kečiù*, *kėsti* 'to stretch'. ◊ CAMARDA I 70; MEYER *Wb.* 220-221 (to Slav \**kasati* *sę* 'to touch'), *Alb. St.* III 6, 13; PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRAENKEL 246 (contamination of \**ked-* and \**plet-* in Lithuanian); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 231.

**qazhnë** f, pl. *qazhna* 'rough white woolen cloth'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav \**težьna*, fem. 'heavy'.

**qeft** m, pl. *qefte* 'drinking glass'. Borrowed from Lat *captus* \*'container', participle of *capio* 'to contain, to hold'. ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 187 (from Gk κεύθοος 'hiding place'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 58-59 (to *sqep*).

**qefull** m, pl. *qefuj* 'mullet'. From MGk κέφαλος id. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

**qejzë** f, pl. *qejza* 'cuticle'. Another variant is Geg *qenëz*. Based on PAIb \**kenja* 'new skin' < 'new' etymologically related to Skt *kanīna-* 'young', Gk καινός 'new' and the like. ◊ FRISK I 754; POKORNY I 563-564.

**qek** aor. *qeka* 'to mention, to quote'. Continues PAIb \**kaka* or \**keka* related to Lith *kankù, kàkti* 'to seize, to reach', Latv *kacēt* 'to grasp', Slav \**čekati* 'to expect, to wait'. ◊ FRAENKEL 206; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IV 36.

**qel** m, pl. *qela* 'scab'. Borrowed from Lat *callum* 'corn, hard skin'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.

**qelb** m, pl. *qelbra* ~ *qelbna* 'pus'. From PAIb \**kalba* related to *kalb* (MEYER *Wb.* 221-222). Note a denominative verb *qelb* 'to fill with stench, to make rot'. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 53 (from IE \**gʷol-bh-* related to Arm *keł* 'tumor'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 93; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Gk κέλεφος); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224-225.

**qelë** f, pl. *qela* 'priest's house'. Borrowed from Lat *cella* 'room' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 13) ◊ HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 98, 158.

**qelq** m, pl. *qelqe* 'glass'. Borrowed from Lat *calicem* 'bowl, cup' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 9; MEYER *Wb.* 221). ◊ CAMARDA I 46 (to Gk κάλυξ 'seed-vessel, shell, pod'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMAN 114; LANDI *Lat.* 85, 111-112.

**qell** aor. *qella* 'to halt, to hold up, to carry'. From PAIb \**kela* etymologically connected with Skt *kaláyati* 'to impel', Gk κέλωμαι 'to drive on' and the like (CAMARDA I 127; MEYER *Wb.* 168). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 329-330; JOKL *IF* XXX 198, *LKUBA* 266 n. 1 (connects *qell* with *sjell* despite the phonetically impossible *q-* < \**k<sup>h</sup>*- before a palatal); FRISK I 817-818; MAYRHOFER I 179; POKORNY I 549; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Lith *kélti* 'to raise'); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 81; ÇABEJ *Sprache* XVIII 126 (follows JOKL), *St.* VII 230; HULD 106-107 (recon-

structs *\*k<sup>h</sup>olejō*); JANSON *Unt.* 164; DEMIRAJ *AE* 338-339 (to IE *\*keǵ-* ‘to move’).

**qem** m ‘incense’. Singularized plural of *\*kam* borrowed from Gk *καπνός* ‘smoke’. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 222 (to Slav *\*čadъ* ‘smoke’); JOKL *Studien* 34 (related to *καπνός* < IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>ep-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 281.

**qemër** f, pl. *qemra* ‘snake’s coil’. Borrowed from Lat *camera* ‘arch, vault’. ∅ CAMARDA II 150 (to Gk *καμάρα* id.).

**qen** m, pl. *qen, qenër* ‘dog’. A relatively late loanword from Lat *canem* id. (GIL’FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 10; MEYER *Wb.* 222) or, rather, from its Balkan continuations (Rum *caine*), reflecting no traces of rhotacism in Tosk. ∅ BOPP *Gr. comp.* I 301 (from Indo-European); STIER *KZ* XI 144-145 (reflex of IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>uōn*); CAMARDA I 41 (treats *qen* as a cognate of Lat *canis* and other reflexes of IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>uōn*); JOKL *Erf. Idg.* 128; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 94; HAMP *St. Whatmough* 82 (of Indo-European origin); MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 114; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 190; HULD 107; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 98, 144.

**qendër** f, pl. *qendra* ‘center, middle’. Borrowed from Lat *centrum* id. ∅ MANN *Language* XVII 23; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 116; ÇABEJ *St.* II 59 (on Old Alb *qendër* ‘punch’); LANDI *Lat.* 54, 81.

**qengj** m, pl. *qengja, shqerra, shtjerra* ‘lamb’. Borrowed from the metathesized Rom *\*ăcing(u)lus* < Lat *ăgniculus* id. (SKOK *A ArbSt* II 344-346). The plural form continues PALb *\*sterai* related to Skt *starī* ‘barren cow’, Arm *sterj* ‘sterile, barren’, Gk *στειρά* id. ∅ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 178 (from Rom *\*ăgnunc(u)lus*); MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 20 (follows BUGGE); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 344-348 (from Lat *ăgniculus*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 96; AÇAREAN *HAB* IV 272; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 105 (prefix *q-* and further comparison with *enjë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 59 (links *qengj* < *\*ken-k-* to Gk *καίνός* ‘new’, Skt *kanīna-* id.); POKORNY I 1031; MAYRHOFER III 512-513; FRISK II 783; HULD 115.

**qengjë** f, pl. *qengja* ‘beehive’. Another variant is *qëngjë*. Continues PALb *\*kenagā* related to Gmc *\*xunagan* ‘honey’: ON *hunang*, OE *hunig*, OHG *honag*. An Albano-Germanic isogloss reflecting IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>nāko-*. ∅ POKORNY I 564 (Germanic from IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>nāko-* ‘golden, yellow’); ZALIZN’AK *Ëtimologija* 141.

**qep** m, pl. *qepa* 'beak, hammer'. Borrowed from Slav \**klepъ* 'sharp point' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 432). Cf. also *qepallë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 222-223 (to IE \**skep-* 'to split').

**qep** aor. *qepa* 'to sew (together), to seize'. From PALb \**klepa* related to Slav \**klepati* 'to beat, to knock', cf. in particular Russ *klepat* 'to join together by riveting' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 432-433). ◇ CAMARDA I 101 (to Gk κάπτω 'to swallow, to gulp down'); MEYER *Wb.* 223 (from IE \**skep-* 'to split'), *Alb. St.* III 6, 31; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 330 (to Lat *capiō* 'to take'); JOKL *LKUBA* 308 (follows PEDERSEN); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 94; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* X 9 (explains \**klepati* as onomatopoeia).

**qepallë** f, pl. *qepalla* 'eyelid'. Borrowed from Slav \**klepadlo* 'hammer, beetle, clapper' (MEYER *Wb.* 223), cf. in particular Maced *klepalo* 'eyelid' (JOKL *LKUBA* 304). ◇ CAMARDA I 90 (from IE \**skep-* 'to cover'); SVANE 179, 274.

**qepë** f, pl. *qepë* 'onion'. Borrowed from Lat *cēpa* id. (CAMARDA I 78; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8; MEYER *Wb.* 223). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 94; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 53, 81.

**qepër** f, pl. *qepra* 'beam, roof-beam'. Borrowed from Lat *capra* 'she-goat, \*roof-beam', cf. Ital *capro* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 11; MEYER *Wb.* 223). ◇ CAMARDA I 90 (to Gk σκέπη 'covering, shelter'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1044; JOKL *LKUBA* 268 (from Rom \**capreus*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 115.

**qepule** f, pl. *qepule* 'bulb (of a plant)'. Borrowed from Lat *cēpulla* 'onion', cf. *qepë*. Derived from *qepule* is *qepujkë* id.

**qer** m, pl. *qere* 'round kneading-board'. A Tosk variant of *që* ~ *qê*.

**qere** f 'tetter, scab (on the head)'. Borrowed from Lat *cariēs* 'rot' (MEYER *Wb.* 223). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1043; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 13; HAARMANN 115; LANDI *Lat.* 133-134.

**qerm** m, pl. *qerme* 'higher part of the campfire; raised baulk'. Borrowed, with an irregular *q-* < \**tj-*, from Gk τέρμα 'end, boundary,

limit'. ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20 (from Latin); ÇABEJ *St.* II 60 (related to Gk τέρμα and Lat *termen* 'boundary'); HAARMANN 153 (from Latin).

**qeroj** aor. *qerova* 'to ask, to demand'. Other variants are *qëroj* and *qiroj*. Borrowed from Lat *quaerere* id. (HAARMANN 144).

**qerpë** f 'tuft of hair'. Another variant is *çerpë*. A metathesis of *perçe*, the latter being of Turkish origin (ÇABEJ *St.* II 60).

**qersë** f, pl. 'fallow land'. From PAIb *\*kerktja* related to Slav *\*кѣръчѣ* 'stubbed plot', Latv *kūrkt* 'to become empty (of a turnip)', OPrus *Curche* 'the last sheaf in which a deity hides'. ◇ VASMER II 340; MÜHLENBACH-ENDZELIN II 322-323; POKORNY I 568.

**qershi** f, pl. *qershi* 'cherry'. Based on *\*qersh* borrowed from Gk κέρασος id. (CAMARDA I 56; THUMB *IF* XXVI 29). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 13 (from Lat *cerasus*); MEYER *Wb.* 225 (from Rom *\*cerasium*, cf. *cerasus* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1051; JOKL *LKUBA* 208 (agrees with THUMB); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 98; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31, IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230; HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 158.

**qerthull** m, pl. *qerthuj* 'winch, windlass, circle'. From PAIb *\*kerts-ula* continuing IE *\*ker-k̑-* and related to Gk κίρκος 'ring' and Lat *circus* 'circle', *circulus* (MANN *Language* XXVI 385). ◇ CAMARDA I 162 (to *qark*); MEYER *Wb.* 220 (same as CAMARDA); JOKL *Studien* 42 (from IE *\*kert-* 'to turn, to bind'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 42; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 118 (suffix *-ull*); FRISK II 19-20; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; WALDE-HOFMANN I 220-221; POKORNY I 935; DEMIRAJ *AE* 339-340 (borrowed from Lat *circellus* 'little ring').

**qerr** m, pl. *qerre* 'wagon, cart'. Borrowed from Lat *carrus* 'two-wheeled wagon' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 12; MEYER *Wb.* 180). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1043, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 94-95; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 238, 251.

**qesas** aor. *qesata* 'to cut (branches)'. Borrowed from Slav *\*tesati* 'to cut, to hew', with *q-* rendering prepalatal Slavic *t-*, cf. South Slavic



continuants: Bulg *tesam*, SCr *tesati*. Derived from *qesas* is *qeser* 'kind of broad axe'.

**qesh** aor. *qesha* 'to laugh'. From PALb *\*kaksja* related to similar onomatopoeic verbs in Skt *kákhati* id., Gk *καχάζω* id. and the like (BARIĆ ARSt. I 42-reconstructs *\*kakhjō*). ∅ CAMARDA I 69 (to Gk *χάσκω*, *χαίνω* 'to yawn, to gape'); MEYER Wb. 224 (to Goth *hlahjan* 'to laugh'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 95 (questions BARIĆ's etymology); PISANI *Saggi* 122; POKORNY I 634; FRISK I 804; MAYRHOFER I 136; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 221.

(T) **qeshër** f, pl. *qeshra* 'roof plank'. Borrowed from Rom *\*casina* derived from Lat *casa* 'house, hut'.

**qetë** f, pl. *qeta* '(jagged) rock'. From PALb *\*klaitā* directly connected with W *clud* 'heap' and Lith *šlaitas* 'slope'. Cf. also, with a different vocalism, Gk *κλειτύς* 'slope', OHG *hlitta* id. and the like (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 433). ∅ FRAENKEL 997; ÇABEJ *LP* VIII 79-80, *St.* II 61 (singularized plural of *qye*); POKORNY I 601-602; FRISK I 873-875.

**qetë** adj. 'quiet'. Borrowed from Lat *quiētus* id. (MEYER Wb. 224). ∅ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1051; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 145.

**qeth** aor. *qetha* 'to cut (hair)'. Goes back to PALb *\*kaiṣa* related to Skt *kéśa-* 'hair (of the head)', Lith *káisti* 'to scrape, to shave'. ∅ CAMARDA I 78 (to Gk *κείρω* 'to cut'); MEYER Wb. 221 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 6, 24; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 330; JOKL *LKUBA* 13, 228 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 95; PISANI *Saggi* 102; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 45; FRAENKEL 204-205; MAYRHOFER I 267; POKORNY I 520; ÇABEJ *Sprache* XVIII 144-145, *St.* VII 229; HULD 147; KORTLANDT *KZ* XCIV 250; DEMIRAJ *AE* 340-341 (to *qij*).

**qezë** f, pl. *qezë* 'breadboard, baking plate'. Derived from *që*.

**që ~ qê** m 'round kneading board'. Borrowed from Gk *κάννα* 'wicker-work, basket'. ∅ MEYER Wb. 224-225 (from *\*klen-*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 34-35 (from Rom *\*clāvanus* derived from Lat *clāva* 'stick, staff' - but Cham *që* excludes the possibility of the initial *\*kl-!*); ÇABEJ

St. II 58 (to Bret *kant* 'circle' and its Celtic cognates).

**qĕ ~ qi** pron. 'which, that', conj. 'that'. Borrowed from Lat *quī* 'which' and *quia* 'because, that', *quod* 'that' (MEYER *Wb.* 217-218). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1051; PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht XIX* I 206-208 (from IE \**k'id*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 19 (from Lat *quod*); ÇABEJ *St. II* 61-62 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

**qĕlloj** aor. *qĕllova* 'to beat, to hit; to gain, to obtain'. Restored from \**pĕr-qĕlloj* borrowed from Lat *percellāre* 'to beat'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 225 (from Rom \**cellāre*); LAMBERTZ *KZ LII* 66 (to *qell*); ÇABEJ *St. II* 62-63 (follows LAMBERTZ).

**qĕmtoj** aor. *qĕmtova* 'to gather'. Borrowed from Rom \**coĕmptāre*, cf. Lat *coĕmere* 'to buy up'.

**qĕndroj** aor. *qĕndrova* 'to stop, to halt'. Borrowed from Rom \**centrāre*, derivative of Lat *centrum* (MEYER *Wb.* 225) used to denote an immobile object, in particular, the immobile leg of a compass. ◇ CAMARDA I 44 (to Gk κέντρον 'goad, point').

**qĕroj** aor. *qĕrova* 'to clean, to sort out'. Borrowed from Lat *carāre* 'to card (linen)'. Hence, 'to sort out'. ◇ CAMARDA I 44 (to Gk κοπέω 'to sweep, to clean'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 15 (from Lat *curāre*).

**qĕrtoj** aor. *qĕrtova* 'to blame, to reproach'. Another variant is *qortoĵ*. See *qartoĵ*.

**qĕll** m/n, pl. *qĕj* 'sky, heaven'. Borrowed from Lat *caelum* id. (RASK apud HULD 107; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 8; MEYER *Wb.* 225-226). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1043, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 93; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 13; HAARMANN 113; LANDI *Lat.* 71-72, 137.

**qĕft** m, pl. *qĕftĕ* 'kite, kind of vulture'. Borrowed from Lat *accipiter* 'vulture' (MEYER *Wb.* 226). For the loss of the last syllable cf. *mbret* (JOKL *LKUBA* 306). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1044, 1055; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 31; ÇABEJ *St. VII* 184; HAARMAN 110.

**qĕj** aor. *qĕiva* 'to copulate, to have sexual intercourse'. Borrowed from

Lat *coīre* id. through the intermediate stage *\*kēinj*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 226 (from Lat *inclīnāre* 'to cause to lean'), Alb. *St.* V 90 (to Lat *scindō* 'to cut, to tear'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1054 (same as MEYER); JOKL *Zb. Belić* 49; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 95; PISANI *AAL* VIII 345 (to IE *\*ken-* 'to rub').

**qikël** f, pl. *qikla* 'point, spike, peak'. Singularized plural of *\*qekël*. From PALb *\*kekulā* related to Lith *kēkulas* 'lump, cluster', Latv *çekuls* 'fore-lock, cluster'. ◇ FRAENKEL 234-235; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 235.

**qime** f, pl. *qime* 'hair'. Another form is *qym*. Borrowed from Lat *cyma* 'young shoots (of cabbage)' (MEYER *Wb.* 226-227). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 16 (from Lat *coma*); CAMARDA I 52 (to Gk κῶμα 'wave, billow'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 205; HAARMANN 122; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 100.

**qind** num. 'hundred'. Borrowed from Lat *centum* id. (CAMARDA I 37; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 13; MEYER *Wb.* 227). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (related to Skt *śatā-* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1051; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 95; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 116; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 98; HAMP *Numerals* 919.

**qingël** f, pl. *qingla* 'girth, belly-band (of pack animals)'. Another variant is *qengël*. Borrowed from Lat *cingula* id. (CAMARDA I 165; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 227) ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; HAARMANN 117; LANDI *Lat.* 98, 111, 117.

**qipër** f 'copper, bronze'. Borrowed from Lat (*aes*) *cyprum* 'copper' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20; MEYER *Wb.* 228). ◇ CAMARDA I 52 (to Lat *cuprum* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 121.

**qipi** f, pl. *qipi* 'stack'. Secondary derivative of PALb *\*kūpa* related to OPers *kaufa-* 'mountain', OHG *hufo* 'heap', OE *héap* id. and also *houf* id., Lith *káupas* id., Slav *\*kupa* id. (JOKL *Studien* 43). ◇ FRAENKEL 231; ONIONS 432; VASMER II 418-419; POKORNY I 591-592; DEMIRAJ *AË* 341 (collective of *kup* id.).

**qiqër** f, pl. *qiqra* 'chick-pea'. Borrowed from Lat *cicerem* id. (CAMARDA

I 68; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 226). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1051; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 117; LANDI *Lat.* 56, 98, 112.

**qiqiriq** m, pl. *qiqiriq* 'ground-nut'. Derived from *qiqēr*.

**qiri** m, pl. *qirinj* 'candle'. Borrowed from MGk κηρί id. (MEYER *Wb.* 228). ◊ CAMARDA I 181; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 96.

**qis** aor. *qita* 'to pull out'. From PAIb *\*kitja* derived from an adjective in *\*-to-*, *\*kita*, and further related to Gk κίω 'to go, to move', Lat *ciēō* trans. 'to move' and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 228 (from Lat *excitāre* 'to call out, to bring out'); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 668 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 96-97; POKORNY I 538-539; FRISK I 862-863; WALDE-HOFMANN I 213-214.

**qitēr** f, pl. *qitra* 'citron'. Borrowed from Lat *citrum, citrus* 'citrus (tree)'.  
 ◊ CAMARDA I 66 (to *gjumě*); BARIĆ *ARS* I 120 (follows CAMARDA); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 147-150 (to Lat *ciēre*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 221; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (related to Lat *ciēō*); ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 109; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 128-129; JANSON *Unt.* 125-126; DEMIRAJ *AE* 341.

**qoj** aor. *qova* 'to wake up'. Borrowed from Lat *ciēre* 'to move, to agitate'.  
 ◊ CAMARDA I 66 (to *gjumě*); BARIĆ *ARS* I 120 (follows CAMARDA); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 147-150 (to Lat *ciēre*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 221; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (related to Lat *ciēō*); ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 109; ÇABEJ *Etim.* III 128-129; JANSON *Unt.* 125-126; DEMIRAJ *AE* 341.

**qok** m, pl. *qokě* 'kind of owl'. Another variant is *qukě*. An onomatopoeia.

**qok** aor. *qoka* 'to seize, to touch, to peck'. Another variant is *quk*. An expressive verb. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 229 (from Slav *\*kl'ukati* 'to peck').

**qokě** f, pl. *qoka* 'broody hen'. Derived from *qok* 'to seize'.

**qore** f, pl. *qore* 'water-hole in the mountains'. Singularized plural of *quar* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 63).

**qos** aor. *qosa* 'to end, to finish'. From PAIb *\*klā(u)tja* derived from the Indo-European word for 'key': Gk κληίς, Lat *clāvis*. Cf. Lith *kliaudyti* 'to stop, to prevent' going back to the same source. ◊ CAMARDA I 39

(to Gk κόσμος 'order'); FRISK I 867-868; FRAENKEL 274; WALDE-HOFMANN I 229-231; POKORNY I 604-605; ÇABEJ *St.* II 63-64 ("expressive shortening" of *qullos*).

**quaj** ~ **quej** aor. *quajta* ~ *quejta* 'to call, to give a name'. From PAIb \**klāusnja*, a denominative based on IE \**klewos* 'glory, word': Skt *śrávas-*, Gk κλέος, Slav \**slovo* (CAMARDA I 52). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 230 (to *gjuhë*); JOKL *IF* XLIX 291, *Studien* 60; BARIĆ *ARSt* 71 (to *gjuhë*); PEDERSEN *IF* V 36; PISANI *REIE* IV 7; MANN *Language* XVII 16, XXVI 383, XXVIII 33; PORZIG *Gliederung* 75; FRISK I 869-870; VASMER III 673; MAYRHOFER III 389-390; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 231; HULD 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 342.

**quar** ~ **quer** m, pl. *qore* 'prison, cellar, shelter'. Goes back to PAIb \**klā(u)ra* further related to *qos*. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 95-97 (to Slav \**klěť* 'barn' and its cognates); ÇABEJ *St.* II 64 (to OIr *claidim* 'to empty', Gk κλαδαρός 'fragile').

**quдохem** refl. 'to persist, to be obstinate'. Borrowed from Ital *chiudere* 'to shut' (MEYER *Wb.* 229). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 64 (to *çudis*).

**qull** m 'porridge'. The original meaning seems to be 'liquid food' as indicated by the denominative *qull* 'to make wet'. From PAIb \**klu-sla* related to Gk κλύζω 'to rinse', Lat *cluō* 'to clean' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 228, *Alb. St.* III 4 with the reconstruction \**kludlo-*). ◊ CAMARDA I 69 (to Gk χυλός 'juice'); FRISK I 876-877; WALDE-HOFMANN I 239-240; POKORNY I 607; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (borrowed from Gk χυλός); ÇABEJ *St.* II 65 (follows MIHĂESCU).

**qumësh** m 'milk, whey'. In dialects (e.g. in Cham), the initial *kl-* is preserved. Borrowed from Latin. Continues Rom \**clomostrium* < Lat *colostrum* 'colostrum, beestings' (MEYER *Wb.* 229). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 273-276 (to Gk κλύζω 'to pour, to wash', Latv *slāukt* 'to milk'); TAGLI-AVINI *Stratificazione* 149; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 105 (from \**k-lum-*); HAMP *SCelt* XIV/XV 110; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 231.

**quploj** aor. *quplova* 'to blunt'. Borrowed from Rom \**globelläre* derived from \**globellus* 'knot'.

**qurra** pl. 'snot, snivel'. Another variant is *qyrra*. From PAIb \**klura* etymologically identical with Lith *šliūrti* 'to become dirty' and going back to an Indo-European localism \**k̑leu-r-*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 230 (from Turk *kir* 'dirt, filth'), *Alb. St.* IV 87, V 91; FRAENKEL 1007; ÇABEJ *St.* II 65 (to Lith *krèkti* 'to coagulate, to clot').

**qye** m, pl. *qej* 'summit, peak'. From PAIb \**klaina* continuing IE \**k̑loino-* 'slanting, skew' > Goth gen. pl. *hlaine* 'hill' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 61). ◇ FEIST *Goth.* 260-261; POKORNY I 600-602; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 433.

**qyl** m 'slime, mud'. From PAIb \**kūla* identical with Lith *kūla* 'out-growth', Slav \**kyla* id. ◇ FRAENKEL 306; POKORNY I 536-537; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* XIII 262-263.

**qyr** aor. *qyra* 'to look'. Another variant is *këqyr* with a prefix *kë-*. Continues PAIb \**kewira* related to Gk κοέω 'to note', Lat *caveō* 'to be aware', Goth *hausjan* 'to hear'. ◇ FRISK I 890-891; WALDE-HOFMANN I 186-187; POKORNY I 587.

**qyrë** f, pl. *qyra* 'rear side (of a knife)'. Together with *qytë* 'blunt side (of an axe)' this form represents a derivative of an unattested verb \**qyej* 'to blunt' < PAIb \**kënja*, further connected with IE \**ken-* 'to scratch, to cut'. For the semantic development cf. Lat *obtūsus* 'blunt' ~ *obtundere* 'to beat'. ◇ POKORNY I 559-553; BUCK 1070-1071.

**qysh** adv. 'how'. Locative of *që*.

**qytet** m, pl. *qytete* 'city'. Borrowed from Lat *cīvitāte(m)* id. (CAMARDA I 53; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 14; MEYER *Wb.* 229). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 14; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 190; HAARMANN 117; ÇABEJ *St.* II 65-66 (on the umlaut in the suffix *-et*); OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 438 (on the evolution of PAIb \**-īwi-* and Lat *-īvi-*); LANDI *Lat.* 83, 85, 146.

## R

**rabeckë** f, pl. *rabecka* 'sparrow'. Based on \**rabec* borrowed from Slav \**vorhьсь* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vrabec*, SCr *vrabac* (DESNIČKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13). ◇ SVANE 145.

**rabush** m 'hard outer scale of onion'. Another variant is *rapush* 'onion-top, flower of onion'. Borrowed from Bulg *rabuš* 'tally, tag'.  
 ◇ MANN *HAED* 421 (to *lēpush*).

**radis** aor. *radita* 'to prepare, to make ready (of food)'. Borrowed from Slav \**raditi* 'to settle, to arrange, to make ready', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *rad'a*, SCr *raditi* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31; MEYER *Wb.* 360). ◇ SVANE 223, 240.

**radhë** f, pl. *radhë* 'row'. From dialectal NGk *ράδα* id., cf. NGk *ἀράδα* (MEYER *Wb.* 360). ◇ CAMARDA II 334; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 279.

**ragal** m 'kennel'. A Tosk hapax registered by JOKL in a phrase *ragal'a e šenit* 'dog's kennel'. Early borrowing from Slav \**rogalь* 'corner', cf. SCr *ragalj* (GINDIN - KALUŽSKAJA *SBJa Ètnokul't.* 30-32); note Alb *-a-* < Slav \**-o-*. Semantically, cf. Slav \**koŕja* 'house, hut' derived from \**koŕь* 'corner' (TRUBAČEV *ZfPhon.* XXXIV 477). ◇ JOKL *IF* XLIV 13-15 (connects *ragal* with Rum *argea* 'shed' and ancient Maced *ἄργελλα* 'Macedonian baths'); PISANI *REIE* IV 17 (fantastic comparison with Lat *nebula*); HASDEU *EMR* II 309 -310 (Rum *argea* < ancient Balk \**argellā*); TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 149; CIORANESCU I 36 (Rum *argea* < Turk Chag *arya* 'box'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 328; ROSETTI *ILR* 271-272; ÇABEJ *St.* II 94; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362; DEMIRAJ *AE* 342-343.

**rangë** f 'home work'. From PAIb \**wrankā* with an original meaning \* 'gathering', etymologically identical with Lith *rankà* 'hand', *parankà* 'gathering', *renkù*, *riñkti* 'to gather', Slav \**rōka* 'hand'. ◇ FRAENKEL 697; VASMER III 515; POKORNY I 1155; ÇABEJ *St.* II 67-68 (connected with Ital *rangola* 'preoccupation' or Lat *rancor* 'rot').

**rapë** f 'turnip'. Borrowed from Lat *rāpa* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 232.

(G) **raqitë** f 'broom (bush)'. Borrowed from Slav \**orkyta* id., cf. Bulg *rakita*, SCr *rakita* (MEYER *Wb.* 361). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189; SVANE 127.

**rasë** f, pl. *rasë* 'case'. A phonetic variant of *rast*, a Turkish loanword, influenced by *ra*, aoristic stem of *bie* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 68).

**rasë** f, pl. *rasa* ‘cassock’. From MGk ῥάσων id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 69), probably, via Bulg *rasa*, SCr *rasa*.

**rashë** f ‘kind of woman’s shirt’. Borrowed from MLat *rāsum* ‘kind of cloth’ (ÇABEJ *St.* II 68-69).

**rashqel** m, pl. *rashqela* ‘rake’. Another variant is *rrashqel*. Borrowed from Lat *rāstellus* ‘little hoe’.

**ratë** adj. ‘horizontal’. Derived from *rashë*, aor. of *bie*.

**ravë** f, pl. *rava* ‘path (in mountains or snow)’. An early borrowing from Slav \**rovъ* ‘ditch’. ⚭ BARIĆ *ARSt* I 78 (to Slav \**noga* ‘foot’); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 54 (etymologically related to Slav \**rovъ*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 69-70 (metathesis of *varrë*).

**ravgë** f ‘path (in mountains)’. An early borrowing from Slav \**rovъkъ* ‘ditch’, cf. *ravë*. Derived from *ravgë* is *ravgoj* ‘to wander, to walk to and fro’ (ÇABEJ *St.* II 70).

**re** indecl. ‘attention’. Used in *vë re* ‘to pay attention’. Identical with *rojë* ‘guard’ derived from *ruaj* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 71-72). The verb *vërej* ‘to pay attention’ is a univerbation of *vë re*. ⚭ MEYER *Wb.* 362 (to Lat *gravis* ‘heavy’); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 210 (to Lith *regëti* ‘to see’); JOKL *Studien* 75-76, *LKUBA* 207 (follows WIEDEMANN and points to *ruaj* as the closest connection).

**re ~ rê** f, pl. *re ~ rê* ‘cloud’. Singularized plural of \**ri*. Goes back to PAlb \**rina* etymologically identical with Illyr ῥίνοϛ· ἄχλϛύϛ (JOKL *AfslPh* XXXI 238, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 86). Further connections are Skt *riṇāti* ‘to pour, to let flow’, Gk Lesb ῥίνω ‘to move’. ⚭ CAMARDA I 92 (to Gk ἄηρ ‘air’); MEYER *Wb.* 362 (to Gmc \**raukiz* ‘smoke’ > OHG *rouh*, ON *reykr* and the like), *Alb.St.* III 37, 90; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 78 (to IE \**nebh-* ‘cloud’); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 244 (to Skt *rāja-*); RIBEZZO *RivAlb* I 140 (to Gk ἔρεβος); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 235 (follows MEYER); PISANI *Saggi* 99, 123; POKORNY I 330; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 52 (to *përrua*); HAMP *St. Whatmough* 80 (agrees with JOKL); ÇABEJ *St.* II 71 (repeats JOKL’s etymology but also compares *re* with *err*); HULD 107-108 (links *re* to Lat *rōs* ‘dew’, Lith *rasà* id.); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 344 (agrees with RIBEZZO).



**re** f, pl. *reja* 'young woman, daughter-in-law, bride'. Substantivized feminine of *ri*.

**red** m 'row'. Borrowed from Slav \**redъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *red*, SCr *red* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32). ◇ SVANE 224, 241.

**regëzinj** aor. *regëzivu* 'to tear (clothes)'. An Old Albanian form (BUZUKU) based on the noun *rragozinë* 'rag' (LA PIANA *Studi. Varia* 41). The latter is an early Slavic loanword continuing Slav \**rogožina* 'bast mat'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 72 (metathesis of \**gërzinj* derived from *gris*).

**regj** m, pl. *regjër* 'king'. Borrowed from Lat *rëgem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 362 (from Lat *rëg(u)lus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; RESULTI *Studi albanesi* III-IV 211-213 (from Old Ital *rege* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 72 (agrees with MEYER *Gr. Gr.*); HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat.* 83, 96, 145.

**regj** aor. *regja* 'to tan'. From PALb \**raugja*, a denominative verb etymologically related to ON *reykr* 'smoke', OHG *rouh* id. The original meaning of the word was 'to smoke'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 362 (from SCr *redjati* 'to put in a row, to set in order'); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 299 (agrees with MEYER); POKORNY I 872; MANN *Language* XXVI 382-383 (to Gk *πέζω*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 73-74 (from IE \**ureǵ-* related to Gk *ἔργον* 'work'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 345 (to Lith *rúgti* 'to become sour').

**rekë** f 'brook, rivulet'. Another morphonological variant is *rëké* (JOKL *LKUBA* 225). Borrowed from Slav \**rëka* 'river', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *reka*, SCr *rijeka*, *reka* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 363). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 188, 323; SVANE 172.

**rekës** m 'giant'. Verbal adjective based on *rrek* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 74). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 363 (to Slovene *orjak* id.).

**rem** m 'copper'. Singularized plural of the attested form *ram* id. borrowed from Ital *rame* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54; MEYER *Wb.* 361). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 29 (follows MIKLOSICH); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 234 (the same); JOKL

*Arch. Rom.* XXIV 35 (from Lat *aerāmen* 'bronze or copper shavings'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 110; ÇABEJ *St.* II 74-75 (agrees with JOKL).

**remě** f, pl. *rema* 'watermill ditch'. Borrowed from NGk ῥέμα < Gk ῥεῦμα 'ditch, rivulet' (CAMARDA I 53; MEYER *Wb.* 373). ◊ MANN *HAED* 425, 434 (identical with *rremb*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 75 (agrees with MANN).

**rend** m, pl. *rende* 'row'. An early loanword from Slav \**reďъ* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MANN *Language* XVII 20-21), cf. *red*. The verb *rendis* 'to put in order' reflects Slav \**ređiti* id. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 182; SVANE 223, 241.

**rend** aor. *renda* 'to run, to hurry'. Continues PALb \**renta*, a derivative of \**rena* etymologically related to Goth *rinnan* 'to run', ON *rinna* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 363 (from MGk ῥένται 'horse-race'); JOKL *LKUBA* 280-281 (derivative in \*-t- of \**ren-*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to Skt *ramhati*); FEIST *Goth.* 398-399; POKORNY I 328 (to IE \**er-* 'to rise').

**rendoj** aor. *rendova* 'to grate'. Secondary formation based on *rend* 'row'.

**repě** f 'desert'. Continues an umlauticized PALb \**raupā* etymologically related to ON *rauf* 'pit', Lith *raupiù, raũpti* 'to hollow out' further related to IE \**reup-* 'to tear, to break'. ◊ FRAENKEL 707-708; POKORNY I 870.

**repě** f, pl. *repa* 'turnip'. Borrowed from Slav \**rěpa* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *r'apa*, dial. *repa*, SCr *repa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 162; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24 (from Lat *rāpum*); SVANE 108.

**repuq** adj. 'torn'. A suffixal derivative of *rjep*.

**resě** f, pl. *resa* 'envy'. Historically identical with *resě* 'guard' derived from *ruaj* (KRISTOFORIDHI 297), probably, as a calque of Lat *invidia* id. (JOKL *Studien* 76). ◊ BORGEAUD *RRL* 6 (1973) 529-531; ÇABEJ *St.* II 75, IV 85.

**resě** f 'structure made of reed and supporting a straw roof'. Identi-

cal with *resë* 'guard, envy'. The reed trellis was used to protect the roof from falling. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 75-76 (borrowed from Bulg *resa* 'stamen').

**resh** aor. *resha* 'to fall (of snow or rain)'. Secondarily restored from the aorist *rashë* of *bie* 'to fall' (JOKL *IF* XLIII 52-55). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 363 (to Skt *vārṣati* 'to rain' and the like), *Alb. Studien* III 86; JOKL *Studien* 73-74 (to Lith *rasà* 'dew', Slav *\*rosa* id.); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 79 (to IE *\*sneigʰ-* 'snow'); CAMAJ *Alb. Worthb.* 52; ÇABEJ *St.* II 76 (agrees with MEYER); HAMP *IF* LXXXVI 191-192; HULD 108; DEMIRAJ *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 72, *AE* 345-346.

**reshis** aor. *reshita* 'to extinguish'. Borrowed from Slav *\*rěšiti* 'to solve' also meaning 'to extinguish' as in SCr *rěšiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 363). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 181, 192; SVANE 241.

**reshpe** f, pl. *reshpe* 'avalanche, rocky precipice'. Another variant is *reshme*. In the anlaut, *rr-* is also possible. Derived from *resh*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 364 (from Ital *raspa* 'scraper, rasp').

**resht** aor. *reshta* 'to keep away; to stop'. Anlaut in *rr-* is also possible. A secondary formation based on *rreshtoj* 'to arrest' borrowed from Rom *\*arrestāre* 'to stop, to arrest'. ◊ CAMARDA II 159 (to Lat *resistō* 'to stop'); MEYER *Wb.* 364 (from Ital *restare* 'to stop').

**rezhdë** f, pl. *rezhda* 'ring at goat's throat'. Another variant is *rrezhdë*. Etymologically identical with *rezhgë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 373 (to *rrezhdë* ~ *rreshtë* 'bone'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 76-77 (from SCr *resa* 'ring at goat's throat', Bulg *resa* 'stamen').

**rezhgë** f, pl. *rezhga* 'honeycomb cell'. Borrowed from Slav *\*rěžьka*, unattested derivative of *\*rěďькъ* 'rare'.

**rëfyre** f, pl. *rëfyra* 'knot, outgrowth (on a tree)'. Prefixal derivative of *fâj*.

**rëkosh** m 'fat cheese'. A prefixal derivative of *\*kosh* borrowed from Lat *cāseus* 'cheese'.

**rēmēr ~ rēmen** m, pl. *rēměnj* 'Valachian; shepherd'. Attested in Greece only. Borrowed from Lat *Romānus* 'Roman' (MEYER *Wb.* 365). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1049; ÇABEJ *St.* II 77 (from Arum *arumîn* 'Arumunian'); PUŞCARIU *Etudes* 60 (semantic development of *rēmēr* and *vllah*).

**rěmoj** aor. *rěmova* 'to dig'. Borrowed from Lat *rīmāri* 'to dig, to hoe' (MEYER *Wb.* 365). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1049; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251.

**rěndě ~ randě** adj. 'heavy'. Continues PALb *\*raunta* derived from the verbal stem of aor. *rashě* < *\*rauša*, see *bie* 'to fall' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 71). From *rěndě* the verb *rěndoј* 'to be heavy' is derived. ◇ CAMARDA I 47 (to Skt *rāmāte* '(he) is quiet'); MEYER *Wb.* 365 (borrowing from Lat *grandis* 'large'), *Alb.St.* III 8, IV 25; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 183 (agrees with MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 74 (participle of a verb reflected in Lith *rīeju, rīeti* 'to stack, to bend'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 86-87 (to Lith *sveriù* 'to weigh' and the like); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 234-235; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (from *\*gʷr̥udho-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 71 (arguments in favor of BARIĆ's etymology); HULD 108 (supports JOKL 's etymology).

**rěngě** f, pl. *rěnga* 'chime, tinkling (of bells)'. Borrowed from one of the continuants of Gmc *\*xrengaz* 'ring', cf. *\*xrengjan* 'to ring, to tinkle': ON *hringja*, OE *hringan* and the like. ◇ HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 174-175; ZALIZN'AK *Ėtimologija* 132.

**rěnkoј** aor. *rěnkova* 'to moan, to groan'. Another variant is *rěkoј*. Tosk equivalents of *ankoј*. ◇ CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk *ῥέγκω* 'to snore').

**rěnxoј** aor. *rěnxova* 'to cause hernia'. Borrowed from Rom *\*hernizāre* based on *hernia* 'rupture, hernia'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 365 (to Ital *ernia* 'hernia'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 78 (phonetic variant of *rrězoј*).

**rěpjete** adj. 'steep'. A variant of *pěrpjete* in which *rě-* seems to represent a phonetic transformation of *pěr-* (JOKL *IF* XXXVII 95-96, *LKUBA* 244 n. 1). The same is true of *rěposh* = *pěrposh*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

**rěre ~ raně** f 'sand'. Borrowed from Lat *arēna* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 3; MEYER *Wb.* 366, *Alb. St.* IV 17). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1044; JOKL *LKUBA* 281; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 234; MANN *Language*

XVII 23; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 111; ÇABEJ *St.* II 78-79; JANSON *Unt.* 57-58; LANDI *Lat.* 54, 80, 114.

**rĚshirĚ** ~ **rĚshinĚ** f 'resin; grape juice'. Borrowed from Lat *rĕsĭna* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 369). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244.

**rĚžěgojě** f 'arsenic'. Another variant is *rĚzigojě*. Results from the folk etymology (*rrĚžě* and *gojě*) of the original *\*ĕrsingĕ* borrowed from NGk ἀρσενικόν id. (MEYER *Wb.* 366).

**ri** adj. 'new, young, recent'. From PALb *\*rija*, a zero-grade derivative of IE *\*er-* ~ *\*or-* 'to rise, to make move', cf. ON *qrr* 'quick', OS *aru* id. of a similar origin (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 433-434). ◊ CAMARDA I 85 (from *\*neuos* 'new'); MEYER *Wb.* 366 (comparison with *rris*); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 170 (follows CAMARDA); BARIĆ *ARSt* 79 (from *\*neuos*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237 (rejects BUGGE's etymology); POKORNY I 326-332; HULD 108-109.

**rig** m, pl. *riga* 'king (in cards)'. Borrowed from MGk ῥήγας 'king'.

**rigash** m, pl. *rigashě* 'turkey'. Derivative of *rig*.

**rigě** f 'drizzle'. The verb is *rigoj* 'to drizzle'. The latter is borrowed from Lat *rigāre* 'to sprinkle, to irrigate'. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55 (from Ital *riga*, *rigare* 'to make wet'); MEYER *Wb.* 366 (follows MIKLOSICH).

**rij** ~ **rĭ** 'to make humid'. Continues PALb *\*rinja* related to Skt *riṇḍti* 'to stream, to release', Slav *\*ringŕti* 'to flow' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 74-75). Note a deverbative (G) *rĭtě* 'wet'. ◊ VASMER III 484; MAYRHOFFER III 59-60; POKORNY I 330-331; ÖLBERG apud DEMIRAJ (to OHG *reineo* 'stallion'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 79-80 (to Gk ῥαίνω 'to sprinkle', Slav *\*ronĭti* 'to drop, to pour'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 346.

**rikě** f, pl. *rika* 'duckling, duck'. Cf. also *rikĕz* 'piglet'. Based on an onomatopoeic verb PALb *\*rika* denoting quacking or similar sounds and connected with Lith *rĭkti* 'to cry' and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 366 (*rikĕz* explained as an onomatopoeia), 369 (to SCr *riĉka* 'kind of duck'); FRAENKEL 717, 734; ÇABEJ *St.* II 80 (onomatopoeia).

**rimtě** adj. 'dark blue, blue, azure, green'. A parallel and more archaic form is *rrimtě*. Derived from *rrime*, cf. OBret *uurm* 'dark (color)', W *gwrn* 'dark blue' as color designations based on the word for 'worm' (OREL *IF* XLIII 116). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* 80 (to OE *nípan* 'to become dark'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 80 (compares with *remtě* 'dark brown, bronze').

**riqe** f, pl. *riqe* 'brier'. Borrowed from Gk ἐρείκη id. or NGk ρείκτω id. (CAMARDA II 159; MEYER *Wb.* 366). ◇ HAARMANN 123 (from Lat *erīca*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 81.

**ris** m, pl. *risĕr* ~ *risĕn* 'lynx'. Borrowed from Slav \**rysz* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *ris*, SCr *ris*.

**rishte** pl. 'cartilages; kind of dry pastry'. Umlauticized form of *rreshtě*.

**rizĕ** f, pl. *riza* 'kerchief'. Borrowed from Slav \**riza* 'shirt, kerchief', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *riza*, SCr *riza* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 367). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 174; SVANE 49.

**rjep** aor. *ropa* 'to strip off (skin or bark), to tear off'. A parallel form is *rrjep*. Goes back to PALb \**repa* connected with IE \**rep-*: Gk ἐρέπτομαι 'to eat', Lat *rapiō* 'to seize, to grasp', Lith *rĕpti* 'to grasp' and the like (MEYER *BB* VIII 189, *Wb.* 367, *Alb. St.* III 31). ◇ CAMARDA I 79 (to Gk λέπω 'to peel'); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 167; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251 (borrowed from Lat *rapiō*); ERNOUT-MEILLET 564; PISANI *Saggi* 130; FRAENKEL 721-722; FRISK I 552-553; WALDE-HOFMANN II 417; POKORNY I 856; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19 (borrowed from Lat *rapere*); HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XXXVII 61; HULD 150; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 40, *Linguistica* XXIV 437; HAARMANN 145 (from Latin); DEMIRAJ *AE* 346-347.

**rob** m, pl. *roh*, *robĕr* 'serf, prisoner'. Borrowed from Slav \**orbъ* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 368). As far as attested South Slavic languages reflect *ra-* (Bulg *rah*, SCr *rah*), the Albanian word continues a form from an extinct dialect. ◇ SVANE 192, 241.

**robtis** aor. *robtisa* 'to make work hard, to enslave'. Borrowed from Slav \**orbotiti* id., cf. *rob*.

**rod** m 'kin, family'. Borrowed from Slav \**rodъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rod*, SCr *rod* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 184). ◇ SVANE 186-187.

**rogečë** pl. 'masked participants of a carnival'. Based on an unattested singular \**rogač* borrowed from Slav \**rogačь* 'horned (creature)', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rogač*, SCr *rogač* (SVANE 214).

**rogë** f 'glade, clearing (especially, in the mountains)'. Borrowed from Slav \**rogъ* 'horn', also used as a geographical term, cf. Bulg *rog*, SCr *rog*. ◇ JOKL *ZfOrt* X 188 (to OHG *riuti*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 81 (derived from *rruaj*).

**rogovečkë** f, pl. *rogoveca* 'acacia'. Borrowed from an unattested Slav \**rogovъčьka* 'horned (object)'.

**rois** aor. *roita* 'to swarm (of bees)'. Borrowed from Slav \**rojiti* (*se*) id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *roja*, SCr *roiti se* (JOKL *LKUBA* 286). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 167; DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 13; SVANE 241.

**roj** m, pl. *roje* 'swarm of bees'. Borrowed from Slav \**rojъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *roj*, SCr *roj*, cf. *rois* (SVANE 158, 241).

**rojë** f, pl. *rojë, roja* 'guard'. Derived from *ruaj*.

**rojčkë** f, pl. *rojka* 'bee (in the swarm)'. Borrowed from Slav \**rojьka* id., attested in South Slavic as a proper name: Bulg *Rojka*, SCr *Rojka*.

**rok** m 'term'. Borrowed from Slav \**rokъ* 'time, term, year; fate', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *rok*, SCr *rok* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 368). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197.

**rokëz** f 'kind of children game, round dance'. Identical with *rrokëz* 'helix' derived from *rrokë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 368 (from NGk *ρόκα* 'fork'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 81 (derived from *rrok*).

**rokominë** f 'shrunk old man'. An expressive formation in *roko-* < *rroko*, cf. *rrokë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 368 (from Ital *rocca del camino* 'flue'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 81 (derivative of *rrogomis* < *gorromis* 'to throw down').

**ronitem** refl. 'to fall, to crumble'. Borrowed from Slav \*roniti 'to drop, to let fall', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *ron'a*, SCr *roniti* (attested in a different meaning - 'to pour'). ◊ SVANE 241.

**rosë** f. pl. *rosa* 'duck'. From PALb \*anätjā, a cognate of Skt *ātī-* 'water bird', Gk *νήσσα* 'duck' and other continuations of IE \*(a)nētīā (BARIĆ ARSt 80), contaminated with IE \*er(ə)- ~ \*or(ə)- 'bird'. Rum *raṣă* was borrowed from Proto-Albanian. ◊ STIER KZ XI 148 (to Hung *ruca, réce* and Rum *raṣă*); MIKLOSICH Slav. *Elemente* 31 (from Slavic); CAMARDA II 167 (follows STIER); MEYER Wb. 368-369 (to *rik* 'duck' and forms adduced by STIER); VASMER Alb. *Wortforsch.* 55; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 244 (from SCr *raca* id.); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 347 (both Albanian and Rumanian words going back to a substratum reflex of IE \*reudh-so-); MANN *Language* XXVI 381; POKORNY I 41; FRISK II 317-318; MAYRHOFER I 72-73; OREL RRL XXX/2 106-107 (PALb \*arätjā influenced by the Indo-European word for 'duck').

**rotar** m 'servant'. A secondary phonetic variant of *rrogëtar*, derivative of *rrogë* (ÇABEJ St. II 82). ◊ MEYER Wb. 369 (borrowed from a South Slavic continuant of Slav \*ortarь 'plowman', SCr *ratar*); SELIŠČEV Slav. *naselenie* 178, 326 (follows MEYER); VASMER Alb. *Wortforsch.* I 55 (the same); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 307-308 (agrees with MEYER).

**rozë** aor. *roza* 'knot (in wood)'. Borrowed from NGk *ρόζος* id. (MEYER Wb. 369). ◊ CAMARDA I 96 (to *rrënjë*).

**rozgë** f. pl. *rozga* 'kind of thistle'. Another variant is *rrozgë*. Borrowed from Slav \*rozga 'twig, branch', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rozga*, SCr *rozga* (JOKL LKUBA 220-221). ◊ SELIŠČEV Slav. *naselenie* 189; ÇABEJ St. II 101-102; SVANE 124.

**ruaj ~ ruej** aor. *ruajta ~ rova* 'to guard, to keep, to observe'. From PALb \*rāgnja etymologically connected with ON *rōkja* 'to take care of', Gk *ἀρήνω* 'to assist, to defend'. ◊ MEYER Wb. 369 (borrowed from Slav \*xorniti 'to keep'); WIEDEMANN BB XXVII 210 (to *vě re* 'to make clear'); JOKL *Studien* 75-76 (to Gk *ὀπάω* 'to see', OHG *wara* 'attention' and the like); BARIĆ ARSt I 88 (follows JOKL); FRISK I 137; POKORNY I 855; ÇABEJ St. II 82-83 (follows JOKL and BARIĆ); DEMIRAJ AE 347 (follows WIEDEMANN).



**ruazě ~ ruezě** f, pl. *ruaza ~ rueza* 'glass bead; glass ball (used as an amulet)'. There are also variants in *rr-*. Deverbative of *ruaj ~ ruej* (CAMARDA II 167; JOKL *StFil* I/3 9-11). ⚡ MEYER *Wb.* 370 (from \**prllazě*, to Ital *perla* 'pearl'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 225.

**rubě** f, pl. *ruba* 'kerchief'. Borrowed from Slav \**rǫbъ* 'seam, border', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *ръб*, SCr *rub* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 371). Semantically closer is Slovene *rob* 'cloth, shirt'.

**rudě** adj. 'short and soft (of wool)'. Borrowed from Slav \**ruda* 'thick wool', cf. South Slavic: Bulg *ruda*, SCr *ruda* (MEYER *Wb.* 370).

**rudině** f, pl. *rudina* 'alpine pasture'. Borrowed from South Slavic \**rudina* id., cf. Bulg *rudina*, SCr *rudina*.

**rufkě** adj. 'soft-boiled (of egg)'. Another form is *rufě*. Derived from *rufis* 'to sip', a Modern Greek loanword (MEYER *Wb.* 370).

**rugě** adj. 'closely cropped'. Singularized form of the original \**rugě*. Another variant, with the unvoiced anlaut, is *rukě* 'without shell (of nuts), waste, devastated'. From PALb \**ruga* connected with Lith *rūgti* 'to become sour' < IE \**reu-g-* 'to tear, to pull'; the latter is derived from \**reu-*. ⚡ FRAENKEL 746; POKORNY I 868-869; JEGERS *KZ* LXXX 141-142; ÇABEJ *St.* II 83 (from *rruaj*).

**runě** f 'air-hole of a chimney'. Analogical transformation of *nděr uně* 'between bricks' > *ndě runě* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 84).

**rungajě** f, pl. *rungaja* 'avalanche; river-bed'. Other variants are *rrungajě*, *rrunga* and *runga*. Continues PALb \**wrunga* connected with Lith *rungúoti* 'to wind, to bend', a secondary ablaut formation based on *zeŋgtis* 'to be bent' < IE \**ureng-*. ⚡ FRAENKEL 719, 749; POKORNY I 1154.

**rungoj** aor. *rungova* 'to weed'. Borrowed from Lat *runcāre* id. ⚡ MEYER *Wb.* 371 (from Ital *roncare* id.).

**rure** f 'agonizing doubts'. Derived from *ruaj*.

**rus** adj. 'red-haired, blond'. Borrowed from Slav \**rusъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rus*, SCr *rus* (MEYER *Wb.* 371). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 196 (follows MEYER); CAPIDAN *Dacoromania* IV 850 (from Arum *arus*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 84 (from NGk *ῥούσσοσ* 'red-haired').

**ryej** aor. *reva* 'to suffer'. There are also dialectal forms in *rr-*. From the contracted PALb \**raudinja* related to Skt *róđiti* 'to weep, to roar', Lat *rūđō* 'to shout, to cry', Lith *raudà* 'weeping', Slav \**rydati* 'to weep'. ◇ FRAENKEL 704; MAYRHOFER III 77; VASMER III 526-527; POKORNY I 867; ÇABEJ *St.* II 79 (reconstructs \**uren-*).

**ryj** aor. *ryjta* 'to enter'. A prefixal form continuing \**rě-hyj*, cf. *hyj* (BARIĆ *ARSt* I 17). ◇ CAMARDA II 61 (to Gk *ἐρευνάω* 'to seek, to explore'); MANN *HAED* 431; ÇABEJ *St.* II 84 (to Lat *ruō* 'to rush' and the like).

**rys** aor. *ryta* 'to practice, to exercise'. Continues PALb \**rūtja* related to Lat *ruō* 'to rush down, to fall down', Slav \**ryti* 'to dig', Lith *ráuti* 'to tear, to pull' and the like. ◇ XHUVANI *KLeTr* I/6 11 (to *rusem*); VASMER III 531; FRAENKEL 708-709; WALDE-HOFMANN II 453-454; POKORNY I 868; ÇABEJ *St.* II 84 (to *ryej* ~ *riej*).

**ryžě** f, pl. *ryza* 'rue'. Derivative in *-zě* of an unattested \**rytě* borrowed from Lat *rūta* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 84-85).

## Rr

**rra** f, pl. *rra* 'belly-worm'. From PALb \**wragā* related to OIr *frige* 'vermin, flesh-worm' < \**urg-* (BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 88). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 372 (from Lat *crīnālis* 'related to hair'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538 (against MEYER); WEIGAND *BA* III 217 (from Lat *rēnēs* 'kidneys'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 66 (to Lat *vergō* 'to bend, to turn'); POKORNY I 1152; ÇABEJ *St.* II 89-90 (to Lat *corrigia* 'shoe-lace' and its cognates).

**rrabe** f, pl. *rrabe* 'rocky desert (with bushes)'. From PALb \**rauba* related to Goth *raupjan* 'to rip'. ◇ FEIST *Goth.* 395; POKORNY I 869.

**rrafēs** m, pl. *rrafēs* 'churn-staff'. Deverbative of *rrah* ~ *rraf*.

**rrafsh** m, pl. *rrafshe* 'plane, flat surface'. Analogically restored from

*rrafshoj* 'to flatten', a verb in *-ëshoj* based on a borrowing from Slav \**orvьnъ* 'even', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *raven*, SCr *ravan* (MEYER *Wb.* 360). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 175-177 (from Slav \**orves-*, an *s*-stem of the same root); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 187; ÇABEJ *St.* II 85; SVANE 167.

**rrag** m 'apron'. Continues PALb \**srauga* related to the isolated Lith *sruoga* 'skein, hank; tuft, hairlock', *srauga* id. ◊ FRAENKEL 890.

**rragatem** refl. 'to quarrel'. Borrowed from Slav \**rogati se* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *rъgaja*, SCr *rugati se*. ◊ SVANE 258.

**rrah** m, pl. *rrahe* 'grubbed out land'. Deverbative of *rrah* 'to beat' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 86). ◊ CAMARDA I 132 (to Gk *ράχις* 'lower part of the back'); MEYER *Wb.* 360 (*rah* 'hill' from NGk *ράχις* 'mountain ridge'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 88 (from \**uroiğ-*, as in Arm *ergicanem* 'to tear').

**rrah** aor. *rraha* 'to beat, to strike'. From PALb \**wragška* etymologically connected with Gk *ράσσω* id. reflecting IE \**urāgh-* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 86). ◊ CAMARDA I 92 (to Gk *ρήγνυμι* 'to tear up'); MEYER *Wb.* 371-372 (comparison with Slav \**raziti* 'to strike' which may be true if Slav \**r-* goes back to IE \**ur-*; then, \**raziti* is close to Gk *ράσσω*), Alb. *St.* III 73; JOKL *LKUBA* 49 (follows MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 88; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 240; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* III 161; PISANI *Saggi* 127; FRISK II 643-644; CHANTRAINE 829; POKORNY I 1181-1182; HULD 150; KÖDDERTZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 66; DEMIRAJ *AE* 348.

**rrajë** f, pl. *rraja* 'path tread in the snow'. Derived from *rrah*.

**rrallë** adj. 'scanty, scarce, rare'. Borrowed, with a dissimilation of sonorants, from Lat *rārus* 'rare' or directly from its variant *rāllus* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54). ◊ CAMARDA I 76 (to Gk *ρόδιος* 'easy, ready'); MEYER *Wb.* 372 (from Lat *rāllus* 'clean cut'), Alb. *St.* III 74; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 539; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 87; HAARMANN 145.

**rrangulla** pl. 'rubbish, lumber'. A suffixal derivative of PALb \**ranka* 'gathering(s)' etymologically connected with Lith *rankà* 'hand', Lat *ruoka* id., Slav \**rōka* id. - all of them deverbatives based on the verb

'to gather' reflected in Lith *renkù, riñkti*. ◊ FRAENKEL 697; VASMER III 515.

**rranicě** f, pl. *rranica* 'big piece of bread'. Derived from *rraně* 'grain, bread'. The latter is borrowed from Slav \**xorna* 'food, grain', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *xrana, xranica* SCr *hrana* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 240-241).

**rrap** m, pl. *rrapa, rrepe* 'platan'. From PALb \**rapa*, a denominative derived from *rjep*, probably as a calque of Gk *πλάτανος* id. ◊ TOMASCHEK ZÖG XXIV 529 (to OCS *řepina* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 372 (follows TOMASCHEK), *Alb. St.* III 73; WEIGAND 74 (borrowed from Slavic); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164 (borrowed from Slav \**grabъ* 'hornbeam'); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 309-310 (etymologically connected with Slav \**repъjъ* 'burdock', ON *ráfr* 'roof on rafters' < IE \**rĕp-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 87 (follows JOKL).

**rrapamě** f, pl. *rrapama* 'crash, din'. Another variant is *rropamě*. Derived from Slav \**xrapъ* 'noise, wheeze', cf. *rrapatem*.

**rrapashyt** adj. 'thick set, stumpy'. An expressive derivative of *shyt*.

**rrapatem** refl. 'to strain oneself, to get tired'. Borrowed from Slav \**xrapati* 'to bite, to tear, to wheeze', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *xrapam*, dial. *rapam*, SCr *hrapati*, dial. *rapati*.

**rrapělloj** aor. *rrapěllova* 'to make noise'. A parallel form is *rraptoj* id. Related to *rrapamě*.

**rraqe** pl. 'rubbish, lumber; house objects'. From PALb \**raka* connected with Lith *ràkti* 'to hollow out, to pick', Latv *rakt* 'to dig'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 361 (from Bulg *rakla* 'box, chest'), 372 (from NGk *ράκιον*); FRAENKEL 694; POKORNY I 335.

**rras** aor. *rrasa* 'to squeeze, to press together'. From PALb \**wragtja* related to *rrah* (MEYER *Wb.* 372, with a different etymology of *rrah*). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 76; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

**rrasě** f, pl. *rrasa* 'stone plate'. Derived from *rras* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP*

III 158-161). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 66 (to *dërrasë*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; ÇABEJ *St.* II 87-88.

**rraskë** f, pl. *rraska* 'rennet'. Derived from Geg *rrâ* id., cf. *rrënd*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200.

**rrasoll** m, pl. *rrasoj* 'pickles'. Another variant is *rasoj*, a singularized plural form. Borrowed from Slav *\*orzsolъ* 'pickles; brine', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *razsol*, SCr *raso* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31; MEYER *Wb.* 361). ◇ SVANE 107.

**rrasht** m, pl. *rreshtna* 'bone, skull, skeleton, shell'. A parallel form is *rreshtë* representing a singularized plural (ÇABEJ *LP* VII 184). From PALb *\*wragšta*, derivative in *-šta* from the verbal stem preserved in *rrah* 'to beat, to strike' (OREL *IF* XCIII 115). For the semantic motivation in this case cf. Gmc *\*bainan* 'bone' ~ IE *\*bhei-* 'to beat, to strike', Lith *kaúlas* 'bone' ~ *kaúti* 'to beat'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 372-373 (from Lat *arista* 'awn, beard, wheat-ear, fishbone'; derives *rrasht* 'shell' separately as a continuation of Lat *rastus* 'plate'); KRISTOFORIDHI 354; ZALIZN'AK *Ëtimologija* 139; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 101 (prefix *rr-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 88 (prefix *rr-* + *asht* bone'), IV 85-86; DEMIRAJ *AE* 82 (same as CAMAJ and ÇABEJ).

**rrathë** f 'kind of fishing-basket'. Connected with *rreth*.

**rrazbitem** refl. 'to weaken'. Note a secondary variant *rrobitem* influenced by *rrob*. Borrowed from Slav *\*orzbiti* 'to defeat, to break', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *razbija*, SCr *razbiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 31; MEYER *Wb.* 362). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178; SVANE 253.

**rrebe** f, pl. *rrebe* 'mood, caprice'. Another variant is *rebë*. From PALb *\*raibā* etymologically connected with Lith *rāibas* 'multicolored, variegated', Latv *rāibs* id. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVIII 37; FRAENKEL 686-687; POKORNY I 859.

**rrebesh** m, pl. *rrebeshe* 'shower'. Related to *rribë*.

**rrebull** m 'thrush (illness)'. From *\*raiba* 'multicolored' attested in *rrebe*.

**rreckë** f, pl. *rrecka* 'cloth, rag'. Borrowed from diminutive Slav

\**reška* 'fringe', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *reska*, SCr *reska*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 373 (from SCr *resa* 'fringe'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 253.

**rrege** f, pl. *rrege* 'fallow land'. Continues PAIb \**wragā* related to Gk ῥαγή 'split, cleft', ῥήγνυμι 'to break, to split' and its cognates. ◇ FRISK II 637, 652-653; POKORNY I 1181-1182.

**rregull** m 'order'. Related to *rregull* 'rule'.

**rregull** f, pl. *regulla* 'rule, norm'. Borrowed from Lat *rēgula* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 362 (from Ital *regola* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049 (from Latin); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 202.

**rrej** ~ **rrêj** aor. *ërreja* 'to deceive'. From PAIb \**arn-enja* further related to Gk ἀρνέομαι 'to lie' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 542 n. 2). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 88 (*rrem* 'lie', a derivative of *rrej*, to Lat *verbum* 'word'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 236; MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to OE *wræne*); FRISK I 145-146; POKORNY I 62; ÇABEJ *St.* II 90-91 (derived from *re* 'cloud'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 348-349 (from a Romance source related to Lat *errōneus* 'erring').

**rrek** aor. *rreka* 'to strain, to bother'. Continues PAIb \**raika* related with Lith *reikà* 'need, necessity', *reikti* 'to be necessary' further explained in connection with Lith *riëkti* 'to cut, to plow the fallow land'. ◇ MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to Goth *wrohjan*); FRAENKEL 714.

**rrem** m, pl. *rrema* 'oar'. Borrowed from Lat *rēmus* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 363 (from Ital *remo* id.), *Alb. St.* III 74 (from Gk ῥέμα).

**rrem** adj. 'false'. Derived from *rrej*. ◇ CAMARDA I 83 (to Lat *error* 'mistake'); MEYER *Wb.* 373-374; BARIĆ *ARSt.* 88-89 (to Gk ἀρνέομαι 'to lie'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200.

**rremb** ~ **rrem** m, pl. *rremba* ~ *rrema* 'branch'. Other variants are *rrem* and *rrëmb*. Borrowed from Lat *rāmus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54; MEYER *Alb. St.* I 45, *Wb.* 364-365) with a secondary *-mb* < *-m*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; JOKL *LKUBA* 18-19, 276; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 235-236; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 91; HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 97.

**rrep** m, pl. *rrepa* 'turnip'. Other variants are *rrap* and *r(r)epě*. Borrowed from Lat *rāpum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 363 (*rrap* from Ital *rapa* id. while *rrep* - from Slav \**rěpa* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 232; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 162 (from Slavic); TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 236; LANDI *Lat.* 45; ÇABEJ apud DEMIRAJ *AE* (borrowed from Gk ῥάπυς); DEMIRAJ *AE* 349-350 (borrowed from or related to Gk ῥάπυς).

**rreptě** adj. 'strong, inexorable'. Derived from *rrjep*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 373 (from Turk *rehb* 'fear'); KRISTOFORIDHI 358 (from Lat *rapidus* 'fast'); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 86, VII 184.

**rreshk** aor. *rreshka* 'to roast'. Borrowed from WGmc \**raustjan* id., cf. OHG *rōsten*. Note a derivative *rreshk* 'smell (of food), appetite'. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* 88 (to Latv *su-vergt*); CAMAJ *Alb. Worthb.* 113 (suffix -*kë*).

**rreshktaq** adj. 'wrinkled (of an elderly person)'. Derived from *rreshk*. Cf. also *rreshkët* 'dried, roasted'.

**rretër ~ rretën** f, pl. *rretra ~ rretna* 'long leather rope, twisted leather lace'. Another variant is *retër ~ retën*. Borrowed from Rom \**retina* 'bridle' attested in Fr *rêne* id. (JOKL *RIEB* II 56-59). ◊ CAMARDA II 142; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 91; JANSON *Unt.* 58; HAARMANN 146.

**rreth** m, pl. *rrathë* 'hoop, rim (of wheel); circle'. Deminutive in -*th* of an unattested \**rat* 'wheel', cf. Skt *rátha*- 'wagon', Lat *rota* 'wheel', OIr *roth*, OHG *rad* and the like (CAMARDA I 323). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 35 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Wb.* 372 (to OHG *chreiz* 'circle'), *Alb. St.* III 8, 28; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 31 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 235 (agrees with BARIĆ); MAYRHOFER III 38-39; WALDE-HOFMANN II 443-444; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 2; VENDRYES [R] 45-46; POKORNY I 866; HULD 116 (from \**uroikos*, cf. Gk ῥοικός 'curved, bent'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 91-93 (accepts CAMARDA's etymology and comments on the umlaut in sg.).

**rrevě** f 'lot'. Borrowed from Lat *rēbus*, dat.-abl. pl. of *rēs* 'thing, circumstance'.

**rreze** f, pl. *rreze* 'ray, spoke'. Another variant is *rrezë*. Singularized plural of *\*rraz* borrowed from Lat *radius* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54). ◇ CAMARDA I 96 (to Lat *rādix* 'root'); MEYER *Wb.* 364 (from Rom pl. *\*radia*), *Alb. St.* IV 14; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1049, 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 93; HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat.* 45, 85, 97.

**rrezg** m 'culmination, acme, prime'. Another derivational variant is *rrezm* id. Suffixal derivative of *rreze*.

**rrezgull** f, pl. *rrezgulla* 'disc, circle'. Derived from *rrezg*.

**rrezhde** f, pl. *rrezhde* 'unripe mulberry'. Reflects an unattested Bulgarian reflex of Slav *\*rĕdja* fem. 'thin, sparse'.

**rrĕcok** m 'bird's stomach'. Phonetic variant of *rraskĕ*.

**rrĕfanĕ** f, pl. 'handle'. Derived from *rrĕfej* in its unattested meaning *\*'to carry (away)'* continuing the same meaning of Lat *referre*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234 (to *rruvâ* with a secondary *-f-*).

**rrĕfangull** f, pl. *rrĕfangulla* 'buttonhole'. Derived from *rrĕfanĕ* 'handle'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237 (variant of *vrangull*).

**rrĕfatem** refl. 'to fork, to bifurcate'. Metathesis of *\*furkatem*, see *furkĕ*.

**rrĕfej** aor. *rrĕfeva* 'to tell, to show'. Borrowed from Lat *referre* 'to tell, to inform' (CAMARDA I 119; MEYER *Wb.* 373). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 93-94 (prefix *rrĕ-* added to *-fej* borrowed from MGK φαίω 'to show, to make appear').

**rrĕfeshk** m, pl. *rrĕfeshk* 'kind of thistle'. Derived from *rrufe* (JOKL *LKUBA* 221-222). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 94 (derived from *ferr*: *\*rrĕ-ferr-shk*).

**rrĕgallĕ** f, pl. *rrĕgalla* 'pebbly site; deep and narrow ravine'. An early Slavic loanword, from *\*rogalb* 'corner', see *ragal*. ◇ JOKL *IF* XLIV 13-15, *ZONF* X 197 (to *ragal*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 94-95.

**rrĕgjoj** aor. *rrĕgjoiva* 'to diminish, to make smaller'. Borrowed from Lat *ĕrādĭcāre* 'to eradicate' with an irregular development of the inlaut



cluster. ◇ CAMARDA I 116 (to Lat *rūga* 'wrinkle'); MEYER *Wb.* 373 (borrowed from Rom *\*rōdiculāre*, derivative of Lat *rōdere* 'to bite'); ČABEJ *St.* II 95-96 (from *regj*); HAARMANN 146.

**rrĚkajě** adv. 'in torrents, in a stream'. Borrowed from Slav instr. sg. *\*rěkojŕ* '(in a) river'.

**rrĚke** f, pl. *rrĚke* 'stream (of rain), mountain brook'. Singularized plural of *\*rěkě*. Borrowed from Slav *\*rěka* 'river', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *reka*, SCr *rijeka*, *reka* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 323). ◇ SVANE 172; MURATI *Probleme* 97-99 (derived from *rrjedh*).

**rrĚkěllej** aor. *rrĚkělleva* 'to roll'. A prefixal derivative of *kěllehem* 'to seethe, to boil up'.

**rrĚkuall** m 'thistle'. A prefixal derivative in *rrĚ-* < *pěr-* (JOKL *LKUBA* 244 n. 1) of *kalli*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 364 (from Ital *cardoscolimo* 'kind of wild artichoke'); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 143; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 54; ČABEJ *St.* VII 239; DEMIRAJ *AE* 350.

**rrĚmaç** adj. 'lefthanded'. Derived from *rrem*.

**rrĚmbej** aor. *rrĚmbeva* 'to rob, to seize'. Borrowed from Lat *rumpere* 'to tear, to tear away'. ◇ CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk *ῥέμβομαι* 'to roam'); MEYER *Wb.* 374 (from Ital *rubare* 'to steal'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1051.

**rrĚmejtě** adj. 'steep'. A prefixal derivative of *majě*.

**rrĚmeta** pl. 'bast shoes'. Borrowed from an unattested Slavic *\*reměta* 'belts, laces', plural form of *\*remě* - an analogical formation derived from Slav *\*remy*, *\*remene* 'belt, lace'.

**rrĚmih** aor. *rrĚmiha* 'to dig up'. Another variant is *rrĚmoj*. Borrowed from Lat *rīmāre* id. (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 146). ◇ CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk *ῥύμός* 'pole of a chariot; trace').

**rrĚmiqe** f, pl. *rrĚmiqe* 'precipice'. Phonetic variant of *rrĚmejtě*.

**rrĚmuě** f 'disorder, confusion; booty'. Continues PAIb *\*raimuljā* related

to Lith *ráimas* 'multicolored, varied', *ráibas* id., *raibulys* 'speckle'.  
 ◇ FRAENKEL 686.

**rrēnd** ~ **rrâ** m 'rennet'. Derivative of *rend* (JOKL *LKUBA* 276-282), cf. ME *rennet* ~ *runnet* 'rennet' derived from *runne* 'to run' as well as Germ *rinnen* 'to run' ~ *gerinnen* 'to coagulate'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 365 (to *rēndē*); BARIĆ *AArbSt.* I 143-144 (follows JOKL); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 93 (to MHG *renne* id.); WEIGAND *BA* III 217 (to Lat *rēnēs* 'kidneys'); DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz.* VIII 155 (etymologically identical with OHG *rinnan* 'to run'), *Sravn.* 231; ONIONS 756; ÇABEJ *St.* II 96-97 (agrees with JOKL).

**rrēngjej** aor. *rrēngjeva* 'to shine'. Another variant is *rrēnjej*. Borrowed from Lat *renīdēre* 'to shine'.

**rrēnoj** aor. *rrēnova* 'to destroy, to ruin'. A Geg form borrowed from Rom *\*ruīndre* id., cf. Lat *ruīna* 'ruin' (MEYER *Wb.* 374). ◇ CAMARDA I 96 (to *rrēnjē*); KRISTOFORIDHI 303 (from Ital *ruinare*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 147.

**rrēnjē** ~ **rranjē** f, pl. *rrēnjē* ~ *rranjē* 'root; oak'. From PALb *\*wradnjā* etymologically connected with Gk *ράδιξ* 'branch', id., Lat *rādīx* 'root', W *gwraidd* and the like (CAMARDA I 96; SPITZER *MRIW* I 327). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54 (from Ital *radica*); MEYER *Wb.* 365-366 (borrowed from Lat *rādīx*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1042; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 87-88 (follows SPITZER); JOKL *LKUBA* 233-234; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 292-293; MANN *Language* XVII 20, XXVIII 37, *Hist. Gr.* 37 (reconstructs *\*urđnī*); FRISK II 637-638; WALDE-HOFMANN II 415; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 15-19; POKORNY I 1167; ÇABEJ *St.* II 97-98; HULD 109; BEEKES *Lar.* 104; DEMIRAJ *AE* 350-351 (old collective).

**rrēpirē** f, pl. *rrēpira* 'precipice'. Derivative of *rripē*.

**rrēqasem** refl. 'to move away'. A prefixal derivative of *qas*.

**rrēqebull** m, pl. *rrēqebuj* 'lynx'. An expressive prefixal formation of *buall*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

**rrëqethem** aor. 'to feel feverish, to shiver'. A prefixal derivative of *qeth*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 373.

**rrëqkull** f 'small woman, tot'. An expressive prefixal formation of *quk*.

**rrëshajë** pl. 'Pentecost'. Borrowed from Lat *Rōsalia* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55; MEYER *Wb.* 369). ◊ PASCU *RE* 76; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 241; DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz.* IX 91-93; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 28, 110, 126.

**rrëshajë** f, pl. 'viper'. A taboo name of a snake etymologically identical with *rrëshajë* 'Pentecost'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 374 (stem *rrësh-*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I (to Lat *vorrō*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 140.

**rrëshek** m, pl. *rrëshekë* 'wineskin'. Another variant is *rrëshiq* reflecting a singularized plural. Derived from *rrush* (CAMARDA I 179). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* I 26 (to SCr *mješić* id.); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 27, *Wb.* 374 (follows MIKLOSICH); ÇABEJ *St.* II 98-99 (to *shakull*).

**rrëshirë ~ rrëshinë** f 'resin'. Borrowed from Lat *rēsina* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55; MEYER *Wb.* 369). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* II 99; JANSON *Unt.* 59; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 84, 97, 110.

**rrëshjell** m 'sow-thistle'. Another variant is *rrëshyell*. Borrowed from Lat *rūsseolus* 'reddish, brown'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 369 (from Ital *cardicello*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195, 239.

**rrëshkatë** f 'great misfortune'. Nominal derivative of *rrëshkas*.

**rrëshqas** aor. *rrëshqata* 'to glide out'. A prefixal derivative of *shqas*, cf. *shkas*.

**rrëvitem** refl. 'to be thrown'. A phonetic variant of *vërvis* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 99). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 89 (to Germ *werfen* 'to throw').

**rrëzall** m, pl. *rrëzaje* 'plant (including its roots)'. Derived from *rrëzë* (CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 117).

**rrěžě** f, pl. *rrěza* 'foot (of a mountain or a tree)'. From PALb *\*wradjā* etymologically connected with *rrěnjě*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 210.

**rrězoj** aor. *rrězova* 'to throw down, to pull down'. Based on *rrěžě*. ◇ CAMARDA I 96 (derived from *rreze*).

**rrī** aor. *ndenja*, *ndejta* 'to sit, to stand, to stay, to remain'. The suppletive aorist belongs to the paradigm of *ndej*. The form of present goes back to PALb *\*rina* etymologically close to Skt *ṛṇóti* 'to arise, to move', Gk ὄρνυμαι 'to move up' and related forms. ◇ CAMARDA I 45 (to Gk ἐρύκω 'to keep in, to curb'); MEYER *Wb.* 374 (to IE *\*k̑lei-* 'to lean, to bend' with impossible phonetic changes), *Alb. St.* IV 59 (evaluates his earlier etymology as ambiguous); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 170-171 (to Lat *nīdus* 'nest'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 545 (rejects MEYER's etymology); JOKL *Studien* 76-77 (to Gmc *\*rōwō* 'quiet', Gk ἐρώη id.), *LKUBA* 194 (follows MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 80 (from IE *\*nīzdō*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 238; FRISK II 422-424; MAYRHOFER I 122; POKORNY I 326-332; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234; HULD 109 (to IE *\*reidh-* 'to ride').

**rrībě** f 'gale, wind, waterfall, torrent'. From PALb *\*wribā*, a zero-grade formation connected with IE *\*yerb(h)-* 'to turn, to bend' and, as far as the derivational structure is concerned, identical with Slav *\*vērba* 'pussy-willow', Lith *vir̃bas* 'rod, birch-rod, twig' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 434, *TBK* 195). For the semantic development of *rrībě* cf. E *wind* ~ *to wind*. ◇ FRAENKEL 1259; POKORNY I 1153; VASMER I 293.

**rrikě** f 'turnip'. Borrowed from Rom *\*rādica*, cf. Lat *rādīx* 'root' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 54; MEYER *Wb.* 365-366). A parallel form *rrilkě* reflects Rom *\*rādicula*. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32 (from Slavic); CAMARDA I 178 (to Gk ῥάπυς 'turnip'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; JOKL *LKUBA* 232; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 243; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 238; SVANE 145.

**rrime** f, pl. *rrime* 'rainworm'. Singularized plural of PALb *\*wrima* continuing IE *\*yṛmi-* ~ *\*yṛmo-* 'worm': Lat *vermis* id., Goth *waúrms* 'worm, snake', Lith *vařmas* 'insect' (OREL *IF* XCIII 116). ◇ FRAENKEL 1201; FEIST *Goth.* 555-556; WALDE-HOFMANN II 760; POKORNY I 1152.

**rripě** f, pl. *rripa* 'precipice, stone wall'. Borrowed from Lat *rīpa* 'bank, coast' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55; MEYER *Wb.* 367). ◇ MEYER-

LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 97.

**rriqër** ~ **rriqën** f, pl. *rriqëra* ~ *rriqna* 'tick'. Borrowed from Lat *ricinus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 374, *Alb. St.* III 74). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 146.

**rris** aor. *rrita* 'to pull up, to move up, to increase, to grow'. Goes back to \**writja* etymologically connected with IE \**uert-* 'to turn': Skt *variate*, Lat *vertō*. Goth *wairþan* 'to become' and the like. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24 (to Skt *rdhnōti* 'to grow'); CAMARDA I 52 (same as GIL'FERDING); MEYER *Wb.* 367 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology), *Alb. St.* III 29; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 88 (from \**urdhō*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 29 (to Lat *orior*); TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 239; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31 (to Lith *rýtas*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251; MAYRHOFER III 154-155; WALDE-HOFMANN II 763-765; POKORNY I 1156-1157; HAMP *Laryngeals* 137 (same as SCHMIDT, to IE \**er-* ~ \**or-* 'to start moving, to stir'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 257; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 433-432 (follows SCHMIDT and HAMP); DEMIRAJ *AE* 351-352 (reconstructs a prefix \**n-*).

**rrisgë** f, pl. *rrisga* 'stone splinter'. Somehow connected with *rrasë*.

**rriskë** f, pl. *rriska* 'disc, circle'. A suffixal derivative of *rreth*.

**rrizhgoj** aor. *rrizhgova* 'to creep up (of plants)'. Goes back to \**rrishgoj* borrowed from Lat *resurgere* 'to rise (again)'.

**rrjedh** aor. *rrodha* 'to flow'. From PAIb \**redza* etymologically related to Lat *rigāre* 'to wet, to moisten', ON *raki* 'wetness' (PISANI *Saggi* 130). ◊ CAMARDA I 43 (to Gk *ρέω* 'to flow'); MEYER *Wb.* 374 (to Goth *rign* 'rain' in which, however, -g- continues IE \**-k-*), *IF* V 195, *Alb. St.* III 18, 73; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 231; MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (compares *rrjedh* with Skt *vrājati* 'to stride, to go'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 435; POKORNY I 857; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 51 (to *erdha*, see *vij*); JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 448 (follows MANN); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201; HULD 110 (agrees with MEYER); DEMIRAJ *AE* 352-353 (to a poorly attested IE \**sr-edh-*).

**rrjesht** m, pl. *rrjeshta* 'row'. Another variant is *rreshst*. Borrowed from Lat *regestum* 'list' (MEYER *Wb.* 374, *Alb. St.* IV 19). ◊ JOKL *IF* XXXVI

147 (from Lat *restis* 'rope'); BERNARD *LB* IX/2 86 (from Turk *rişte* 'thread'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 99-100 (follows JOKL); HAARMANN 145; LANDI *Lat.* 53, 145-146.

**rrjetë** f, pl. 'net'. Another variant is *rret*. Borrowed from Lat *rēte* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 55; MEYER *Wb.* 364). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 277; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 54, 86.

**rroboj** aor. *rrohova* 'to scatter'. Borrowed from one of the continuants of Gmc *\*raubōjan* 'to rob, to plunder': OS *rōbōn*, OHG *roubōn*, Goth *biraubon*. ◇ FEIST *Goth.* 94.

**rrobull** m, pl. *rrobuj* 'mountain pine'. Borrowed from Lat *rōbur* 'oak' with a dissimilation of sonorants (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 100). ◇ HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 147.

**rrodhe** f, pl. *rrodhe* 'burdock'. Singularized form of *\*rodhë* borrowed from Gk *ρόδος* 'rose'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 367 (from Rom *\*cardella*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 92 (related to Lith *rėzgis* 'basket'); JOKL *LKUBA* 219-226 (to *rruaj*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 100-101 (supports JOKL).

**rrogë** f, pl. *rroga* 'alpine meadow'. Borrowed from Slav *\*rogъ* 'horn' also denoting 'spur of a mountain' as in Bulg *rog*, SCr *rog*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 251, 279 (from *rruaj*).

**rrogoz** m, pl. *rrogoza* 'reed mat'. Borrowed from Slav *\*rogozъ* 'reed', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *rogoz* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 368). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 216; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173, 323; SVANE 115.

**rroj** aor. *rrova*, *rrojta* 'to live, to stay'. Continues PALb *\*rānja* identical with Lith *rōju*, *rōti* 'to cope, to be ready' further connected with *rīeti* 'to stack (wood)' and derived from IE *\*rēi-*. ◇ CAMARDA I 92 (to Gk *ῥόωμαι* 'to move strongly, to dance'); MEYER *Wb.* 375 (to Lat *regere* 'to direct'); MANN *Language* XVII 12 (from Rom *\*remanāre* 'to remain'); FRAENKEL 743-744; POKORNY I 859; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 198, 266.

**rrojbë** f 'carthamus'. Another variant is *rrolbë* with a secondary *-l-* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 101). Borrowed from Rum *roibă* 'madder' < Lat *rubia* id. ◊ PUŞCARIU *EW* 132; ÇABEJ *St.* II 101 (from Lat *rubia*); LANDI *Lat.* 66, 97.

**rrok** adj. 'raw'. Derivative originally meaning 'something snatched off', based on the verb *rrok*.

**rrok** aor. *rroka* 'to seize, to snatch, to touch'. Borrowed from Gmc *\*rukkjan* 'to move, to remove, to stir, to snatch, to pull, to push': OE *roccian*, OHG *rucchan*, ON *rykkja*. ◊ CAMARDA I 39 (to Gk ῥήγνυμι 'to tear'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 89 (to Gk εὐρίσκω 'to break asunder, to rend'); HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 262.

**rrokë** f, pl. *rrokë* 'spiral'. Borrowed from Rom *\*rucca* ~ *\*rocca* 'distaff': Ital *rocca*, Sp *rueca*.

**rrokoll** adv. 'bad, chaotic'. Derived from *rrok* 'to seize'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

**rrokopujë** adv. 'bad, evil'. A compound of *rrokë* and *-pujë*, derived from *punë*.

**rrokotele** pl. 'rubbish'. An expressive formation based on *rrok* 'to seize'.

**rrol** m, pl. *rrola* 'old and unused ox'. From *\*rrozgël*, diminutive of *rrozg*.

**rropak** m, pl. *rropakë* 'annex'. Borrowed from South Slavic *\*ropakъ*, cf. Bulg *ropa* 'pit, quarry'.

**rropulli** pl. 'intestines, guts; fruit'. An emphatic prefixal formation based on *pullë*.

**rroshponjë** f, pl. *rroshponja* 'cave in a river-bank hollowed out by water'. A univerbation of Lat *rōsu(m) pōne* 'hollowed out behind (the river)'. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 244 n. 1 (derived in *rro-* < *rrë-* from *shpoj*).

**rrotë** f, pl. *rrota* 'wheel'. Borrowed from Lat *rota* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 714; MEYER *Wb.* 375, *Alb. St.* III 74). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr.*

*Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1050; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 241; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 146; LANDI *Lat.* 97.

**rrotull** f, pl. *rrotulla* 'disc, circle'. Another variant is *rrokull*. Borrowed from Lat *rotula* 'little wheel'. The verb *rrotulloj* 'to turn' is derived from *rrotull*. ◊ CAMARDA I 323 (to *rreth*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1045; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

**rrozg** m, pl. *rrozga* 'old and unused ox'. Borrowed from Slav \**rožьka* 'horned animal, horn', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *rožka, rožko*.

**rrshim** m 'shower'. From \**rrebeshim*, derivative of *rrebesh*.

**rrua** ~ **rrue** m 'stream'. Back formation based on *përrua*.

**rruaj** ~ **rruej** aor. *rruajta, rrova* 'to shave'. From PALb \**wrāgnja* related to Gk ῥήγνυμι 'to break, to tear'. ◊ CAMARDA I 51 (to Gk ἐρύω 'to pull, to tear'); MEYER *Wb.* 375 (from Lat *rādere* 'to scrape'), *Alb. St.* III 74; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1049; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251; WEIGAND 76 (contamination of Lat *rādere* and *rōdere* 'to bite'); JOKL *LKUBA* 223-224 (related to *rādere*); FRISK II 652-653; POKORNY I 1181; ÇABEJ *St.* II 102 (agrees with JOKL).

**rrudhë** f, pl. *rrudha* 'wrinkle'. Continues PALb \**rudzā* etymologically connected with Lat *rūga* id. (CAMARDA I 74). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* 90-91 (to Skt *várjati* 'to turn, to tear'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 448-449; POKORNY I 870.

**rrufe** f, pl. *rrufe* 'lightning'. Borrowed from Lat *romphaea* 'long sword', adaptation of Gk ῥομφαία id., with a semantic development similar to that of Ital *saetta* 'arrow, dart' and 'thunderbolt' (MEYER *Wb.* 376). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 237; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 333; OREL *Ētimologija* 1980 62-63 (on Bulg *rofeja, ruf'a*).

**rrugë** f, pl. *rrugë* 'street'. Borrowed from Rom \**rūga* id. continuing Lat *rūga* 'wrinkle' (MEYER *Wb.* 376). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1047, 1050; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 198, 217; HULD 110; LANDI *Lat.* 68, 97.

**rrum** m 'clapper; maize-cob stripped of corns'. Another variant is *rrome*.



From PALb *\*wrubna* identical with Gk ῥάμνος 'thorny bush', further connected with Lith *viřbas* 'branch, shoot'. ◊ POKORNY I 1153.

**rrumbull** adj. 'rolled into a ball'. Borrowed from Rom *\*rombulus* based on Lat *rhombus* 'magic whirligig or wheel', cf. Ital dial. *rummulu*, *rumbulu* (MEYER *Wb.* 370). ◊ CAMARDA II 151 (to Gk ῥόμβος 'magic wheel'); LANDI *Lat.* 61.

**rrunë** f, pl. *rruna* 'lamb'. Borrowed from Slav *\*runo* 'fleece', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *runo*, SCr *runo*. Note a parallel form *runs* continuing Slav *\*runьсь*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 371 (*runs* from *\*runt-ēs*).

**rrush** m, pl. *rrush* 'grape'. From PALb *\*rāguša* related to Gk ῥάξ id. (CAMARDA I 87). The feminine form *\*rāgušā* is reflected in the name of Illyr *Ragusa* ~ *Ragusium* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 102-103). The form of the latter Ῥαούσα in Const. Porphyrogen. *De adm.* reflects the early Albanian loss of the intervocalic voiced stop before the contraction of vowels (KALUŽSKAJA *Antič. balk.* 5 19). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 41 (to Pers *raz* 'grape'), *Wb.* 371 (to Slav *\*grozď* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 241; MANN *Language* XXVI 384 (to Lith *rausiù* 'to dig'); FRISK II 642.

**rrushkull** m, pl. *rrushkuj* 'kind of thorny plant'. Borrowed from Rom *\*rūsculus*, derivative of Lat *rūscus* 'butcher's-broom' (MEYER *Wb.* 371). ◊ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 118 (derivative in *-ull*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 147; LANDI *Lat.* 141.

(G) **rruvâ** m, pl. *rruvanĵ* 'vine without grapes'. Another variant is *rrufâ*. Somehow related to *rrush*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 103 (to *rrëfanë*).

**rruvi** f, pl. *rruvi* 'line'. Metathesis of *vërri* 'little furrow' (KRISTOFORIDHI 22), derivative of *vë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 376 (from Rom *\*rubëscula* based on Lat *ruber* 'red'); KRISTOFORIDHI 364 (to *vijë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 103 (*vërri* - to *varrë*), IV 86.

**rruzull** m 'sphere, globe (of earth)'. Derived from *rruzë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 103-104).

**rryell** m, pl. *rryey* 'euphorbia'. Borrowed - with a dissimilation of sonorants - from Balkan Rom *\*aliđtum* > Rum *aliol*, *alior* id. (PEDERSEN

KZ XXXIII 539).  $\diamond$  MEYER *Wb.* 366 (from Rom \**āliellum*); PUŞCARIU *EWB* 6-7; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 118; ÇABEJ *St.* II 104 (against both MEYER and PEDERSEN).

**rryeshěm** adv. 'slow'. Derived from *ryej*.

**rrylě ~ rrilě** f, pl. *rryla ~ rriila* 'lentil'. Borrowed from Lat *ervilla* id., derivative of *ervum* (MEYER *Wb.* 376).  $\diamond$  MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 22; HAARMANN 123.

**rrymě** f, pl. *rryma* 'flow (of water)'. From PAIb \**srāmā* related to Gk  $\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$  'stream', ON *straumr* id., Lith *sraumuō* 'fast stream' and other derivatives in \*-*men-* of IE \**sreu-* 'to flow' (MANN *Language* XXVI 385).  $\diamond$  FRISK II 650-651; FRAENKEL 887; POKORNY I 1003; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 202, 277.

**rryp ~ rrip** m, pl. *rrypa ~ rripa* 'belt'. From PAIb \**wripa* with the further development similar to that of *krymb ~ krimb*. Related to Gk  $\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$  'to sew together, to stitch', Lith *veřpti* 'to spin' and the like (MANN *Language* XXVIII 37).  $\diamond$  HAHN 110 (to *rjep*); CAMARDA II 62 (follows HAHN); MEYER *Wb.* 367 (the same); FRAENKEL 1261; FRISK II 643; POKORNY I 1156; ÇABEJ *St.* II 104 (the same).

## S

**s'** adv 'not'. Identical with *ç'*, *çě* (PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 321, 341).  $\diamond$  BOPP 497 (identical with -*s* in *mos*); CAMARDA I 312; MEYER *Wb.* 376 (from Lat *dis-*); JOKL *A ArbSt* I 37-38; TAGLIAVINI 242; PISANI *Saggi* 110, 154; ÇABEJ *St.* II 104-105 (follows PEDERSEN).

**sa** pron., adv. 'how'. From PAIb \**tšja* etymologically connected with *se*.  $\diamond$  MEYER *Wb.* 376 (from NGk  $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\nu$  'when, whenever' <  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ); HAMP *Numerals* 836 (from \**k'iə*).

**sabje** f, pl. *sabje* 'sword'. Other variants are *sablě*, *sabjě*. Borrowed from the South Slavic word for 'sword': Bulg *sab'a*, SCr *sablja* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32), itself of questioned Hungarian origin (*szablya* id. derived from *szabni* 'to cut'). See MEYER *Wb.* 376.

**sajě** f, pl. *saja* 'sledge'. In dialects, an older form *sanjě* is preserved. Borrowed from Slav \**sani* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sani*, SCr *sani* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32). ◇ SVANE 35.

**sajoj** aor. *sajova* 'to devise, to think of'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 377 (from Turk *sajikli* 'clever, far-sighted').

**sak** m 'net'. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *sak* id., SCr *sak* 'package of hay', themselves from Rum *sac* 'sack, fishing net' (MEYER *Wb.* 377). ◇ PUŞCARIU *EWR* 134.

**sak** adv. 'really, for sure': An allegro form of *saktě* 'exact, precise' of Romance origin. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 377 (from Turk *sahih* 'true, exact').

**sakavicě** f, pl. *sakavica* 'long hook for pulling down branches'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *sakavica* 'axe' < Slav \**sĕkavica*.

**sakě** f, pl. *saka* 'axe'. Back formation based on *sakavicě*. As to *sakicě* 'small axe', it was formed in Albanian from *sakĕ*.

**salikoj** aor. *salikova* 'to carry out the ceremony of burial'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 105-106 (derived from *psaloj* 'to sing psalms', a Modern Greek loanword).

**samem** refl. 'to have had taste, to get spoiled'. Derived from *samĕ*.

**samĕ** f 'dog's excrements'. Continues PAIb \**tswa(n)-ma*, a derivative in \*-*mo-* of the Indo-European word for 'dog', otherwise unattested in Albanian, cf. Skt *śvā*, Gk κύων, OIr *cú*, Lith *šuo* and the like (OREL *Fort.* 79). For the semantics cf. Slav \**govъno* 'excrements', originally - 'cow's excrements' derived from IE \**gʰou-* 'cow'. ◇ FRAENKEL 1033-1034; FRISK I 58-59; MAYRHOFER III 402-403; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 7; VENDRYES [C] 257; POKORNY I 632-633.

**samtĕ** adj. 'insipid, unflavored, tasteless'. Based on \**samĕ* borrowed from Slav \**samъ* 'self', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sam*, SCr *sam*. The intermediate meaning must have been 'having a taste of itself' or similar.

**sana** pl. 'elves, spirits of mountains'. Borrowed from Slav \**sanъ* 'snake, dragon': CS *san* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 378).

**saně** f 'hay'. Borrowed from Slav \**sěno* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *s'ano*, SCr *sijeno* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 378). The development of Slav \*-ě- > -a- is repeated in NGk σάνον id. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 108, *Slavia XIII* 639; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 160, 295; TAGLIAVINI 243; SVANE 40.

**sarkě** f 'build, frame, figure (of human body)'. Continues PAIb \**tšerkā* derived from IE \**k<sup>er</sup>-* 'to make, to build': Skt *karōti*, Lith *kūrti* and the like. ◊ POKORNY I 641-642.

**se** pron. 'what', conj. 'that, than'. From PAIb \**tšjā* continuing pronominal IE \**k<sup>jā</sup>* (MEYER *Wb.* 383; LA PIANA *Studi* I 127). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 316 (to \**k<sup>e</sup>-*); JOKL *Sprache IX* 123; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 243 (from \**sā*); MANN *Language XXVI* 385, *Hist. Gr.* 122 (from \**k<sup>em</sup>*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP II* 225; HULD 110-111 (agrees with MANN); ÇABEJ *St. II* 119; HULD 110; DEMIRAJ *AE* 353-354.

**semběr** pl. 'two peasants using the same pair of oxen or having common cattle'. Another variant is *sěmhěr*. Borrowed from Slav \**sębrъ* 'neighbor, comrade, peasant', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *sebar* (JOKL *Slavia XIII* 286, 302, *Zb. Miletic* 121-122). ◊ ÇABEJ *St. II* 106-107; SVANE 192.

**send** m, pl. *sende* 'thing'. From PAIb \**tsjam tam* < IE \**k<sup>jom</sup> tom*, a sequence of two pronouns in neuter of which the first is related to *se* (OREL *Fort.* 79-80). ◊ CAMARDA I 335 (to Skt *sant-* 'existing, being'); MEYER *Wb.* 381 (from Turkish); ASCOLI *Frammenti linguistici* 15 (follows CAMARDA); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 92 (the same); SPITZER *MRIW I* 322 (to Lat *genus* 'kin'); MANN *Language XVII* 20-21 (from IE \**es<sup>ntis</sup>*); ÇABEJ *St. II* 107-108 (from *sen* with a phonetically developed -d; *sen* is then explained as accusative of *se*).

**serě** f 'tar'. Borrowed from Slav \**sěra* 'sulphur', cf. Bulg *s'ara*, SCr *sera*, *sjera* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 381). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 173.

**serřě** f, pl. *serra* 'high steep rock'. Borrowed from Ital *serra* 'chain of mountains'.

**setë** f, pl. *seta* 'sieve'. Back formation of *sitë* taken for a plural in *-i-*. ◊ CAMARDA I 46 (to Gk σήθω 'to sift, to bolt').

**sëmboj** aor. *sëmbova* 'to ache, to be painful'. Connected with *dhëmb* (LAMBERTZ LP VII 88), this verb continues a prefixal form \**c-dhëmboj*. ◊ ÇABEJ St. II 108 (phonetic variant of *cëmoj*).

**sëmurë ~ sëmune** adj. 'ill, sick'. An analogical formation based on *sëmundë* 'illness' < \*'inability', a univerbation of *së mund*, cf. *s'* and *mund* (HAHN 77, 116). ◊ CAMARDA I 101, 312 (same as HAHN); MEYER Wb. 291 (follows HAHN and CAMARDA); TAGLIAVINI 245; ÇABEJ St. II 108 (semantic parallels in other Balkan languages: NGk ἀνημπορία, Arum *niputeare*).

**sëpatë** f, pl. *sëpata* 'axe'. Borrowed from the Bulgarian definite form in *-ът -sapъt* 'axe-handle'. ◊ MEYER Wb. 382 (indirectly, from Rom \**sappata*); VASMER Alb. Wortforsch. 55.

**sfejke** f, pl. *sfejka* 'beet'. Derived from Lat *felicem, filicem* 'fern, weed'.

**sfurk** m, pl. *sfurq, sfurqe* 'rake; scorpion'. A prefixal form based on \**furkë* borrowed from Lat *furca* 'rake, fork' (JOKL LKUBA 116).

**sfytyrij** aor. *sfytyriva* 'to snort'. A prefixal derivative based on *fytyrë*.

**si** adv. 'how, as'. From PAIb \**tšei* continuing pronominal IE \**k<sup>h</sup>ei* (PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 317). ◊ MEYER Wb. 383 (related to IE demonstrative \**k<sup>i</sup>-*), Alb. St. III 12; PEDERSEN Kelt. Gr. I 128; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 243-244; HAMP IF LXVI 53 (equal to Lat *quei > qui* 'how'); MANN Language XXVI 385 (from \**k<sup>h</sup>i*), Hist. Gr. 201 (reconstructs \**k<sup>h</sup>ijā* identical with Lat *quia* 'why'); POKORNY I 646-647; ÇABEJ St. VII 240; HULD 111.

**sikundër** conj. 'as'. Another variant is *sindëkur*. Compound of *si, ndë* and *kur*. ◊ CAMARDA I 322 (to Lat *secundum* or Ital *secondo*); MEYER Wb. 384 (Ital *secondo* 'according to' influenced by *kundër*); ÇABEJ St. VII 272.

**sillĕ** f, pl. *sillĕ* 'breakfast'. Derivative of *sjell* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 109-110) used to denote delay, cf. *sillet* 'to be late'. Thus, 'breakfast' is treated as a meal delaying the beginning of day's work. ◊ PEDERSEN *Philologica* II 114 (from \**k'ilā*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 59 (related to Gk ἔως 'dawn' and the like); CIMOCHOWSKI *ABS* III 41 (from IE \**k(e)lā* 'das Herbringen'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 35 (to OE *hvil* 'time, while' and its cognates).

**sillĕ** f, pl. *silla* 'power, force'. Borrowed from Slav \**sila* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *sila*, SCr *sila* (MEYER *Wb.* 384). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 178, 303; SVANE 224.

(G) **simahuer** m 'accomplice'. Borrowed and morphologically adapted from MGk σύμμαχος 'comrade-in-arms' (JOKL *IF* XLIV 61-62). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 110.

**simotĕr** f, pl. *simotra* 'blood sister, colleague, fellow, partner'. Compound of *si* and *motĕr*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 273 (neologism).

**sipĕr** adv. 'above', prep. 'over'. Recombination of *persipĕr* 'up there, above' < *pĕr s'epĕr* where *s'epĕr* < *sĕ epĕr* is the ablative of (*i*) *epĕr* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 110-111). ◊ BOPP 499 (combination of *si* and *pĕr*); GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26 (from Lat *super*); CAMARDA I 318-319 (to Lat *super* and its cognates); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 65 (from Lat *super*); MEYER *Wb.* 385 (from pronominal *si-* and *-pĕr*, found in *tepĕr*); PEDERSEN *Festschrift Thomsen* 250, *KZ* XXXVI 311 (*-pĕr* compared with *prej*); THUMB *IF* XIV 358 n. 1 (borrowed from Lat *super*).

**sisĕ** f, pl. *sisa* 'breast, bosom, tit'. Borrowed from Slav \**sisa* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sisa*, SCr *sisa* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33). ◊ CAMARDA I 78, 88 (compared with *cicĕ*, *thithĕ* id.); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; SVANE 182.

**sitĕ** f, pl. *sita* 'sieve'. Borrowed from Slav \**sito* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sito*, SCr *sito* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 385-386). As to the verb *sit* 'to sift', it is borrowed from Slav \**sĕjati* id. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 299; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 154; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 244; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; SVANE 72.

**sitka** pl. 'bran'. Borrowed from Slav \**sitъka* id., diminutive of \**sito*, cf. *sitě*.

**sitkë** f 'cane, rush'. Borrowed from Slav \**sitъka* id., diminutive of \**sita* id., cf. SCr *sita*. ◇ SVANE 113.

**sivjet** adv. 'this year'. From PALb \**tsjei wetei*, dat.-loc. sg. continuing IE \**k̑jei wetei* (BOPP 460; MEYER Wb. 383, *Alb. St.* III 12). See *sonte*. ◇ CAMARDA I 188; MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 298; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; CHANTRAINE 1116; HULD 112-113.

**sivonë** f 'delicate face'. Used by DE RADA. Unclear. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 111 (from *sinë*, accusative of *sy*, with an epenthetic *-vo-*, from an exclamatory *o*).

**sjell** aor. *solla* 'to bring'. Continues PALb \**tšela* or \**tšelna* related to IE \**k̑el-*: Skt *cārati* 'to move, to walk', Gk *πέλω* 'to come into existence, to become', Lat *colō* 'to cultivate, to till' (PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 277). ◇ MEYER Wb. 386 (reconstructs IE \**k̑el-*); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 127; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 66; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 244 (follows PEDERSEN); JOKL *LKUBA* 229, *Die Sprache* IX 123; MANN *Language* XXVI 382, *Language* XXVIII 35; MAYRHOFER I 376; FRISK II 500-501; CHANTRAINE 878; WALDE-HOFMANN I 245-246; POKORNY I 639-640; ÇABEJ *Die Sprache* XVIII 145, *St.* II 109-100; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 115; HULD 111 (semantic parallel to *sjell* in E *wind*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 354.

**skallua** ~ **skallue** m, pl. *skallonj* 'eye (of a plant), shoot of rice'. Derived from *kalli*.

**skamur** ~ **skamun** adj. 'poor, needy'. A univerbation of *s' kam*.

**skaj** ~ **skāj** m, pl. *skanje* ~ *skāje* 'edge, border'. A prefixal derivative of an unattested \**kanj* < PALb \**kanja* related to Slav \**konъ* 'edge', Latv *atkan* 'again'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 174 (to *kënd*); JOKL *LKUBA* 116 (from Slav \**konъ* 'edge'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197, 326 (agrees with JOKL); VASMER III 51; ÇABEJ *St.* II 111 (together with *skanjo* 'chair' borrowed from Ital *scagno* id.); TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* X 195-196; POKORNY I 564.

**skërdehem** refl. 'to get drunk'. A prefixal derivative of *deh*.

**skërfyell** m, pl. *skërfyej* 'larynx'. A prefixal derivative of *fyell*.

**skëterrë** f 'hell, darkness'. A prefixal derivative of *terr* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 111).

**sklepë** f 'matter from the eyes, rheum'. Other variants are *skërlepë* and *skërloq*. A prefixal derivative of *glepë*.

**skillupe** f, pl. *skllupe* 'strong bough'. Borrowed from Slav *\*skorlupa* 'skin, bark' unattested in South Slavic except for Slovene *skralupa*.

**skopit** aor. *skopita* 'to castrate'. Borrowed from Slav *\*skopiti* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *skop'a*, SCr *skopiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 387). ◇ SVANE 262.

**skorratinë** f 'snow storm'. Another variant is *sllotinë*. The form *skorratinë* was influenced by *skorrë*. Originally, derived from *skllotë*.

**skorrë** adj. 'exhausted'. Borrowed from Slav *\*skorъ* 'quick', cf. in South Slavic: OCS *skorъ*, Bulg adv. *skoro*, SCr adv. *skoro*.

**skundill** m, pl. *skundij* 'seam, edge'. Continues an earlier *\*skëndill*, a suffixal derivative of *skanj*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 174 (from Rom *\*cantile*); KRISTOFORIDHI 500 (from South Slav *skut* 'seam, fold', cf. *skutë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 111-112 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI).

**skuq** aor. *skuqa* 'to make red'. Derived from *kuq*.

**sllog** m 'tilled field'. Borrowed from Slav *\*sъlogъ* used in a meaning close to Bulg *slog* 'boundary, limit, land measure'. ◇ SVANE 37.

**smilat** aor. *smilata* 'to flatter'. Borrowed from South Slavic *\*sъmil'ati* 'to cajole', cf. Bulg *smil'avam*.

**sodit** aor. *sodita* 'to observe'. Borrowed from Slav *\*soditi* 'to judge', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *sъd'a*, SCr *suditi*. An early loanword with *\*-o-* rendered as *-o-* (SVANE 227, 241). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.



**sokēllas** aor. *sokēllita* 'to shout, to cry'. A prefixal derivative of *kēllas*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 389 (to SCr *sokoliti*).

**sokol** m, pl. *sokola* 'falcon'. Borrowed from Slav \**sokolъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *sokol*, SCr *soko* (STIER *KZ* XI 137; MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 389). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 198, 304; TAGLIAVINI 245; SVANE 148.

**sonte** adv. 'this night'. From PALb \**tsjā(i) naktāi*, dat.-loc. sg. continuing IE \**k̑jāi nok<sup>ti</sup>-*, cf. Lith *šiānakt* id. and the like (BOPP 460). ◊ CAMARDA I 224; MEYER *Wb.* 298, *Alb. St.* III 12, *Gr. Gr.* 298; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 311 (reconstructs *so-* < \**tjā*); JOKL *Die Sprache* IX 141; TAGLIAVINI 246; MANN *Language* XXVI 379, XXVIII 33; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38; HULD 112; DEMIRAJ *AE* 283.

**sorrë** f, pl. *sorra* 'crow'. Continues PALb \**tšārsnā* corresponding, with a different ablaut grade, to Skt *kṛṣṇā-* 'black, dark', OPrus *kirsnan* 'black', Slav \**čьrnъ* id. (MANN *Language* XXVIII 35). The anlaut affricate of Proto-Albanian is preserved in Rum *cioară* 'crow'. ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 220 (on the connection with Rum *cioară*); CAMARDA II 44 (of Slavic origin); MEYER *Wb.* 390 (to Slav \**sorka* 'magpie'), *Alb. St.* III 39 (from IE \**k̑ornā*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 337; JOKL *LKUBA* 93; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 74; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 140; ERNOUT-MEILLET 143; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22 (to Lat *cornix* 'crow'); PISANI *Saggi* 130; MAYRHOFER I 264; POKORNY I 583; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 339; ROSETTI *ILR* I 275; TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* IV 155-157; TOPOROV *PJa* IV 3-7; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 110; HAMP *GJA* VI 43; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234, 254; HULD 145; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 149; KORTLANDT *KZ* XCIV 249; DEMIRAJ *AE* 355.

**sot** adv. 'today'. From PALb \**tsjā(i) dītāi*, dat.-loc. sg. continuing IE \**k̑jā dīti-* (BOPP 513; MEYER *Wb.* 383), cf. *sonte*. From here, *sotmë* 'modern' is derived, with its secondary phonetic variant *sormë*. ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 298; JOKL *IF* XLIX 296; TAGLIAVINI 246; MANN *Language* XXVI 379; HULD *KZ* XCVIII 103 (*sormë* based on \**sor* < \**k̑jēi* + *HeiHri*, to Av *ayarə* 'day'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 283.

**sotinë** f 'empty honeycomb'. Based on \**sot* borrowed from Slavic \**сѣтъ* 'honeycomb', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *сѣт*, SCr *sat*. Note -o- rendering Slavic -ъ- (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12). ◊ SVANE 159.

**sovajkě** f, pl. *sovajka* ‘shuttle’. Borrowed from South Slavic \**sovadlъka* id. attested in Bulg *sovalka* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12).

**spĕrndrit** aor. *spĕrndrita* ‘to make shine’. A prefixal derivative of *ndrit*.

**spicĕ** f, pl. *spica* ‘thorn, splinter’. Borrowed from Slav \**stъpica* ‘peg, splinter’, cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *spica*, SCr *spica* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12). ◇ SVANE 35.

**spikth** m, pl. *spiktha* ‘woodpecker’. Identical with *pikth*.

**spith** m ‘dropsy’. Derived from *pi*.

**spreth** m, pl. *sprethe* ‘cornice, eaves’. Derivative based on PAIb \**praka* continuing IE \**prō-ko-*; Lat *procerēs* ‘protruding beams’, Bret *a-raok* ‘forward’. ◇ POKORNY I 815.

**sqap** m, pl. *sqep* ‘he-goat’. See *cjap*.

**sqaq** aor. *sqaqa* ‘to make weak’. Based on \**qaq* continuing PAIb \**kekja* related to Lith *kėkos* ‘swing’, Latv *ķekuôt* ‘to swing’. ◇ FRAENKEL 235.

**sqep** m, pl. *sqepa* ‘beak’. Derived from *qep*.

**sseptore** f, pl. *sseptore* ‘woodcock, snipe’. Derived from *sqep* as Ital *beccaccia* from *becco* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 112-113).

**ssetull** f, pl. *ssetulla* ‘armpit’. A relatively late borrowing (with Lat *s-* rendered as *s-*) from Rom \**scetula*, cf. Lat *scutula* ‘shoulder-blade’ (SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252). ◇ CAMARDA I 63 (from Lat *spatula* ‘shoulder-blade’); MEYER *Wb.* 403 (repeats CAMARDA’s etymology); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 244; HAMP *AJPhil* LXXV 186-189 (derives the dialectal variant *sjetull* from IE \**kʰekʰ-los*), *ZfBalk* XXXII/1 28-33 (to Lat *poples* ‘back of the knee’), *StF* XXVI/1 81-83; HULD 111-112 (follows HAMP); MESSING *St. Whatmough* 173-178.

**sqimĕ** f, pl. *sqima* ‘adornment, decoration’. Borrowed from MGk *σχῆμα* ‘form, shape, figure’ (CAMARDA I 69; MEYER *Wb.* 388). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 113.

**sqitës** m 'comb'. Nomen agentis in -ës of *sqis*, a dialectal Greek form of *shqis* (MEYER *Wb.* 228). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 101 (to *qij*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 113 (follows MEYER *Wb.*).

**sqoj** aor. *sqova* 'to wake up'. A prefixal derivative of *qoj*.

**sqotë** f, pl. *sqota* 'sleet'. Other variants are *shqotë* and *shkllotë*. The most archaic form is *shqotë* where the original Slavic \**sl-* is substituted by \**skl-*. The source is Slav \**slota* id. (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 56-57). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 113-114.

**squfur** m 'sulphur'. Another, and more conservative, form is *shqufur*. Borrowed from Rom \**slufurem* instead of Lat *sulphurem* as in Arum *sclifur* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 411, *Alb. St.* IV 54). Because of \**sl-* > *shq-*, Slavic mediation cannot be excluded, cf. *sqotë*. In this case, the Arumanian form is also a Slavic or an Albanian loanword. ◊ VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 56; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; HAARMANN 152; ÇABEJ *St.* II 114.

**sqyt** m, pl. *sqyta* 'shield'. Under the influence of *qytë*, transformed from \**shqytë*. The latter was borrowed from Lat *scūtum* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 388 (from Slav \**ščitъ* id.); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 57.

**stan** m, pl. *stane* 'stall, herd'. Borrowed from Slav \**stanъ* 'site, stall', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *stan*, SCr *stan* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33; MEYER *Wb.* 391-392). ◊ CAMARDA I 160 (to IE \**stā-*); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 165; SVANE 62.

**stap** m, pl. *stape*, *stapinj* 'stick, staff'. Borrowed from Slav \**stapъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *stap*, SCr *stap* (MEYER *Wb.* 392). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 279; SVANE 80.

**stavë** f, pl. *stava* 'heap of wood, haystack'. Borrowed from Slav \**stava* id. attested in Bulg *stava* (MEYER *Wb.* 392). ◊ SVANE 42, 61.

**stegë** f, pl. *stega* 'bandolier'. Borrowed from Slav \**sъtęga* 'loop, belt', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *st'aga*, dial. *stega*.

**stejë** f, pl. *steja* 'bedding, saddle cover'. Another variant is *stelë*. Bor-

rowed from Slav \**stel'a* 'bedding, cover', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *stel'a*, SCr *stelja* (MEYER *Wb.* 392).

**stěně** f. pl. *stena* 'wooden wall'. Borrowed from Slav \**stěna* 'wall', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *stena*, SCr *stijena*, *stena*. As to *stenicě* 'bug', it is derived from *stěně* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 392). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 151; SVANE 53.

**step** m 'rock, peak'. Borrowed from Slav \**stěpъ* 'plateau, steppe', attested in the Balkans in SCr dial. *step* 'hilly countryside' (OREL *Ētimologija* 1983 139-140, *Ētimologija* 1984 182). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 427 (from Turk *tepe* 'hill'); JOKL *Balkangerm.* 125 (to *thep*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 114 (agrees with JOKL).

**stepem** refl. 'to be slow, to stop'. A prefixal derivative based on PALB \**tapa* related to ON *þefja* 'to stamp, to ram'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 392 (to SCr *stepsti* 'to knock together').

**stěrrě** adj. 'dark, black'. Expressive prefixal derivative of *terr.* ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 392 (from \**cerrě* < SCr *crn* 'black'); JOKL *LKUBA* 113 (follows MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 114 (identical with *sterě* 'cistern' in view of the expressions similar to *dark as in the well*).

**stěrditem** refl. 'to meet accidentally'. A prefixal derivative of *di*. The prefix *stěr-* is fairly productive and appears in numerous other forms, cf. *stěrdhěmb* 'fang', *stěrflok* 'to tousle (hair)', *stěrgjysh* 'forefather, great-grandfather' and the like.

**stěrkas** aor. *stěrkita* 'to sprinkle'. Borrowed from Slav \**strъkati* ~ \**strъcati* id., cf. in South Slavic: SCr *strcati*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 393 (to Bulg *strъčka* 'sprinkling device').

**stěrqokě** f *stěrqoka* 'jackdaw'. A prefixal derivative of *qok* 'kind of owl' (WEIGAND 79). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 393 (to Slav \**stŕrkъ* 'stork'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 198; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 613-614 (to *stěrklas* 'to sprinkle' and *qokth*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 115 (agrees with JOKL).

**stěrvinë** f, pl. *stěrvinë* 'corpse'. Borrowed from Slav \**stŕvina* id. attested in South Slavic: SCr *strvina* (MEYER *Wb.* 393). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189, 325; SVANE 133.

**stěrvis** aor. *stěrvita* 'to train'. Borrowed from Slav \**stěrviti* 'to bait, to lure, to train', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *střv'a* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 196; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 609). ◇ ČABEJ *St.* VII 201, 213.

**stog** m, pl. *stogje* 'haystack'. Borrowed from Slav \**stogъ* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *stog*, SCr *stog* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12). ◇ SVANE 42.

**stol** m, pl. *stola* 'stool', Borrowed from Slav \**stolъ* 'table, chair', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *stol*, SCr *sto* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 150, 303; SVANE 66.

**stopan** m, pl. *stopaně* 'shepherd, chief shepherd, shepherd's assistant'. Borrowed from an old Iranism in South Slavic, cf. Bulg *stopan*, SCr dial. *stopanin* (MEYER *Wb.* 393). ◇ TRUBAČEV *Ětimologija* 1965 37 (reconstructs Iran \**asta-pān-* 'house keeper').

**strazě** f 'garrison'. A relatively early borrowing from Slav \**storža* 'guard', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *straža*, SCr *straža* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 394). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 143, 180.

**strehě** f, pl. *strehě* 'eaves (of the roof)'. Borrowed from Slav \**strěxa*, cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *str'axa*, SCr *streha* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 394). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 148, 305; SVANE 54.

**stremě** f, pl. *stremě* 'square measure used to measure plots of land'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *str'ama*.

**strokě** f 'scab, rash'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *stroka*, SCr *stroka* 'illness of sheep'.

**strug** m, pl. *strugje* 'plane (instrument)'. Another variant is *strugě*. Borrowed from Slav \**strugъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *strug*, SCr *strug* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 395). The verb *strugat* 'to plane' is borrowed from Slav \**strugati* id. The parallel form *strugoj* id. is derived from *strug*. ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172.

**strukě** f, pl. *struka* 'ambush'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *strĕka*, *struka* 'passage, path'.

**strukull** m, pl. *strukuj* 'hen-coop'. Derived from *strukë*.

**strum** m 'pool'. Borrowed from Slav \**strumy* 'brook' unattested in South Slavic except for Slovene *strumen*. ◇ SVANE 171.

**strup** m 'scab'. Borrowed from Slav \**strupъ* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *strup*, SCr *strup* (SVANE 184).

**sufërinë** f 'storm, breeze'. Another related form is *fufarinë* 'tempest, rain-storm'. Derived from *sufroj* 'to whisper into somebody's ear' borrowed from Ital *soffiare* 'to blow'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 395 (to Ital *zufolare* 'to whistle'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 115 (onomatopoeia).

**sukë** f, pl. *suka* 'low hill'. Continues \**tšukā* related to Skt *sūka*- 'awn of grain; spike of insect', Av *sūkā*- 'needle'. ◇ POKORNY I 626; MAYRHOFER III 363-364.

**sukull** m *sukuj* 'rag, cloth, lump, snow-flake'. Derived from *sukë*. The original meaning of the word must have been 'lump'. ◇ JOKL *UngJb* VII 82 (to *cukla* 'combing, flocks'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 115-116 (borrowed from Slav \**sukъno* 'broadcloth').

**sulem** refl. 'to rush to, to throw oneself upon, to attack'. From PAIb \**tšula*, a zero-grade of *sjell* (LA PIANA *St. Varia* 26). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 395 (to Slav \**sълати* 'to send'), *Alb. St.* III 12, 77; LIDÉN *Arm. Studien* 77-78 (to Arm *slanam* 'to run'); JOKL *LKUBA* 59 (follows LIDÉN); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 94 (to Skt *cyávate* 'to move, to go away'), *AArbSt* II 81 (to *thëllëzë*); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 58-59; ÇABEJ *St.* II 116-117 (follows LA PIANA).

**sumbull** f, pl. *sumbulla* 'round button; bud'. Based on PAIb \**tsumba* continuing IE \**kumb-*, cf. Gk *κόμβη* 'bowl', OIr *comm* 'vessel'. ◇ FRISK II 48; POKORNY I 592 (reconstructs \**k-* in view of Skt *kumbha*- 'pot' but *-bh-* is irregular); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 348; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

**sundoj** aor. *sundova* 'to rule'. Based on \**sund* borrowed from Slav \**sqđъ* 'court, trial', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *sъd*, SCr *sud*. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 396 (directly from \**sqđiti* 'to

judge'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 180, 291; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; SVANE 227.

**sup** m, pl. *supe* 'shoulder'. Continues PALb *\*tsupa* related to Skt *śrupti*-id., Av *supti*-id., MLG *schuft* 'front shoulder-blade (of animals)' (MEYER *Wb.* 396, *Alb. St.* III 12, 31). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 337; JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 146; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 96; PISANI *Saggi* 132; MAYRHOFER III 357; POKORNY I 627; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 113; HULD 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 355-356.

**surmë** adj. 'dark grey'. Continues PALb *\*tsurma* < IE *\*k̑rmo-*, identical with Lith *šiřmas* 'grey' (JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 153-155). Cf. *thjermë*. ◊ CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 221 (supports JOKL); SOLTA *Die Sprache* II 123 n. 2; FRAENKEL 988-989; ÇABEJ *St.* II 117 (from SCr *sur* 'grey'); HULD 145; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 113; DEMIRAJ *AE* 356.

**sutë** f, pl. *suta* 'female deer, doe'. Identical with *shutë* 'female deer; hornless', *shytë* 'hornless'. Continues PALb *\*tšutā* < *\*tšuktā* borrowed to Rum *ciut* 'hornless', *ciutā* 'female deer' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 117-118) and Slav *\*šutъ* 'hornless'. The Albanian word is further related to IE *\*kuk-* in Lith *šukos* 'comb', *šukë* 'crock', *šukėtas* 'dented, chipped', Latv *suka* 'brush'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 420; FRAENKEL 1031; POKORNY I 629; VASMER IV 492; HULD *KZ* XCVIII 104 (from *\*ōku* + *petēH* 'swift flying', cf. Gk *ὠκυπέτης*).

**sy** m/n, pl. *sy* 'eye'. From PALb *\*atštwi*, a form of dual similar related to Skt *akṣī*, Av *aši*, Lith *akì*, Slav *\*oči* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 291, 318-320) but influenced by *\*duwō* 'two'. The dialectal auslaut *-y* < *-i* seems to be secondary. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 383 (to Slav *\*sijati* 'to shine' and/or *\*sinь* 'blue'), *Alb. St.* III 12, 79; HIRT *BB* XXIV 263 (to Goth *skeinan* 'to shine'); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 201 (compares with IE *\*k̑ueid-* 'to shine, to be white'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 109; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 248, *Stratificazione* 95-96; LA PIANA *Studi* I 32 (to IE *\*keu-* 'to shine'); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 97 (reconstructs *\*ok̑iōn*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 17; MAYRHOFER I 16; ÇABEJ *St.* II 118-120 (to *\*sūn-* 'sun' by analogy with OIr *súil* 'eye'); VASMER III 128-129; HULD 113; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144; KLINGENSCHMITT *Koll. Idg. Spr.* 223 (reconstructs *\*Hk̑i̯uuo-iH*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 356-357.

**syk** adj. 'with black circles around eyes or on the face (of animals)'. Another morphological variant is *sysk*. Derived from *sy* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 120-121).

## Sh

**sha** interj. Used in a limited number of contexts such as *sha Zotin* 'by God'. An allegro form of *pasha*, optative of *kam* (KRISTOFORIDHI 382; ÇABEJ *St.* II 121-122).

**shag** m, pl. *shegje* 'coarse linen fabric spread on the floor'. Borrowed from Lat *sagum* 'cloak made of coarse fabric' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 122). ◊ LANDI *Lat.* 96, 142.

**shagit** aor. *shagita* 'to crawl flatwise'. Another variant is *zhagit*. Based on *\*shag* borrowed from the Slavic verb 'to step, to walk' attested in Russ *šagat*, Ukr *šahaty*, Czech *šahati* and believed to go back to Slav *\*segati* 'to reach'. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 97 (to *shes* or to *shëlligë*); VASMER IV 392-393; ÇABEJ *St.* II 122, 329 (phonetic variant of *zharg*).

**shaj** aor. *shava* 'to insult, to offend'. A prefixal form of *ënj* with the original meaning 'to blow out' > 'to be indignant'. ◊ MEYER *Wh.* 399 (from Rom *\*sannari* based on Lat *sanna* 'grimace'), *Alb. St.* V 101; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 255-256 (against MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 122-123 (to Gk σκεδάνωμι 'to scatter, to disperse'); MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (to Gk ψαίω).

**shajkë** f, pl. *shajka* 'peg, nail'. From *\*shajt-kë*, based on *shajtoj*.

**shajtoj** aor. *shajtova* 'to dash against, to strike, to hit'. Etymologically identical with *shitoj* 'to wound' from which *shitë* 'wound' is derived. The verb is borrowed from Lat *sagittāre* 'to wound with an arrow' (CAMARDA II 146: to Lat *sagitta* 'arrow'). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; ÇABEJ *St.* II 123-124.

**shakë** f, pl. *shaka* 'dog, bitch'. Borrowed from South-West Iranian *\*saka* < Iran *\*spaka*- 'dog' (JOKL *WZKM* XXXIV 30-31), cf. MPers *sak*, Class. Pers *sak*, NPers *säg*, Tadjik *sag* etc. Note *sh-* < Iran *\*s-* indicating a borrowing preceding Albanian-Slavic contacts, i.e. before the VI



century C.E. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 124; OREL *LB* XXVII/4 56, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 362; DEMIRAJ *AE* 358.

**shakull** m, pl. *shakuj* 'goatskin'. Borrowed from Lat *sacculus* 'small bag' (CAMARDA I 161; MEYER *Wb.* 377). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 526 (agrees with MEYER); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 117 (derived from *shark*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 124-125 (follows CAMAJ); LANDI *Lat.* 96, 137-138.

**shalakuq** aor. *shalakuqa* 'to warm over fire (of hands and feet)'. An expressive prefixal derivative of *kuq*.

**shalë** f, pl. *shala* 'saddle; inner side of thigh, pair of legs'. Borrowed from Lat *sella* 'seat, saddle' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60; MEYER *Wb.* 398). Clearly enough, *shalë* 'inner side of the thigh; leg' is historically identical with the word for 'saddle' (CAMARDA II 165). As to *shalë* 'Borrago officinalis', it goes back to the same source. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXV 283; JOKL *LKUBA* 22; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (to Gk ψαλίς); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; ÇABEJ *St.* II 125-126 (separates *shalë* as an anatomical term and equates it with Gk σκέλος 'leg (from the hip downwards)'; as a plant-name, *shalë* is explained from IE \**skel-* 'to cut'); HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 95.

**shap** m 'disease of the cattle, Aphta epizootica'. An early borrowing from Slav \**sapъ* 'glanders'. ◊ WEIGAND *BA* III 112 (to Rum *şopirlă* 'lizard'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 127 (from Turk *şab*).

**shap** m 'alum'. Borrowed from Lat *sapa* 'thick grape juice'.

**shapkë** f, pl. *shapka* 'cap, hat; slipper, old shoe'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *şapka* id., SCr *şapka* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 34; MEYER *Wb.* 399). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 174; ÇABEJ *St.* II 127.

**shapkë** f, pl. *shapka* 'woodcock'. Identical with *shapkë* 'cap, hat' (MEYER *Wb.* 399). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 127-128 (related to *sqep*).

**shaploj** aor. *shaplova* 'to pound earth-clods'. Derived from Rom

\**sappula*, cf. \**sappa* 'hoe': Rum *sapă*, Ital *zappa*. ◇ PUŞCARIU EWR 135.

**shapoj** aor. *shapova* 'to polish'. Borrowed from Rom \**sappāre* 'to hack' based on \**sappa* 'hoe', cf. Rum *sapă*, Ital *zappa*.

**sharanduk** aor. *sharanduka* 'to pinch'. An expressive prefixal derivative of *nduk*.

**sharavaze** f, pl. *sharavaze* 'weed'. A prefixal derivative in *shara-*.

**sharavidhe** f, pl. *sharavidhe* 'mussel'. An expressive prefixal derivative of *vidhë*.

**sharë** f 'sheep with white spots on the muzzle'. Borrowed from South Slavic \**šara* id., cf. Bulg *šara*, SCr *šara* (ÇABEJ St. II 129).

**sharë** pl. 'offense'. An early borrowing from Slav \**sora* reconstructed on the basis of Russ *ssora* 'row' < \**szsora* and SCr *osoran* 'rude', Slovene *osoren* < \**ob-sorъnъ*. ◇ SVANE 137.

**shark** m 'fruit pulp'. Borrowed from Gk σάρξ 'flesh', occasionally, 'pulp' (KRISTOFORIDHI 384; JOKL IF XLIV 23-24). ◇ CAMAJ Alb. Worth. 113 (suffix -k); ÇABEJ St. II 128 (to IE \**sker-* as in Slav \**skora* 'skin, hide'), IV 88.

**shark** m 'woolen cloak; green skin of nuts'. A parallel morphological variant is *sharkë*. An early borrowing from Slav \**sorka* 'shirt'. ◇ MEYER Wb. 400 (from Rom \**sarica*); BÜGA II 314; VASMER III 724-725; STEINHAUSER *SlRev* III 284-285 (compares *shark* with Slav \**sorka* and explains both words from Arabic); SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 251 (from Lat *serica*); ÇABEJ St. II 128-129 (identical with *shark* 'fruit pulp'); HAARMANN 149.

**sharov** m, pl. *sharova* 'big dog, large spotted hound'. Borrowed from Slav adj. neut. \**šarovъ* 'spotted, multicolored', cf. Bulg *šaro* 'spotted (of dogs)'. ◇ ÇABEJ St. II 129 (to *sharë*).

**shartoj** aor. *shartoj* 'to cross (of animals), to engraft (of plants)'. Borrowed from Rom \*(in)*sertāre* based on Lat *serere* 'to sow', cf. Sp *enjer-*

*tar* 'to cross (animals)', Port *enxertar* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 400). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 129-130 (from Rom *\*insertāre* or *\*exquartāre*); HAARMANN 149.

**sharrĕ** f, pl. *sharra* 'saw'. Borrowed from Lat *serra* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60; MEYER *Wb.* 400). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1044; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 249; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 268; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 95, 128, 177.

**shat** m, pl. *shata*, *shetĕr* 'hoe'. Borrowed from Lat *sector* 'cutter'. For the auslaut cf. *mbret*. Note the development of *-ct-* > Alb *-t-*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 400 (to Lat *secō* 'to cut' and the like), Alb. *St.* III 5, 40; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 282-283 (*i*-stem); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256; CAMAJ Alb. *Wortb.* 61 (from IE *\*skod-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 208, 224; DEMIRAJ *StF* XXVII/2 200-201 (to Lat *sacena* 'kind of hoe [of the pontifex]'), *AE* 358-359.

**shatorre** f, pl. *shatorre* 'tent'. Borrowed from Slav *\*šatorъ* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *šatorъ*, SCr *šator* (CAMARDA II 160).

**she** m 'undrying rivulet'. Derived from *shi*. ◇ JOKL *WuS* XII 63-65 (borrowed from Finno-Ugric, cf. Hung *séd*, *sét* 'brook, rivulet'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 130 (follows JOKL).

**shegĕ** f, pl. *shegĕ* 'pomegranate'. Borrowed from an unknown Mediterranean word that may be reconstructed as *\*si(l)gʷā* in view of Gk σίδη, σίβδη id., σίλβια· σίδια (Hes.) coming from the same source (CAMARDA II 154). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 401; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 250-251; FRISK II 702-703; ÇABEJ *St.* II 131.

**shejth** m, pl. *shejthe* 'birthmark'. Diminutive of *shenjĕ*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 269.

**shekĕ** f, pl. *sheka* 'large wooden vessel'. Other variants are *sheke* and *sheqe*. Back formation based on *\*sheqĕ* borrowed from Rom *\*sicla* 'pail', the source of Ital *secchia* id. (THUMB *IF* XXVI 10). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60 (from Ital *secchia* 'pail'); MEYER *Wb.* 401 (follows MIKLOSICH); JOKL *LKUBA* 102 n. 1 (follows THUMB); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* II 131-132 (MGk σίτλα, NGk σίκλα, σοῦκλα 'kind of big vessel' go back to the same source); HAARMANN 150; LANDI *Lat.* 95, 119.

**shekull** m, pl. *shekuj* 'age'. Borrowed from Lat *saeculum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 401). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1049; HAARMANN 147; LANDI *Lat.* 71, 142.

**shelg** m, pl. *shelgje* 'willow'. Borrowed from Lat *salix* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 401). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 147.

**shelkë** f, pl. *shelka* 'cover, wrapping'. Identical with *shelqe*.

**shelqe** f, pl. *shelqe* 'wooden vessel for salt; vessel used as a plate by shepherds'. Other variants are *shelkë* and *sheqe*. Borrowed from Rom *\*salica* 'salt-cellar' (to Lat *sāl* 'salt'). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 401 (from Ital *secchia* 'pail'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 251; ÇABEJ *St.* II 132 (variant of *shekë*); LANDI *Lat.* 95, 144.

**shelqëror** ~ **shelqner** m 'trunk with several branches used as a hanger in front of a shepherd's hut'. Borrowed from Lat *sarcinarius* 'used for packing, loading', reflected in the Rumanian synonym of the Albanian word *sărciner*, *sălciner* (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* II 132). ◇ HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 112-114, 157.

**shemb** aor. *shemba* 'to tear, to destroy'. A prefixal derivative from PAIb *\*ampa*, a nasal present related to Skt *āpnóti* 'to reach', Gk *ἄπτω* 'to seize, to grasp' and other continuants of IE *\*ap-*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 404 (from Ital *scemare* 'to diminish, to lessen'); POKORNYI 50-51.

**shembëll** f, pl. *shembëlla* 'example, sample'. Another variant is *shembull*. Borrowed from Lat *exemplum* id. ◇ CAMARDA I 86 (to Lat *similis* 'similar'); MEYER *Wb.* 404 (*shembëll* 'sign' from Lat *symbolum* 'symbol' but this meaning of the Albanian word is dubious); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536 (agrees with MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 132-133 (back formation of *shembëllej* influenced by Lat *exemplum*).

**shembëllej** aor. *shembëlleva* 'to resemble'. Borrowed from Lat *similare* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER *Wb.* 404). The noun *shemtyrë* is derived from here. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047 (*shemtyrë*, *shembëlltyrë* derived from Rom *\*simulātūra*); 1050; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* II 133; HAARMANN 150.

**shemě** f, pl. *shemě* 'swarm (of bees)'. Borrowed from Lat *exāmen* 'swarm' (JOKL *LKUBA* 286). ◊ HAARMANN 124.

**shemēr** ~ **shemērċ** f, pl. *shemra* 'mistress, concubine, rival'. A morphological transformation of the original Rom \**sub-marīta* or \**sub-marītica*, cf. Lat *marīta* 'married woman'. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 5-12 (from IE \**sṃ-marī* further related to Lat *marītus* 'married'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 119-120; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP VIII* 140; ÇABEJ *StF II/4* 49 (early borrowing from Slav \**šębrъ*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 359-360.

**shenjĕ** f, pl. *shenja* 'sign'. Borrowed from Lat *signum* id. (CAMARDA I 42; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60-61; MEYER *Wb.* 401). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045 (from Italian), 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 20, 22; ÇABEJ *St. VII* 250, 267; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 56-58.

**shenjĕ** adj. 'saint'. Another phonetic variant is *shĕnjĕ*. Borrowed from Lat *sanctus* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; CAMARDA I 84; MEYER *Wb.* 404; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 57). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042, 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 249, 251; MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 19; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 62-63; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48, 121, 142.

**sherbelĕ** f, pl. *sherbela* 'sage (plant)'. With a dissimilation of sonorants, borrowed from Rom \**salviella* based on Lat *salvia* id. (MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 31).

**shermend** m, pl. *shermend* 'shoot, sprout (especially, of vine)'. Borrowed from Lat *sarmentum* 'twig, branch' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 58; MEYER *Wb.* 402). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 25; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 95, 116, 177.

**sherp** m 'wild celery'. Borrowed from Gk σέλπον· σίλφιον (Hes.), σίλφιον 'umbelliferous plant' (THUMB *IF XXVI* 17) or from Lat *sirpe* id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 21). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 402 (from Rom \**silpium* < Gk σίλφιον); MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/3-4* 350; ÇABEJ *St. II* 133-134 (agrees with THUMB).

**shes** aor. *shita* 'to sell'. A prefixal derivative of *-es* attested in *pres.* The original meaning is 'to cut off, to divide, to separate a share'. ◊

MEYER *Wb.* 402 (compares *sh-* with E *sell*), *Alb. St.* III 58; TAGLI-AVINI *Dalmazia* 252; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40 (from \**eks-ketjō*).

**shesh** m. pl. *shesha* 'plain, plane, flatness, square'. Borrowed from Lat *sessus* 'seat' (MEYER *Wb.* 402). ◊ CAMARDA II 161 (to Gk ἴσος 'equal (in size)'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1039; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 95.

**shete** pl. 'bran'. Plural of \**shatë* borrowed from Lat *sectum*, participle of *secō* 'to cut'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 134 (related to *shat*).

**shetkë** f 'mane'. Borrowed from Slav \**ščetzka* 'brush, bristle' otherwise unattested in South Slavic except for Slovene *ščetka*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 224.

**shëkroj** aor. *shëkrova* 'to devote, to dedicate'. Borrowed from Lat *sacrāre* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047, 1052). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24.

**shëlboj** aor. *shëlbova* 'to save, to deliver'. Borrowed from Lat *salvāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 403). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047, 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 147.

**shëllij** ~ **shëllî** aor. *shëlliva* 'to salt'. Borrowed from Lat *saltrē* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 404). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047, 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 147.

**shëmtoj** aor. *shëmtova* 'to choke, to suffocate'. Borrowed from Lat *exanimārī* id.

**shëmtoj** aor. *shëmtova* 'to make ugly, to distort'. Borrowed from Rom \**examputāre*, cf. Lat *amputāre* 'to cut down, to amputate'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 401 (from Rom \**signitāre*); SKOK *AArhSt* II 342 n. 3 (against MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 134-135 (based on *shenjë*).

**shëndet** m 'health'. Borrowed from Lat *sanitātem* id. (CAMARDA I 86; MEYER *Wb.* 404). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1047; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 96, 109.

**shëndosh** adj. 'healthy'. Borrowed from Rom \**sanitōsus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 404; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 57-58). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 249; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 96, 110.

**shëndërtat** m 'Transfiguration; Trinity'. Borrowed from Lat *sanctam trinitātem* 'holy Trinity' (ZOJZI *BIShk* 1949/1 85-86). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 404 (to *shëndrit*); KRISTOFORIDHI 391 (from Italian); ÇABEJ *LP* VIII 116-117 (follows ZOJZI), *St.* II 135 (from *shenj tëritat*); HAARMANN 148.

**shëndrit** aor. *shëndrit* 'to shine'. Prefixal derivative in *shën-* of *ndrit*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

**shëngjetë** f 'best part of hunting trophies'. Prefixal derivative of *gjah*.

**shëpullë** f, pl. *shëpulla* 'box on the ear'. Derived from *shipkë*.

**shërbej** aor. *shërbeva* 'to serve'. Borrowed from Lat *servire* id. (CAMARDA I 86; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60; MEYER *Wb.* 404). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; JOKL *LKUBA* 78; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* II 135-136; HAARMANN 149.

(T) **shëroj** aor. *shërova* 'to heal'. Borrowed from Lat *sānāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 405). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047, 1052; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; JANSON *Unt.* 59; HAARMANN 147.

**shëshëris** aor. *shëshërita* 'to hiss'. Borrowed from Gk συπίζω 'to whistle' influenced by Lat *susurrāre* 'to hiss' (MEYER *Wb.* 405). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 252.

**shëtiti** aor. *shëtita* 'to go for a walk'. Another variant is *shetit*. Borrowed from Slav \**šetati* 'to walk', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *šetam*, SCr *šetati* (MEYER *Wb.* 403). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 192; SVANE 254.

**shi** m/n, pl. *shira* ~ *shina* 'rain'. From PALb \**sūja*, with an irregular development of the initial \**s-* > *sh-* explained by the dissimilation in the intermediary form \**jūja* (OREL *Die Sprache* XXXI/2 282). The

word is connected with IE \**sū-* 'rain; to rain': Gk ὕει, Tokh A *swase*, Tokh B *swese* 'rain', *sū-* 'to rain' and, in particular, OPrus *suge* 'rain' = [sūjē] (MEYER *Alb. Studien* III 43, 81, *Wb.* 405; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350). ◊ CAMARDA I 72 (to Gk χιόν 'snow'); JOKL *Studien* 77; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 281; LA PIANA *Studi* I 91 f.; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 251-252; PORZIG *Gliederung* 185; PISANI *Saggi* 119; POKORNY I 912; VAN WINDEKENS I 443; HAMP *KZ* LXXIV 128-129; FRISK II 978-979; CHANTRAINE I 164; ÇABEJ *St.* II 136; HULD 113; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 350; DEMIRAJ *AE* 360-361.

(G) **shĭ** m 'occiput'. Borrowed from Lat *sinus* 'curve, bend, lap'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 405 (to Slav \**šija* 'neck'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 96 (< IE \**ksi(n)j-*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 96.

**shi** adv. 'exactly, right'. Borrowed from Lat *sic* 'so, yes'.

**shibë** f 'cold (illness)'. Derivative of *shi*.

**shibël** f, pl. *shibla* 'bread crumb; splinter'. Based on Slav \**šibati* 'to strike, to hit'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 405 (from SCr *šiba* 'twig').

**shigjetë** f, pl. *shigjeta* 'arrow'. Another form is *shëgjetë*. Borrowed from Lat *sagitta* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MEYER *Wb.* 403). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; JOKL *LKUBA* 143 (from Rum *săgeată*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216; HAARMANN 147; LANDI *Lat.* 56-58, 95.

**shij** ~ **shĭ** aor. *shiva* ~ *shina* 'to thresh'. Borrowed from Lat *exigere* 'to drive away, to push out, to throw'. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 388, XXVIII 40 (to Gk ξύωω); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 204, 228.

**shijë** f, pl. *shija* 'taste'. A more archaic form is *shilë*. Borrowed from Rom \**suāvilia*, based on Lat *suāvis* 'sweet', cf. Skt *svadati* 'to make palatable' ~ *svādu-* 'sweet'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 405 (from Gk ἴλεως 'propitious, gracious'); BUCK 1029-1031.

**shikëll** f, pl. *shikëlla* 'gall-nut'. Borrowed from Rom \**sicula* < Lat *silicula* 'small pod'.

**shikoj** aor. *shikova* 'to look, to pay attention'. Other forms are *shëkoj* and *shukoj*. Borrowed from the deponential Lat *sequor* 'to follow',



in particular, 'to follow with eyes' - *oculis sequor*. ◇ CAMARDA I 141 (to *shoh*); MEYER *Wb.* 405 (from Rom \**sedicāre*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 252 (against MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 137.

**shiløj** aor. *shilova* 'to saddle'. Derived from *shalë*, with an irregular vowel change in the root (JOKL *LKUBA* 22).

**shilor** m, pl. *shilorë* 'burden, load, faggot, breast bone (of cow or pig)'. Derived from *shiløj*. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 128-129 (-*lor* to *pluar*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 361 (derived from *shul*).

**shipkë** f, pl. *shipka* 'box on the ear'. Borrowed from South Slavic \**šibъka* 'blow, ramrod', cf. Bulg *šibka*.

**shiringë** f, pl. *shiringa* 'syringe'. Borrowed from Lat *syringa* id.

**shirk** m 'goatskin, wineskin'. The Greek-Albanian form is *shiq*. A phonetic variant of *rrëshek* ~ *rrëshiq* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 137).

**shise** f, pl. *shise* 'feeling'. Dissimilated from \**shishe*. Borrowed from Lat *sēnsum* id.

**shitë** f, pl. *shita* 'box on the ear'. Derived from *shipkë*.

**shitë** f, pl. *shita* 'illness of sheep'. Borrowed from Lat *sitūs* 'weakness'.

**shkabë** f, pl. *shkaba* 'eagle'. A prefixal formation related to *gabonjë* and reflecting PALB \**iš-gaba* (JOKL *LKUBA* 303-306). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 406 (compared with Slav \**koba*, \**kobъ*, \**kobъсь* 'falcon'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 140, *Stratificazione* 140-141; TOPOROV *PJa* III 108 (follows MEYER); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352 (follows MEYER).

**shkadhis** aor. *shkadhita* 'to cut (branches)'. Derived from *kadhë* (KRISTOFORIDHI 391). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 137 (agrees with KRISTOFORIDHI), IV 88.

**shkagoj** aor. *shkagova* 'to refuse, to decline'. Borrowed from Lat *excaudicāre* 'to uproot, to eradicate'.

**shkak** m, pl. *shkaqe* 'reason, cause; noose, snare, trap'. The original meaning must have been close to 'noose, snare, trap' later developed to the abstract notion of 'cause'. Continues PALb \**skaka* etymologically related to ON *skaga* 'to protrude', Slav \**skokъ* 'jump' < IE \**skek-* 'to jump, to be agile'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 407 (to *shkarkoj*); VASMER III 645; POKORNY I 922-923; ÇABEJ *St.* II 138 (from \**shkark* related to Lat *curvus* 'crooked, curved').

**shkal** m 'rain-storm'. Derived from *shkal* 'to bring down'.

**shkal** aor. *shkala* 'to bring down, to drag, to roll, to charm (of fairies)'. Continues PALb \**skala* related to Gk σκάλλω 'to chop', Lith *skeliù*, *skélti* 'to split', ON *skilja* id. and the like. ◇ FRAENKEL 800-801; FRISK II 715-716; POKORNY I 923-927.

**shkalbësoj** aor. *shkalbësova* 'to cut off (rotten parts)'. Derived from *kalb*.

**shkalc** m, pl. *shkalca* 'barrow, tray'. Derived from *shkallë* (MEYER *Wb.* 407). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 138 (to *shkel*).

**shkalis** aor. *shkalita* 'to dismount'. Another morphological variant is *shkalos*. Derived from *kalë*.

**shkalis** aor. *shkalita* 'to caress, to make weak'. Derived from *shkal*.

**shkallë** f, pl. *shkallë* 'stairs, staircase'. Borrowed from Lat *scālae* 'stairs' (MEYER *Wb.* 406-407; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 58). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 252; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAARMANN 148.

**shkallmë** f, pl. *shkallma* 'sword'. Borrowed from Gk σκάλμη id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 138) if not an artificial coinage of FISHTA used in his *Shqypnija i lirë*.

**shkalloj** aor. *shkallova* 'to exaggerate, to go mad'. Borrowed from Rom \**exscālāre* 'to escalate' based on Lat *scālae* 'stairs', cf. *shkallë*. From here *shkallaq* 'crazy' is derived. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 407 (from Rom \**excallāre*, to Lat *callis* 'path'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 539 (against

MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 87-88 (to *shket*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 139 (derived from *shkallë*).

**shkandull** m, pl. *shkanduj* 'temptation'. Borrowed from Rom \**scandalum* for Lat *scandalum* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048).

**shkapërcej** aor. *shkapërceva* 'to cross'. One of several prefixal derivatives in *shka-për-*, in this case - based on *ecëj*. Cf. also *shkapërdaj* 'to divide', *shkapërthej* 'to trample down'.

**shkardhë** f 'dog chain; long stick attached to the dog's neck to prevent it from biting its master'. From PAIb \**iš-gardā*, etymologically connected with *gardhë* and forming full parallel to Slav \**ъз-горта* 'fence' (OREL *LB XXIX/4* 67-69). The original meaning of *shkardhë* may be approximated as 'pile-structure, fence', taking into account the derivative *shkardhinë* 'structure open from all sides; roof'. The proto-Albanian form was borrowed as Rum *zgardă* 'dog-collar, necklace, collar, willow-loop keeping folding doors shut' (POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 354; KALUŽSKAJA *SBJa Antič.* 136). ◊ KALUŽSKAJA *Balk. Sredizemn.* 177-178 (derives *shkardhë* from \**sker-* 'to cut'); ROSETTI *ILR* I 283; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195; TRUBAČEV *ĖSSJa* IX 30.

**shkarkoj** aor. *shkarkova* 'to unload' Borrowed from Rom \**discarricāre* id. (CAMARDA I 66), cf. Rum *descareca*, Ital *scaricare* and the like. ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWR* 44.

**shkarpë** f, pl. *shkarpa* 'brushwood'. Borrowed from Gk σκάρπιφος 'contour; brushwood' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 407 (to Rom \**discarpere* or \**excarpere* 'to tear off'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

**shkarpë** f, pl. *shkarpa* 'honeycomb (without honey)'. Historically, of the same origin as *shkarpë* 'brushwood'. A honeycomb devoid of honey is described as an empty 'contour'. ◊ CAMARDA I 173 (divides into *sh-karpë*).

**shkartoj** aor. *shkartova* 'to sort, to grade, to assort (of bad things); refl. 'to be perforated by worms'. Borrowed from Rom \**excarptāre*, a variant of \**excarptiāre* 'to tear off, to pick': Sp *escarzar*, Port *escarçar*.

**shkarth** m, pl. *shkartha* 'servant, slave'. Derived from \**karth*, cf.

*kërthi* 'tiny; baby' s.v. *kërth*. Semantically, cf. Lith *tafnas* 'servant' ~ Skt *tarnaka-* 'calf', *tárūna-* 'young; boy'. ◊ FRAENKEL 1060; BUCK *Synonyms* 1334-1335; MAYRHOFER II 483, 485-486; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237, 257.

**shkarthi** adv. 'across'. Deived from *kërthi*.

**shkarzej** aor. *shkarzeva* 'to humiliate, to abase', refl. 'to roll in dust (of horses and donkeys)'. Another variant is *shkarzoi*. In all meanings, the Albanian verb is used metaphorically as it comes from Rom \**excardiāre* 'to spin wool'. ◊ CAMARDA I 142 (root *skar-*); MEYER *Wb.* 407 (to Slav \**skarędъ* 'disgusting, monster'); VASMER III 634 (against MEYER).

**shkarravesh** aor. *shkarravesha* 'to divide, to cut into pieces'. An expressive verb.

**shkas** aor. *shkava*, *shkajta*, *shkita* 'to slip, to slide'. Continues PAIb \**skatja* corresponding to Lat *scateō* 'to stream, to flow out', Lith *skantū*, *skąsti* 'to spring, to jump' (BARIĆ *ARSt* 100). ◊ CAMARDA I 86 (to Gk σκαίός 'left', σκάζω 'to be lame'); MEYER *Wb.* 411 (reconstructs \**skes-*); JOKL *Studien* 82 (to Slav \**kotiti* 'to roll', \**kačati* 'to swing'); CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 44 (same as JOKL); WALDE-HOFMANN II 491; FRAENKEL 798; POKORNY I 950; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 273.

**shkas** m, pl. *shkase* 'impulse, motive, incentive'. Derived from *shkas* 'to slip, to slide'.

**shkatërr** f 'ray, skate'. Based on \**shkat* borrowed from Lat *squātus* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 139).

**shkatërroj** aor. *shkatërrova* 'to destroy'. Borrowed from Rom \**ex-cathedrāre* 'to evict, to oust'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 228 (from *katër*).

**shkath** aor. *shkatha* 'to make skillful'. Based on \**shkath*, *shkathët* 'agile, quick, skilful'. The latter is derived from *shkak*.

**shkazmë** f, pl. *shkazmë* 'slippery slope'. Derived from *shkas* 'to slip, to slide'.

**shkel** aor. *shkela* 'to make a step, to walk'. Another variant is *shklas*. Continues PALb \**skala* or \**skalatja* related to Skt *skhálate* 'to stumble, to trip'. Derived from *shkel* is *shkelb* 'step' (JOKL *LKUBA* 283). ◇ CAMARDA I 132 (to Gk σκάλλω 'to dig, to hoe'); MEYER *Wb.* 407 (from IE \**skel-* in its unspecified meaning); JOKL *Studien* 78-79 (to Lith *kulnìs* 'heel', Lat *calx* id.); MAYRHOFER III 509 (reconstructs \**sk(h)er-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 238.

**shkelc** m, pl. *shkelca* 'stair'. Singularized plural of *shkalc*.

**shkencë** f, pl. *shkenca* 'science'. Borrowed from Lat *scientia* id.

**shkep** aor. *shkepa* 'to rip open, to unrip, to tear'. Continues PALb \**skaipa* related to ON *skífa* 'to split', OFries *skívia* 'to divide' and other continuants of \**skei-p-*. ◇ CAMARDA I 152 (to *shkabë* and *shqipe*); POKORNY I 922.

**shkep** aor. *shkepa* 'to resemble'. A parallel form is *shkrep*. A prefixal derivative of \**krep* continuing PALb \**krepa* 'body' related to Skt instr. sg. *kṛp-* 'shape, beautiful appearance', Lat *corpus* 'body', OHG *hrēf* 'body, lap' (JOKL *Studien* 80). For the semantic development cf. Goth *galeiks* 'like' ~ *leik* 'body'. ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 327 (original group *shkr-*); WALDE-HOFMANN I 277-278; MAYRHOFER I 260; FEIST *Goth.* 188-189; POKORNY I 620; BUCK *Synonyms* 910-912; ÇABEJ *St.* II 139-140 (identical with *shkrep*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 361 (identified with *shkep* 'to rip open').

**shkëlbazë** f 'spleen inflammation'. Prefixal derivative of *këlbazë*.

**shkëlbozë** f, pl. *shkëlboza* 'bark'. Derivative in *-ozë* of \**shkalbë* continuing PALb \**skalbā*, connected with ON *skalpr* 'ship', *skelpa* 'grimace' < \*'crack, split', MLG *scholpe* 'mussel'. These forms, in their turn, go back to IE \**skel-* 'to split, to cut'. ◇ POKORNY I 926; MANN *HAED* 480 (identical with *gëlvozhdë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 140 (to *kalb*).

**shkëlqar** aor. *shkëlqara* 'to polish (of metals)', refl. 'to clear (of weather)'. Derivative of *shkëlqej*.

**shkëlqej** aor. *shkëlqeva* 'to shine, to polish'. Derived from *qelq* (CAMARDA I 101; MEYER *Wb.* 221). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195, 201.

**shkëmb** ~ **shkamb** m, pl. *shkëmbinj* ~ *shkambinj*, *shqembe* 'seat, throne; rock'. Borrowed from Lat *scannum* 'bench, throne'. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 58; MEYER *Wb.* 408). The meaning 'rock' developed from an earlier \*'slope' < \*'bench', cf. Russ *prilavok* 'bench, slope'. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042, 1050; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (of non-Indo-European origin); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 105, 115.

**shkëmbej** aor. *shkëmbeva* 'to change, to exchange'. Borrowed from Rom \**excambiāre* id.: Rum *schimba*, Ital *scambiare* and the like (HAARMANN 124). ◊ PUŞCARIU *EW*R 139.

**shkëndijë** f, pl. *shkëndija* 'spark'. Borrowed from Rom \**scintilia* id. attested in Rum *scînteie* instead of a more widely known Lat *scintilla* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59; CAMARDA I 67: related to Lat *scintilla*). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 408 (derived from *shkëndej* 'to sparkle' borrowed from Lat *excandescere* 'to catch fire'); MEYER-LÜBKE 580 (phonetical difficulties of the above Romance reconstruction), *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254; HAARMANN 124.

**shkëpurdh** aor. *shkëpurdha* 'to scratch'. An expressive verb derived from *këpurdhë*.

**shkëput** aor. *shkëputa* 'to separate, to tear off'. Derived from *këput*.

**shkërbej** aor. *shkërbeva* 'to imitate'. A hypercorrect derivative of *shkep* ~ *shkrep* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 140). From here *shkërba*, *shkërbe* 'monster' is derived.

**shkërdhec** m, pl. *shkërdheca* 'keg, barrel'. An early borrowing from Slav \**skovordьсь* 'pan' otherwise unattested in South Slavic. ◊ CAMARDA II 210; MEYER *Wb.* 408 (from Ital *scardasso* 'card, in textile'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239.

**shkërmoq** aor. *shkërmoqa* 'to pound, to trample'. Derived from *kërmë*.

**shkërpicë** f, pl. *shkërpica* 'spark'. Derived from *kërpicë*.

**shklakonem** refl. 'to invade, to burst into'. A phonetic variant of

*shkalkonem* 'to dismount' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 140) continuing Rom \**excaballicāre* based on Lat *caballus* 'horse'. Cf. also *ngalkonem* 'to mount' < Rom \**incaballicāre*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 408 (from Ital *scalcare* 'to carve').

**shklepë** f, pl. *shklepa* 'matter from eyes, rheum'. Derived from *glepë*.

**shklesë** f, pl. *shklesa* 'roof shingle'. Derivative of *shkel*.

**shklluq** aor. *shklluqa* 'to drink at one gulp'. Based on the onomatopoeic \**klluq* 'gulp'.

**shkmes** aor. *shkmesa* 'to clip, to prune (bushes, trees)'. Derived from *kmesë*.

**shkoj** aor. *shkova* 'to go'. A late apocopation of *shtekoj* attested in Northern dialects and based on *shtek* < *shteg* (JOKL *Studien* 80-82; ÇABEJ *St.* II 141). From here *shkojëz* 'pore' is derived. ◇ CAMARDA I 86 (to Gk *σχάω* 'to slit open [to let something escape]'); MEYER *Wb.* 408 (compares with Lat *sequor* 'to follow'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 253 (follows JOKL); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 73 (to Goth *skewjan* 'to wander'), *Hymje* 24; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 146 (agrees with BARIĆ); WALDE-HOFMANN II 490; ÇABEJ *St.* II 141 (accepts JOKL's etymology); HULD 114.

**shkollë** f, pl. *shkolla* 'school'. Borrowed from Lat *schola* id., or as suggested by MEYER *Wb.* 387, from Venet *scola*. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 255; ÇABEJ *St.* II 141 (agrees with MEYER).

**shkop** m, pl. *shkopinj, shqep* 'stick, cane'. Continues PAIb \**skāpa* further related to Gk *σκᾶπος· κλάδος, σκῆπτρον* 'staff' (CAMARDA I 120; MEYER *Wb.* 408), Lat *scāpus* 'shaft, stem', OHG *skaft* 'shaft, spear'. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 60 (borrowed from Lat *scāpus*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 254 (Latin loanword); PISANI *Saggi* 119; ÇABEJ *St.* II 141 (borrowed from North-Western Greek); POKORNY I 932; FRISK II 728-729; HULD 114; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352.

**shkopis** aor. *shkopita* 'to castrate'. Borrowed from Slav \**skopiti* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *skop'a*, SCr *skopiti* (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 253). Note the anlaut *shk-*. ◇ SVANE 136, 262.

**shkoq** aor. *shkoqa* 'to husk, to hull'. Derived from *kokë*. The verb *shkoqis* 'to explain, to clarify' is based on *shkoq*.

**shkorsë** f, pl. *shkorsa* 'rug made of goat wool'. Borrowed from Lat *scortea*, fem. adj. 'made of fur or of hide' (MEYER *Wb.* 408). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1051; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 105.

**shkorret** m, pl. *shkorrete* 'bush'. Another variant is *shkorre*. Derivative of *shqerr* with a different ablaut grade \*-ē- > PALb \*-ā-. ◊ HAHN 122 (to *korie* 'verdure, young growth'); MEYER *Wb.* 199-200 (follows HAHN); JOKL *ZONF* X 188-189 (derivative of *korr*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 142 (agrees with JOKL).

**shkozë** f, pl. *shkoza* 'beech'. Derived from *shkoj*. The word describes the beech as a 'walking' tree similar to *breth*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 408 (to Slovene *kozol* 'basket made of bark', Russ *kuzov* 'basket' and the like); JOKL *WuS* XII 71-73 (to Lith *skruóblas* 'red beech'); TREIMER *Slavia* III 453 (to OE *scaga* 'bush'); PORZIG *Gliederung* 176; HULD *KZ* XCV 305-306 (derived from \**kār-* 'hard'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 362 (to *shkorre*, *shkurre*, *shqerr*).

**shkrabë** m, pl. *shkraba* 'scrawl'. From PALb \**skrabā* related to Lat *scrobis* 'pit', OE *screpan* 'to scratch', Lith *skrebëti* 'to rustle', Slav \**skrebiti* 'to scratch' and the like. ◊ TRAUTMANN *BSIWb.* 267; VASMER III 656; WALDE-HOFMANN II 500; POKORNY I 943-944

**shkrap** m, pl. *shkrapa* 'scorpion'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. OCS *skrapii* id., Bulg *skrapl'a* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 409). ◊ CAMARDA II 150 (to Gk σκορπίος 'scorpion'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59 (from Lat *scorpiō* id.); MANN *Language* XVII 23 (agrees with CAMARDA); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184; HAMP *LB* XXXV/1-2 67.

**shkrefëtij** aor. *shkrefëtiva* 'to neigh'. An onomatopoeia. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 409 (to SCr *krhati* 'to cough, of a horse').

**shkreh** aor. *shkreha* 'to release (safety device, trigger)'. Derived from *shkrep*. ◊ CAMARDA I 69 (to Gk κρέω 'to weave').



**shkrehezë** f 'bird trap'. Derived from *shkreh* (KRISTOFORIDHI 339).  
 ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 142 (agrees with KRISTOFORIDHI), IV 89.

**shkrep** aor. *shkrepa* 'to strike (fire); to release (trigger)'. Based on *shkrep* 'rock'. As to *shkrep* 'to be sexually attracted', it is an obvious metaphor based on *shkrep* 'to strike (fire)'. Borrowed to Rum *scăpăra* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 409 (to Rum *scăpăra* 'to sparkle', NGk σκρᾶπτῶ 'to shine'), *Alb. St.* III 31 (to Gk στράπτω); JOKL *Studien* 80 (to Lat *corpus* 'body'), *Sprache* IX 151 (to Slav \**kresati* 'to kindle fire'); BARIĆ *AarbSt* I 144; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 254 (to Lat *crepō*); PISANI *Saggi* 120 (borrowed from Gk ἀστράπτω 'to shine'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 333; ROSETTI *ILR* I 281; DEMIRAJ *AE* 362-363.

**shkrep** m, pl. *shkrepa* 'rock'. Prefixal derivative of *krep* (JOKL *LKUBA* 116). ◊ VASMER *ZfslavPh* XIV 60 (from \**shkrap* borrowed to SCR *škrapa* 'pebble'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 363-364 (reconstructs \**křHp-*).

**shkretë** adj. 'lonely, deserted, empty'. Borrowed from Lat *sēcrētus* 'separate, isolated' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60; MEYER *Wb.* 409). ◊ CAMARDA I 339 (to *krej*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1044; SANDFELD *LBalk* 74; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 254; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; HAARMANN 149.

**shkrif** aor. *shkrifa* 'to hoe, to loosen'. Related to *shkrij* 'to melt', a prefixal derivative of *grij*.

**shkruaj ~ shkruiej** aor. *shkrova* 'to write'. Borrowed from Lat *scr̄ibere* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59; MEYER *Wb.* 409, *Alb. St.* IV 38). ◊ CAMARDA I 101 (to *kruaj* and Lat *scr̄ibere*); JOKL *LKUBA* 223 (follows MEYER), *IF* XLIX 291; TREIMER *MRIW* I 362 (follows CAMARDA); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 254; ÇABEJ *St.* II 142-143 (accepts CAMARDA's etymology).

**shkrumb** m, pl. *shkrumba* 'black ashes, anything burned to ashes'. Continues PAIb \**iš-kruma* with a non-etymological *-mb* < \**-m* as obvious from the Albanian loanword in Rumanian - *scrum* id. A zero grade of IE \**krem-* attested in Lat *cremō* 'to burn' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 143). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 409 (from Turk *kurum*); CAPIDAN *DR* II 458 (from Avar); WALDEHOFMANN I 287; POKORNY I 572; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 348; ROSETTI

*ILR* I 281; DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz. VIII* 154 (to \**kerā-* 'to burn'); DURIDANOV *BE XVIII/4-5* 401-406.

**shkrydh** aor. *shkrydha* 'to comb, to card (of wool)'. Derived from *krydh*.

**shkrreje** aor. *shkrreva* 'to make dirty (of clothes)'. Based on *gërreje*.

**shkues** m, pl. *shkues* 'matchmaker, father-in-law'. Derived from *shkoj* (KRISTOFORIDHI 398). ◊ ÇABEJ *St. II* 143 (agrees with KRISTOFORIDHI), IV 89.

**shkul** aor. *shkula* 'to tear out, to pull out, to eradicate'. A zero-grade of IE \**skel-* 'to cut, to split' attested also in *shkal*. ◊ CAMARDA I 66 (opposed to *n-gul*); POKORNY I 923-926.

**shkulë** f 'branch placed in the middle of a meadow and forbidding to use it as a pasture'. Another variant is *shkujkë*. An early borrowing from Romance, cf. OSard *iskolka* 'guard of private property', OPort *escolca* id. (BARIĆ *Hymje* 71). ◊ ÇABEJ *St. II* 143-144 (borrowed from Middle Greek or derived from *shkul*).

**shkulm** m, pl. *shkulma* 'wave'. Prefixal derivative of *kulm* (ÇABEJ *St. II* 144).

**shkumë** f, pl. *shkumë* 'foam'. Another form is *shkumbë*. Borrowed from a Germanic loanword in Rom \**scuma* id. (CAMARDA II 73; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59; MEYER *Wb.* 409-410). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1050 (from Ital Neapol *škumme*); HELBIG 59 (from Ital dial. *scuma* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 318; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 255.

**shkund** aor. *shkunda* 'to shake, to swing'. Continues PALb \**skunta*, nasal present of IE \**skeut-*: MĪr *scothaid* 'to cut off', Lith *skutù, skùsti* 'to scrape'. Derived from here are *shkundulloj* 'to shake strongly' and *shkundëllimë* 'earthquake'. ◊ CAMARDA I 67 (to Lat *scindō* 'to tear into parts'); MEYER *Wb.* 410 (from Lat *excutere* 'to shake off'); TREIMER *MRIW* I 356 (*sh-kund* to Slav \**kydati* 'to throw'); BARIĆ *AARhSt.* I 218 (to Lith *kutëti* 'to shake'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 255; FRAENKEL 823-824; VENDRYES [S] 52; POKORNY I 954.

**shkupë** f 'warm spring wind'. Derived from *Shkup*, the Albanian name of Skopje (ÇABEJ *St.* II 144).

**shkurt** adj. 'short', m 'February'. Borrowed from Gmc \**skurtaz* 'short': OHG *scurz*, OE *sceort*. Of particular interest is *shkurte* 'shirt' from Gmc \**skurta* ~ \**skurti*- id.: ON *skyrta*, MLG *schorte* and the like. ◊ CAMARDA II 159 (to Lat *curtus* 'short'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 20 (from Lat *curtus* 'short'); MEYER *Wb.* 409 (from Rom \**excurtus* unattested elsewhere); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046 (from \**ex- + curtus*); TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 190; ERNOUT-MEILLET 160; ONIONS 822; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 124.

**shkurre** f, pl. *shkurre* 'bush'. Phonetic variant of *shkorre*, cf. *shkorret* (LA PIANA *St. Varia* 26, 67; ÇABEJ *St.* II 144-145). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 410 (borrowed from Lat *cornea*, adjective of *cornus* 'cornel'); JOKL *LKUBA* 230, 328 (to Slav \**kъry* 'root'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 103, *AArbSt* I 156 (to OIr *crann* 'tree'); SCHUCHARDT *ZfromPhil* XL 493 (same as BARIĆ).

**shkyç** aor. *shkyça* 'to unlock'. Based on *kyç*.

**shluk** m, pl. *shluqe* 'blister'. Borrowed from Rom \**slucus*, metathesized variant of Lat *sulcus* 'furrow, wound'.

**shlyej** aor. *shleva* 'to pay off, to cancel, to cover'. Derived from *lyej*.

**shlligë** f, pl. *shlliga* 'viper'. A parallel form is *shëlligë*. A tabooistic description derived from *lig* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 359). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 77-78 (to OIr *selige* 'turtle'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 97; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 141; LAMBERTZ *Alb. Märchen* 10 n. 2 (to Germ *schleichen* 'to crawl' and the like); ÇABEJ *St.* II 145.

**shllim** m 'idea'. Derived from *shllej* 'to resemble', a phonetic variant of *shembëllej* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 146).

**shoh** ~ **shof** aor. *pushë* 'to see'. From PAIb \**sākska* with a dissimilation of sibilants. Further connected to IE \**sek-* 'to follow, to see': Skt *sācate* 'to accompany, to follow', Gk ἕπομαι, Lat *sequor*; cf. in particular Goth *saihan* 'to see' (MEYER *Wb.* 411-412, *Alb. St.* III 7, 43: reconstructs an intermediate \**sjeħ*) and Hitt *šakuišk-*. The aorist

is based on the zero grade of IE *\*pā-* 'to pasture, to guard', cf. MEYER *Wb.* 323-324 (who, however, combines it with an erroneous comparison with Skt *pásyati* '(he) sees': *\*-ks-* would have yielded Alb *-h-*), Alb. *St.* III 25. ◊ CAMARDA I 140 (to Gk *σάω* 'to sow'); BRUGMANN-DELBÜCK II/3 404; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 283 (reconstructs *\*sek<sup>h</sup>skō*), *Kelt. Gr.* II 621; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 95, *Hymje* 90-91; LOEWE *KZ* XXXIX 312 (borrowed from Goth *saihan*); ERNOUT-MEILLET 640; PISANI *Saggi* 131 (follows PEDERSEN), *Shêjzat* [XIX] 196-197; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 161 (identifies *shoh* with Skt *siṣakti* 'to follow'); MAYRHOFER III 417-418; FRISK I 544-545; WALDE-HOFMANN II 519-520; FEIST *Goth.* 404-405; POKORNY I 896-898; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 150-151, *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 123 (*pushë* - to Arm *hayi-* 'to look'), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 231; HAMP *IF* XCIII 121; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217; HULD 114-115 (reconstructs a causative *\*sok<sup>h</sup>eskō*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 312-313 (repeats MEYER's etymology).

**shok** m, pl. *shokë* 'comrade, friend'. Another form is *shoq*. The variant *shok* is a back formation of *shoq* (an analogically motivated singular of pl. *shoq*). Borrowed from Lat *socius* 'comrade, companion' (CAMARDA I 86; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 195). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 412 (from Rom *\*socus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; JOKL *Zb. Belić* 82; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 150; LANDI *Lat.* 95-96.

**shokë** f, pl. *shoka* 'belt'. Borrowed from Rom *\*soca* 'rope, cable': Ital dial. *soga*, OFr *soue* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 412). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 150.

**shollë** f, pl. *shollë* 'sole'. Another form is *shuallë*. Borrowed from Lat *solum* id. (CAMARDA I 50; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER *Wb.* 412). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; JOKL *LKUBA* 65; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 150; LANDI *Lat.* 60, 137-139.

**shoretkë** f 'hole of a honeycomb'. From *\*shortekë* continuing Rom *\*sortica* 'outlet', derived from *\*sortire* 'to go out'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 146 (borrowed, with a metathesis, from Slav *\*rešetka* 'grating, lattice').

**short** m, pl. *shortë* 'lot'. Borrowed from Lat *sortem* id. (CAMARDA II 159; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER *Wb.* 412). ◊ MEYER-

LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 150; LANDI *Lat.* 83, 146.

**shorr** aor. *shorra* 'to press together, to squeeze'. Continues PALb \**sjāra* related to Hitt *ishija-* 'to bind', Skt *syāti* 'to bind', Lith *seijū*, *siėti* id. and the like. ◊ FRAENKEL 783; MAYRHOFER III 549-550; POKORNY I 891.

**shosh** aor. *shosha* 'to sift'. From PALb \**sjāsja* related to Gk ἡθέω id., Lith *sijóju*, *sijóti* id., Slav \**sějati* id. and the like (MANN *Language* XXVIII 39). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 385-386 (to Gk σήθω id.), *Alb. St.* III 41, *Gr. Gr.* 297; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 72; FRAENKEL 784; FRISK I 624; VASMER III 615; POKORNY I 889; HULD 148; DEMIRAJ *AE* 364-365.

**shotë** f, pl. *shota* 'big duck'. From PALb \**sjautā* related to W *hwyad* id., OCorn *hoet* id., Bret *houat* id. and continuing, with a metathesis, IE \**saujeto-*. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 310-311 (prefixal derivative of IE \**anət-* 'duck'); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 55 (Celtic words explained from IE \**aujetos*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 141; SCHMIDT *KZ L* 244-245 (same as JOKL); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 155.

**shpagë** f 'revenge'. Derived from *pagë* 'payment', an Italian loanword.

**shpalcë** f 'sea fish, golden bream, *Chrysophris auratus*'. Another form is *shparzë*. Based on \**shparë* borrowed directly from Gk σπάρος 'bream' or via Lat *sparus* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 146).

**shpall** aor. *shpalla* 'to announce, to declare'. From \**shprall*, based on *prallë*. ◊ CAMARDA I 240 (to *pëllas*); JOKL *Studien* 83-84 (to Lat *palam* 'openly', Slav \**polъjъ* 'hollow'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 9-10; DEMIRAJ *AE* 365 (to Goth *spillon* 'to tell').

**shpardh** m, pl. *shpardhe* 'oak'. Based on PALb \**pardza* identical with ON *forkr* 'stick, pole' continuing IE \**perǵ-*. An alternative explanation derives *shpardh* from *bardh* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 365-366), an etymology semantically based on the contrast between the "white" oak and the "red" beech. ◊ TREIMER *Slavia* III 453 (from IE \**perk<sup>u</sup>-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 186-187 (to OHG *sparro* 'beam'); POKORNY I 819-820 (reconstructs \**perǵ-* and compares ON *forkr* with Lith *pérgas* 'fishing-boat' and Slav \**porǵъ* 'threshold'); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 121; ÖLBERG *IBK*

XVII 46; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282 (to Gk σπόρος 'sowing').

**shpargër** ~ **shpargën** m, pl. *shpërgenj* 'diaper'. A more archaic singular in Geg is *shpërgâ*. Borrowed from Gk σπάργανον id. (CAMARDA I 85; DIEFENBACH I 57). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 414 (from NGk \*σπαργάνι); ÇABEJ *St.* II 148 (follows DIEFENBACH).

**shpartë** f, pl. *shparta* 'broom (bot.)'. Borrowed from Lat *spartum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 413). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 150.

**shparr** m 'kind of oak'. From PALb \**spara* borrowed from rather than identical with Lat *sparus* 'short spear' or OHG *sparro* 'beam, girder', ON *spari* id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 186-188). ◊ WALDE-HOFMANN II 568; POKORNY I 990-991.

**shpat** m, pl. *shpate* 'precipice, mountain forest'. Prefixal derivative of \**pat* continuing PALb \**pata*. The latter is related to Skt *pâtati* 'to fly, to soar', Gk πίπτω 'to fall' and the like (JOKL *LKUBA* 163-164). ◊ FRISK II 542-543; MAYRHOFFER II 199; POKORNY I 825; ÇABEJ *St.* II 146-147 (back formation of *shpatull*).

**shpatë** f, pl. *shpata* 'sword'. Borrowed from Lat *spāta* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER *Wb.* 413). ◊ CAMARDA I 158 (to an unattested Gk σπάθη); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1041, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 150.

**shpatull** f, pl. *shpatulla* 'shoulder, shoulder-blade'. Borrowed from Rom \**spatula* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 61; MEYER *Wb.* 403). ◊ CAMARDA II 158; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1041; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; HAARMANN 150.

**shpejtë** adj. 'quick, fast'. Borrowed from Lat *expeditus* 'easy, expedite, quick' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 24) or restored from Rom \**expeditare*, cf. *shpëtoj* (JOKL *RIEB* II 72-73). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 413 (against MIKLOSICH; to Slav \**spěxъ* 'hurry'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 100-101 (to Gk σπέρχομαι 'to rush'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 147-148 (in view of OAlb *shpjertë* of BUZUKU, a postverbal formation of *shpie*).

**shpellë** f, pl. *shpella* 'cave'. Borrowed from Lat *spēlaeum* id. ◊ CAMARDA I 46 (to Gk σπήλαιον id.); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62

(from Lat *spelunca*); PISANI *Saggi* 120; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350 (from Gk *σπήλαιον*); HULD *KZ* XCIX 250 (follows MIHĂESCU); LANDI *Lat.* 176.

**shpend** m, pl. *shpend*, *shpendë* 'bird'. Other forms are *shpes*, *shpezë* and *shpen*. Derived from *pendë* as proved by *shpendël* 'down' going back to the same source. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 413 (a prefixal derivative of \**pet-no-*), *Alb. St.* III 30; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 141.

**shpene** f, pl. *shpene* 'snow-flake'. Related to *shpend* and *shpendël*.

**shpenkoj** aor. *shpenkova* 'to disembowel (of poultry)'. From \**shpend-**koj*, based on *pendë*.

**shperr** aor. *shperra* 'to win (money), to gain'. From PALB \**sparja* related to Gmc \**sparðjan* 'to leave unharmed, to keep': ON *spara*, OHG *sparōn*, OE *sparian*. ◊ ONIONS 850.

**shpeshë** adj. 'frequent, thick'. Borrowed from Lat *spissus* 'thick' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63; MEYER *Wb.* 413). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1053; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 151; LANDI *Lat.* 58.

**shpet** m, pl. *shpeta* 'garden fence'. Singularized plural of *shpat* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 148).

**shpërbëhet** refl. 'to rot, to to decompose'. Derivative of *bëj*. As in many other verbs, the prefix *shpër-* borrowed from Lat *super-* is used here.

**shpërej** aor. *shpereva* 'to hope'. Borrowed from Lat *sperare* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 150.

**shpëtoj** aor. *shpëtova* 'to save'. Borrowed from Rom \**expeditäre*, frequentative of Lat *expeditre* 'to extricate, to disengage' (MEYER *Wb.* 414, *Alb. St.* IV 36). ◊ CAMARDA I 56 (to Gk *ἐκπέτομαι* 'to fly out, to fly away'); JOKL *RIEB* II 71-72 (derived from *pet-kë* as a calque of Lat *ex-cappäre* 'to go, to be in a hurry'), *LKUBA* 78; SPITZER *MRIW* I 330 (from Rom \**hospitäre* 'to receive as a guest'); HAARMANN 124; ÇABEJ *St.* II 149 (agrees with JOKL).

**shpie** aor. *shpura*, *shpum* 'to bring away'. Prefixal derivative of *hie* (MEYER *Wb.* 35). ◇ JOKL *Studien* 82-83 (from \*-*perō* related to *pruva*), *LKUBA* 230; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 105 (agrees with JOKL); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 257-258; MANN *Language* XXVIII 40; CAMAJ *Alb. Worthb.* 63; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 201; DEMIRAJ *AE* 366-367.

**shpibh** ~ **shpif** aor. *shpiha* ~ *shpifa* 'to slander, to calumniate'. The initial *sh-* is a prefix as it follows from *këpif* 'to blame' (MEYER *Wb.* 413). Continues PAIb \**peikška* related to OHG *fehan* 'to hate', Lith *peikiù*, *peikti* 'to blame'. ◇ FRAENKEL 525; POKORNY I 795.

**shpik** aor. *shpik* 'to drink out, to find out'. Derived from *pik*.

**shpinë** f, pl. *shpina* 'back, spine'. Borrowed from Lat *spīna* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62; MEYER *Wb.* 414). Note the lack of rhotacism in Tosk. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 281; HAARMANN 150.

**shpirt** m, pl. *shpirtëra* ~ *shpirtna*, *shpirte* 'soul, spirit'. Borrowed from Lat *spīritus* id. (CAMARDA I 53; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62; MEYER *Wb.* 414). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1053; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 257; HAARMANN 151; LANDI *Lat.* 148-149.

**shpirrë** f 'asthma'. Deverbative based on \**shpirroj* continuing Rom \**dis-spirāre*. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62 (based on Lat *spirāre*); MEYER *Wb.* 414 (same as MIKLOSICH).

**shplaj** aor. *shplava* 'to rinse'. Parallel forms are *shpëljaj* and *shpërlej*. A prefixal derivative of *laj* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 149). ◇ CAMARDA I 40 (to IE \**pleu-* 'to swim, to float'); MEYER *Wb.* 237, *Alb. St.* IV 99 (from Rom \**ex-per-lavāre*).

**shpoj** aor. *shpova* 'to drill'. Another form is *shpuaj*. Borrowed from Rom \**ex-pugere* for \**ex-pungere* 'to prick out, to strike out' (MEYER *Wb.* 414) or rather, from \**ex-pāgere* 'to pierce'. ◇ CAMARDA I 68 (to Gk *σπάω* 'to pull'); JOKL *IF* XXXVII 12-14, *LKUBA* 217, 244 (from \*-*përijō*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 69; CAMAJ *Alb. Worthb.* 63; ÇABEJ *St.* III 154, 179-180, VII 258; DEMIRAJ *AE* 367-368.

**shpor** m, pl. *shporë* 'spur; rooster's breast'. Borrowed from Rom



\**spora* 'spur' (MEYER *Wb.* 414), a Gothic loanword unattested in Rumanian. The verb *shporoj* 'to pierce' is derived from *shpor* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 368). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 62; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 120-123 (*shporoj* to *shpoj*), *LKUBA* 217, 244; MEYER-LÜBKE 616; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 69.

**shportě** f, pl. *shporta* 'basket'. Borrowed from Lat *sporta* 'basket, sieve' (MEYER *Wb.* 414). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63 (from Ital *sporta* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 266; HAARMANN 151.

**shporr** aor. *shporra* 'to move away, to drive away'. Based on PALb \**pāra* related to Skt *pīparti* 'to bring over, to save', Gk *περάω, πείρω* 'to penetrate' and the like (CAMARDA II 152: to Gk *πόρσω* 'forwards'). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 84 (to Goth *fairra* 'far', Skt *pāra-* 'ulterior, further'); FRISK II 491; MAYRHOFER II 284; POKORNY I 816-817; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

**shpreh** aor. *shpreha* 'to express, to speak'. Goes back to PALb \**iš-per-akska*, further connected with *eh* 'to sharpen' < \**akska* and *preh* id. < \**per-akska*, with the semantic development 'to sharpen' > 'to express' similar to that of Slav \**raziti* 'to strike' ~ \**vyrziti* 'to express', Lat *premere* 'to press' ~ *exprimere* 'to express' (OREL *LB* XXVIII/4 54) ◊ JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 249-250 (< PALb \**spregska*, an inchoative in \**-sk-* connected with OE *sprecan* 'to speak', OS *sprekan* id., OHG *sprehhan* id.); PORZIG *Gliederung* 139 (follows JOKL); PISANI *REIE* IV 7 (from Rom \**expressō*); POKORNY I 996-997; *SGGJa* I 100, 111; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 192; *SBJa Leksikol.* 148, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352; HULD 98; SCHRIJVER *BC* 172; DEMIRAJ *AE* 368-369 (against OREL).

**shpresoј** aor. *shpresova* 'to hope'. Based on *shprej*, *shpërej* id. borrowed from Lat *spērāre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 414).

**shpretkě** ~ **shpěnetkě** f, pl. *shpretka* ~ *shpěnetka* 'spleen'. Borrowed from Lat *splēnētīcum* 'related to spleen' (MEYER *Wb.* 413-414). ◊ CAMARDA I 85 (to Gk *σπλήν* 'spleen'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 151.

**shprishě** f 'breakfast'. Deverbative based on *shprish* 'to card, to

comb; to have breakfast'. The latter is a prefixal derivative of *prish*.

**shprohě** f 'deadly nightshade, belladonna'. From PALb *\*sprēujā* related to MHG *sprājen* 'to be scattered' < Gmc *\*sprēwjan*. ◇ POKORNY I 994.

**shputĕ** f, pl. *shputa* 'foot sole'. Borrowed, with a metathesis, from Slav *\*stōpa*, deverbative of *\*stōpati* 'to step', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *stǎpam*, SCr *stupati*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 415 (from Slav *\*stōpa* 'sole').

**shpuzĕ** f 'hot ashes'. Borrowed from Lat *spodium* 'ash' (MEYER *Wb.* 415) and passed to Rum *spuză*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1052; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 33 (identical with Gk σπογγιά 'sponge'); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 245 (prefixal derivative of IE *\*peuōr-/pun-* 'fire'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 349; ROSETTI *ILR* I 281; HAARMANN 151.

(G) **shqa** m 'Bulgarian'. Borrowed from Lat *sclavus* 'Slav' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 59; MEYER *Wb.* 410), cf. Rum *șchiau* id. (PUȘCARIU *EWR* 1547). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 33; CAMARDA I 87 (to Gk ξενία 'hospitality'); PUȘCARIU *EWR* 139; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1041; JOKL *IF* XLIV 37, *Slavia* XIII 295; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253; SKOK *ZfromPhil* LIV 181; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 253; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193; SVANE 148; LANDI *Lat.* 105, 138.

**shqarr** m, pl. *shqarra* 'marten'. Another variant is *shar*. Continues PALb *\*skera* related to Latv *skara* 'curly fur', Slav *\*skora* 'hide'. The original meaning must have been '(marten) fur'. For the semantic development cf. E *marten* borrowed from OFr *martrine* 'marten fur'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 399-400 (borrowed from Slav *\*dъxорь* 'pole-cat'); BARIĆ *AArhSt.* I 153 (to Gk σκῶπ 'excrement'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 141; MÜHLENBACH-ENDZELIN III 872; VASMER III 650; ONIONS 558; ÇABEJ *St.* II 150 (from IE *\*sker-* 'to cut').

**shqekĕ** f, pl. *shqeka* 'pocket without lining'. Prefixal derivative of *\*qekĕ* borrowed from Lat fem. *caeca* 'blind; secret, hidden'.

**shqelm** m, pl. *shqelma*, *shqelme* 'step'. Derived from *shkel*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 241.

**shqem** m 'threshold'. Singularized plural of *shkam* ~ *shkamb* 'stool, chair, threshold' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 150-151). The latter was borrowed from MGk σκάμνον 'bench'.

**shqeme** f, pl. *shqeme* 'Rhus coriaria, sumach, plant used for tanning'. Singularized plural of \**sh(ë)kam* < \**sh(ë)mak*, a metathesized borrowing from MLat *summacus* id. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 151 (from Gk ὕσκούαμος 'kind of plant *Hyoscyamus niger*').

**shqep** aor. *shqepa* 'to rip, to tear'. The antonym of *qep* built with the prefix *sh-* (CAMARDA I 101; OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 432). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 219.

**shqepoj** aor. *shqepova* 'to be lame'. Based on *shqep* 'lame' borrowed from Rom \**sclōpus* reflected in Rum *şchiop* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 411). Other Romance languages have \**cloppus*. ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 139; MEYER-LÜBKE 159, *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1054; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 124 (from Rom \**excloppus*).

**shqerr** aor. *shqorra* 'to tear (cloth)'. From PALb \**skera* related to Gk κείρω 'to cut off', OIr *scaraim* 'to separate', ON *skera* 'to cut off' and the like (CAMARDA I 69, 87; MEYER *Wb.* 411-412, *Alb. St.* III 60, 71). From here *shqerrë* 'coarse' is derived. ◊ JOKL *IF* XXX 197, *LKUBA* 156 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 249-250; BARIÇ *Hymje* 35 (to Dac σκιάρη 'kind of thorny plant'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 40; GEORGIEV *Issledovanija* 114 (follows BARIÇ); CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 43; FRISK I 810-811; VENDRYES [S] 33-34; POKORNY I 938-939; DEMIRAJ *AE* 369-370.

**shqezë** f, pl. *shqeza* 'harrow'. Derived from *shqej*.

**shqile** f 'rennet'. Dialectal variant of \**shtile*, derived from *shtjell* (DEMIRAJ *AE* 370). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 282 (prefixal derivative of *qel* 'to bring, to carry').

**shqimtë** adj. 'unhappy, abandoned, lonely'. Related to *shqimth*.

**shqimth** m 'dandruff'. Deminutive in *-th* derived from *qime*.

**shqind** m 'mastic-tree'. Borrowed from Gk σχῖνος id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 151-152) with -χ- rendered as \*-k- > -g-. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 411 (from NGk σκίνοϛ, σχῖνοϛ id.).

**shqipe** adj. 'Albanian'. Calque of Slav \**slověne* 'Slavs' (from \**slovq*, \**sluti* 'to speak clearly') based on *shqipoj* 'to speak clearly' (TRUBAČEV *Slav. jaz.* XI 6). The historical and cultural importance of this calque is unprecedented insofar as it reflects a situation of ethnic symbiosis in the area. This situation must have followed the Proto-Albanian period. ◊ CAMARDA II 152 (to *shqipe* 'eagle'); MEYER *Wb.* 411 (*shqipe* derived from *shqipoj*); DIEFENBACH *Türk.* 27 (to *sqep*); TREIMER *IF* XXXV 135-137 (prefixal derivative of *qipi* 'heap' < \**sem-kūpo*- 'people, gathering'); SOLMSEN *Eig.* 98; JAKOBSON *IJSL* 1959/1-2 271 (\**slověne* from \**slovo* 'word'); POLÁK *Slavia* LIX 347-350; TRUBAČEV *Ētimologija* 1980 12-13 (Slav \**slověne* from \**slovq*, \**sluti*); ÇABEJ *LVJSOS* IV 78-96 (*shqipoj* as a denominative of *shqipe*).

**shqipe ~ shqype** f, pl. *shqipe ~ shqype* 'eagle'. Contamination of *shkabë* and *shqipoj* < Lat *excipere* in its original meaning 'to take out, to seize'. The influence of Lat *accipiter* 'bird of prey' cannot be altogether excluded. ◊ CAMARDA II 152 (to *shkabë*); MEYER *Wb.* 276-277 (from Lat *accipiter*); JOKL *LKUBA* 307-308 (prefixal derivative of *qep*); TAGLI-AVINI *Stratificazione* 141; LANDI *Lat.* 120, 130.

**shqipoj** aor. *shqipova* 'to speak clearly, to understand'. Borrowed from Lat *excipere* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 411). ◊ CAMARDA I 124-125; HAARMANN 124.

**shqirrë** f, pl. *shqirra* 'reed'. Derived from *shqerr*.

**shqis** aor. *shqita* 'to tear, to separate'. Derived from *qis*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

**shqitë** f, pl. *shqita* 'slippery place'. Derived from *shkas*.

**shqopë** f, pl. *shqopa* 'brier'. With a secondary -q-, borrowed from Lat *scōpa* 'twig, branch' (KRISTOFORIDHI 396; WEIGAND *BA* II 224). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 152, IV 88-89.

**shquaj ~ shquej** aor. *shqova* 'to discern, to stress, to learn'. Derived from *quaj*.

**shqyej** aor. *shqyeva* 'to tear, to break'. From PALb *\*skānja* related to IE *\*sken-* 'to split' mainly represented by a deverbative adjective *\*skento-*, cf., for example, Bret *skant* 'scales', ON *skinn* 'hide, skin'. ◇ POKORNY I 929.

**shqymb** aor. *shqymba* 'to extinguish, to destroy'. Continues PALb *\*skūmba*, a nasal present related to Goth *af-skiuban* 'to push back, to reject', Lith *skumbù*, *skūbti* 'to hurry up', Slav *\*skubq*, *\*skubati* 'to pull, to tear'. ◇ FRAENKEL 820; FEIST *Goth.* 9; VASMER III 660; POKORNY I 955.

**shqyrtoj** aor. *shqyrtova* 'to examine, to observe'. The original form must have been *\*shkrytoj*. Borrowed from Lat *scrūtari* 'to examine, to find out'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 388 (from Rom *\*disquirītāre*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 152 (derived from *qyr*).

**shqyt** m, pl. *shqyta* 'shield'. Borrowed from Lat *scūtum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 60). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 216; HAARMANN 149; LANDI *Lat.* 105.

**shregull** f, pl. *shregulla* 'swing'. Derived from *rregull* preserving the otherwise unattested meaning of Lat *rēgula* 'bar, board'.

**shtagë** f, pl. *shtaga* 'pole, stick'. Continues PALb *\*stagā* etymologically connected with ON *stjaki* id., Latv *stēga* 'long pole' and the like. ◇ POKORNY I 1014.

**shtalbër** m 'wooden snare'. Based on PALb *\*stalba*, an *o*-grade form related to ON *stolpi* 'beam, girder', Lith *stulbas* 'post, pole', Slav *\*stьlbъ* id. reflecting the zero-grade of *\*stelb-*. ◇ VASMER III 765; FRAENKEL 930; POKORNY I 1020.

**shtalkë** f, pl. *shtalka* 'frame'. From PALb *\*stalikā*, nominal derivative based on IE *\*stel-* attested in various forms such as, for example, Skt *sthāla-* 'elevation', Gk *στολή* 'equipment', MLG *stale* 'post' and other similar continuants. ◇ FRISK II 786-788; MAYRHOFER III 525; POKORNY I 1019-1020.

**shtalp** m 'rennet'. Continues PALb *\*stalpa* related to *shtjell* in view

of its derivative *mbë-shtillem* 'to become sour' (JOKL *LKUBA* 282-230).  
 ◇ BUGGE *BB XVIII* 171 (explains dialectal *shtarp* as related to Gk τρέφω  
 'to make sour, of milk'); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 284-285 (to *gjalpë*);  
 TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 150; ÇABEJ *St. II* 152-153 (agrees with JOKL).

**shtallë** f, pl. *shtalla* 'stall'. Borrowed from Lat *stabulum* id. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 258 (from Ital *stalla*).

**shtang** adj. 'hard'. From PALb *\*stanga* related to ON *stinga* 'to put, to stick', Lith *stėngiu, stėngti* 'to be able', *stiņgti* 'to become hard', Lat *stiņgt* id. (MANN *Language XXVIII* 39) ◇ CAMARDA I 140 (to Gk στέγω 'to cover'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63 (from Ital *stanga*); FRAENKEL 895-896, 906, *ZfslavPh XXIII* 344 (to OHG *stanga*); POKORNY I 1015.

**shtarët** adj. 'bitter'. Continues PALb *\*stara* etymologically related to Gk στερεός 'tough, hard', ON *starr* 'stiff', Lith *stefti* 'to become stiff, to harden' and the like. ◇ FRISK II 790-791; FRAENKEL 902-903; POKORNY 1022; MANN *Language XXVI* 381-382 (to Av *stavro* 'strong', Skt *sthāvara-*).

**shtat** m, pl. *shtatra* ~ *shtatna* 'figure, image'. Borrowed from Lat *status* 'height, stature' (MEYER *Wb.* 415). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63 (from Ital *stato*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1041; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 258 (against MIKLOSICH); MANN *Language XVII* 18 (from IE *\*sthatos*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 27; HAARMANN 151; LANDI *Lat.* 139, 148-149.

**shtatë** num. 'seven'. Goes back to PALb *\*septati-* from IE *\*septm-ti-*. The latter is derived from IE *\*septm* 'seven', cf. Skt *saptá-*, Gk ἑπτά, Lat *septem* (BOPP 459; CAMARDA I 93; MEYER *Wb.* 415, *Alb. St. III* 33, 59). From the point of view of derivation, *shtatë* is close to such abstract formations in *\*-ti-* as Skt *saptatí-* 'seventy, seven tens', cf. BRUGMANN *Gr.* I 722, 971. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 48 (on the group *\*-pt- > -t-*), *LKUBA* 315; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 284, *Kelt. Gr.* I 72, *Reallex. Vorges.* I 222, 224; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 39; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 258; LA PIANA *Studi* I 91; PISANI *Saggi* 106; BARIÇ *Hymje* 35; MAYRHOFER III 431; FRISK I 545; WALDE-HOFMANN II 517-518; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351-352; POKORNY I 909; HAMP *Numerals* 914; HULD 142; KÖDDERITZSCH *St. albanica XXII/2* 122; DEMIRAJ *AE* 370.

**shtazë, shtëzë ~ shtëzë** f, pl. *shtazë, shtëzë ~ shtëzë* 'animal'. The original Tosk form is *shtëzë*. Derivative in *-zë* (MEYER Wb. 415) of an unattested *\*shtë ~ shtë* continuing PALb *\*stana* from IE *\*stano-*, an adjective in *\*-no-* from IE *\*st(h)ā-* 'to stand' (JOKL LKUBA 245-247 with a reconstruction of the phonetically difficult full grade in *\*st(h)ā-no-*). ◊ MEYER Wb. 415 (from Rom *\*bēstāna*, based on Lat *bēstia* 'animal, beast'); BUGGE BB XVIII 186 (from Rom *\*extrāna* for Lat *extrānea*, fem. 'outside, external, strange'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 142; POKORNY I 1004-1008; CAMAJ Alb. *Wortb.* 64, 125 (to *shtie*); ÇABEJ St. II 154-155 (agrees with JOKL); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 150 (to OHG *stāti* 'strong, tough'); HULD KZ XCVI 152-158 (identical with Lat *quadrupēs* 'having four feet'), XCVIII 101 (reconstructs *\*kʷet(y)orpdjēH*); DEMIRAJ AE 371.

**shteg** m, pl. *shtigje* 'path, road'. From PALb *\*staiga* identical with IE *\*stoigho-* 'way': Gk *στοίχος* 'row, line', Goth *staiga* 'way', Latv *staīga* 'walking', *stīga* 'path', Slav *\*stbza* id. (MEYER Wb. 415, Alb. St. III 9, 58). ◊ MEYER Gr. Gr. 275; PETERSSON LUÅ XIX/6 12; MANN *Language* XXVI 387; LA PIANA *Studi* I 91; PISANI *Saggi* 99; FRISK II 783-785; CHANTRAINE 1049; FEIST *Goth.* 447; POKORNY I 1017-1018; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 102; HULD 114; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 352; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 221; DEMIRAJ AE 371-372.

**shterë** f, pl. *shtera* 'mortar'. Borrowed from Lat neut. *pistōrium* 'related to flour-grinding'. ◊ MEYER Wb. 415 (from Rom *\*pistārium* for Lat *pistōrium*); HAARMANN 142.

**shterpë** adj. 'barren, sterile'. A parallel form *shterkë* continues *\*shterp-kë* (JOKL apud TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 259). Borrowed from Gk *στέριφος* id. (DEMIRAJ AE 373). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24 (to Skt *starī* 'sterile cow'); HERZOG *ZfromPh* XXXVIII 736 (from Rom *\*exstirpus* 'barren, sterile'); TREIMER *ZfromPh* XXXVIII 391 n. 1 (against HERZOG); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 94; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 259 (to *shtjerrë*); DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz.* VIII 153 (to Lat *sterilis*); HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 37 (from Gk *στέρφα*); LANDI *Lat.* 57, 82.

**shterrë** f, pl. *shterra* 'heifer'. Related to *shtjerr* and *shtjerrë*, pl. of *qengi*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 63; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 149-150.

**shtet** m, pl. *shtete* 'state'. Historically identical with *shtat*. Singularized plural of \**shtat* borrowed from Lat *status* id.

**shtëllungë** f, pl. *shtëllunga* 'flock of wool'. Derivative in *-ungë* from *shtjell* (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 196). ◇ WEIGAND 85-86 (from *shtëllis*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 155 (follows PEDERSEN).

**shtëmbë** ~ **shtambë** f, pl. *shtëmba* ~ *stamba* 'clay vessel'. Borrowed from Gk *στάμνος* 'large vessel' (CAMARDA I 83; MANN *Language* XVII 23). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 391, *Alb. St.* IV 109 (from NGk *στάμνα* 'pitcher'); JOKL *ZONF* X 191-192 (from IE \**sthā-* 'to stand'); MANN *Language* XVII 23; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* II 153-154 (repeats MANN's etymology).

**shtëmëngët** adj. 'left; standing aside'. Prefixal form related to *mangut*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201.

**shtëngër** adj. 'squinting'. Based on \**shtëng* borrowed from Rom \**stancus* 'weak, left': Rum *stîng*, Ital *stanco*, OFr *estanc* (MEYER *Wb.* 415). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 151; LANDI *Lat.* 48.

(G) **shtëpâ** m, pl. *shtëpanj* 'shepherd producing cheese, cheese-maker'. The Tosk form must have been \**shtëpër*. Its existence is confirmed by *shtëpreshë*. An early borrowing from Slav \**stopanъ*, cf. *stopan* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 155).

**shtëpi** f, pl. *shtëpi*, *shtëpira* 'house'. A morphological adaptation of the metathesized Lat *hospitium* 'lodging, inn, guest-chamber', cf. NGk *σπίτι* 'house' (CAMARDA I 100; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 32; MEYER *Wb.* 415-416). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1039, 1055; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 256-257, *Origini* 191; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 28; HAARMANN 129; HULD 115; LANDI *Lat.* 158.

**shtëpreshë** ~ **shpneshë** f, pl. *shtëpresha* ~ *shpnesha* 'female shepherd; (good) housewife'. Another phonetic variant is *shtëpresë*. Feminine form of *shtëpâ* semantically influenced by *shtëpi* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 155-156).



**shtërg** m, pl. *shtërgj* 'stork'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *štr̥k*, SCr *štrk*. Note the voicing of the auslaut -k.

**shtëroj** aor. *shtërova* 'to run dry, to dry up'. Another variant is *shtroj*. Based on *shter(r)* id. derived from *ter*.

**shtërzim** m, pl. *shtërzime* 'labor pains'. From \**shtërpëzim*, based on *shterpë*.

**shtërras** aor. *shterra* 'to diminish, to shrink'. Another variant is *shtërroj*. Borrowed from Lat *extenuāre* 'to make smaller'.

**shtiak** m, pl. *shtiakë* 'miscarriage'. Derived from *shtie*.

**shtiaz** pl. 'sparks'. Postverbal of *shtie* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 156). ◊ THUMB *KZ XXXVI* 186-187, *IF XXVI* 9 (from NGk ἐστία 'fire'); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 195 (dialectal plural of *shtijë*).

**shtie** aor. *shtura*, *shtyra*, *shtira*, *shtiva* 'to pour in, to put in, to throw'. From PALB \**stera* related to Skt *stṛṇḍti* 'to spread, to scatter', Gk στόρνυμι 'to stretch, to spread', Lat *sternō* 'to spread', Slav \**stьrŏ*, \**sterti* id. (JOKL *Studien* 84-85). ◊ CAMARDA I 145 (to Gk στείχω 'to walk, to march'); MEYER *Wb.* 416 (to *shtjell*), *Alb. St.* III 58; JOKL *LKUBA* 127; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 259-260; SCHMIDT *KZ LVII* 8 (part. *shtënë* < \**standhno*-); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 21 (reconstructs \**steuno*-); FRISK II 802-803; WALDE-HOFMANN II 590-591; MAYRHOFER III 517-518; VASMER III 379; POKORNY I 1030; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 63; HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 37; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227; ÖLBERG *IBK XIII* 66; DEMIRAJ *AE* 374-375.

**shtijë** f, pl. *shtija* 'spear, ray'. Borrowed from Lat *hasta* 'spear' (MEYER *Wb.* 416). Derived from *shtijë* is *shtizë* 'spear'. ◊ KRISTOFORIDHI 413 (to *shtie*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE IV/1-2* 23; HAARMANN 129; ÇABEJ *St.* IV 89.

**shtiret** refl. 'to pretend, to simulate'. Derived from *shtie*, cf. refl. *shtihet* id. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 239.

**shtirë** adj. 'weak'. Related to *shtie*, cf. *shtiret*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 416.

**shtjell** aor. *shtolla* 'to throw'. Continues PALb *\*stela* etymologically connected with Gk στέλλω 'to put, to set', OHG *stellen* 'to put', OPrus *stallit* 'to stand' (CAMARDA I 44; MEYER *Wb.* 416, *Alb. St.* III 58, 77). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 543; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 111, *LKUBA* 127; PISANI *Saggi* 119; FRISK II 786-788; ENDZELĪNS *DJ* IV/2 313; POKORNY I 1019-1020; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230-231; DEMIRAJ *AE* 376.

**shtjerr** aor. *shtorra* 'to untwist, to untwine'. Derived from *tjerr*.

**shtjerrë** f 'lamb, young cow, heifer'. Another variant is *shqerrë*. Continues PALb *\*sternā* or *\*sterjā* related to Skt *starī*, Gk στειρα and the like (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 58). See *qengj*. Borrowed to Rum *stirā* 'sterile (of animals)'. ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 209-210; MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 232; JOKL *LKUBA* 156; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 259; LA PIANA *Studi* I 95; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 350; ROSETTI *ILR* I 282; HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 37 (remodelled from pl. *shqerra* and related to *krye*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 376-378.

**shtog** m, pl. *shtogje* 'elder, elder-berry'. From PALb *\*stāga* related to *shtagë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 417 (from Rum *soc* id., with serious doubts); BARIĆ *ARSt* 32; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 19; HAARMANN 147 (from Lat *sabucus*).

**shtoj** aor. *shtova* 'to increase'. Continues PALb *\*stānja* etymologically connected with Skt *tiṣṭhati* 'to stand', Gk ἵστημι 'to put', Lat *stō* 'to stand', OHG *stān* id., Lith *stōju*, *stōti* id., Slav *\*stoję*, *\*stojati* id. (CAMARDA I 176). ◇ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 79; BARIĆ *ARSt* 69 (to Lat *tōtus* 'whole'); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 23; MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (derives *shtoj* from *\*stājō*); FRISK I 739; FRAENKEL 914; MAYRHOFER II 526-527; WALDE-HOFMANN II 596-599; VASMER III 769; POKORNY I 1004-1005; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 45; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 103, 125; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 227, 242; DEMIRAJ *AE* 378 (to IE *\*steHu-o-*).

**shtrap** m 'stagnant green on ponds'. From PALb *\*strapa* related to MHG *straf* 'tight', Lith *par-strapinti* 'to drag oneself back'. ◇ FRAENKEL 919-920; POKORNY I 1025.

**shtrapër** m 'shepherd's purse'. Derived from *shtrap*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 156 (to *shtërpinj* and *gjarpër*).

**shtrapëzoj** aor. *shtrapëzova* 'to spread'. Derived from *trapezë*.

**shtrat** m, pl. *shtretër ~ shtretën* 'bed; layer'. Borrowed from Lat *stratum* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 64; MEYER *Wb.* 417). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1041; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 260; MANN *Language* XVII 18 (related to Gk στρατός); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 152; LANDI *Lat.* 177.

**shtreb** aor. *shtreba* 'to lay eggs (of flies)'. Verbal form connected with *shtrap*.

**shtrëgë** f 'pile of wood'. From PALb *\*stragā* related to MHG *strac* 'tight', OE *strec* 'hard, strong'. ◊ HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 324; POKORNY I 1023 (adduces nonexistent Lith *strëgti* 'to harden, to freeze').

**shtrek** m, pl. *shtriqe* 'corpse, carrion'. From PALb *\*streka* reflecting a noun derived from IE *\*ster-* 'unclean liquid, manure'. Note that a similar semantic evolution is found in ORuss *stbrvb* 'corpse, dead body' belonging to the same root. The Albanian form seems to represent a case of Schwebeablaut if confronted with such derivative of *\*ster-* as Lat *stercus* 'excrements'. Note, however, Celtic forms based on *\*strenk-*: Bret *stroñk* id., W *trwnc* id. (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 434-435). ◊ WALDE-HOFMANN II 589; POKORNY I 1031-1032.

**shtrembër** adj. 'crooked, curved'. An earlier form is *shtremb*. Borrowed from Rom *\*strambus* id.: Rum *strîmb*, Ital *strambo* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 417). ◊ HAARMANN 151-152; LANDI *Lat.* 47-48.

**shtrenjtë** adj. 'dear, expensive'. Borrowed from Rom *\*strictus* 'narrow': Rum *strîmt*, Venet *strento*, SItal *strinto* (CAMARDA I 47; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 64; MEYER *Wb.* 418). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *MRIW* I 24, *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1054; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 260-261; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 267; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 63-64; HAARMANN 152.

**shtrep** m, pl. *shtrepa* 'maggot, larva'. There exists a parallel form *shtrebë*. As to pl. tantum *shtrëpinj* 'reptiles, vermin', it is an obvious derivative (plural) of *shtrap*. Goes back to PALb *\*straupa* etymologically close to Slav *\*strupъ* 'wound, scab, poison'. Borrowed to Rum *strepede* 'cheese worms'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 137 (connects *shtrëpinj* with *gjarpër* supposing *\*sr-* > *\*str-* in Proto-Albanian); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I

90, *LKUBA* 283-284; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 284; VASMER III 784-785; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 105; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 349; ROSETTI *ILR* I 281; HULD 147; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 210; DEMIRAJ *AE* 374.

**shtreth** m, pl. *shtretha* 'board'. Derivative of *shtrat*.

**shtreze** f, pl. *shtreze* 'stern (of a ship)'. Singularized plural of \**shtër-  
ez* based on an unattested \**shtërë* < PALb \**steura*. The latter was bor-  
rowed from Gmc \**steurō* 'steering paddle, rudder, stern', cf. OE *stéor*,  
further related to Gmc \**steurjan* 'to steer'. ◊ HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 320.

**shtrëngoj** aor. *shtrëngova* 'to press, to squeeze'. Borrowed from Lat  
*stringere* 'to stretch, to press, to squeeze' (CAMARDA I 47; MIKLOSICH  
*Lat. Elemente* 64; MEYER *Wb.* 418). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>  
I 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 260; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 260; DURIDANOV  
*BE* 4-5 (1968) 401-406; HAARMANN 152.

**shtrigë** f, pl. *shtriga* 'witch'. Borrowed from Lat *striga* id. (MIKLOSICH  
*Rom. Elemente* 64). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 418 (assumes Slavic mediation); MEYER-  
LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 261 (prefers the  
Latin etymology).

**shtrij** aor. *shtriva* 'to spread, to stretch'. From PALb \**strinja* related  
to Skt *stṛñāti* 'to spread, to scatter', Gk *σπόρνωμι* 'to spread, to stretch',  
Lat *sternō* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 418, *Alb. St.* III 50, 59). ◊ PE-  
DERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 52; JOKL *Studien* 85, *Mélanges Pedersen* 150,  
*Sprache* IX 120; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 61; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 261; FRISK  
II 802-803; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 195; MAYRHOFER III 517-518; WALDE-  
HOFMANN II 590-591; ÇABEJ *Sprache* XVIII 137, *St.* VII 206; HAMP  
*LB* XX 116; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 124; HULD 115-  
116; KÖDDERITZSCH *Festschr. Mac Eoin* 65; DEMIRAJ *AE* 378-379.

**shtriq** aor. *shtriqā* 'to stretch (of arms and legs)'. Based on *shtrij*.

**shtrofkë** f, pl. *shtrofka* 'den'. Derived from *shtrohë* ~ *shtrofë* (OREL  
*Koll. Idg. Ges.* 353). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 418 (from Slav \**stropъ* 'roof');  
JOKL *LKUBA* 101, *Mélanges Pedersen* 150 (to *shtroj*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 156  
(agrees with JOKL); DEMIRAJ *AE* 379.

**shtrohë** ~ **shtrofë** f, pl. *shtroha* ~ *shtrofa* 'kennel'. From PALb \**strājā*,

a long-grade form connected with Latv *straja* 'stall covered with straw', Slav *\*strojъ* 'construction', and further, with Lat *stria* 'furrow, fold' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 418 (analyzes Geg *shtrof* as a borrowing from Slav *\*stropъ* 'roof'); JOKL *LKUBA* 101; WALDE-HOFMANN II 602; VASMER III 780.

**shtroj** aor. *shtrova* 'to spread'. From PALb *\*strānja*, long grade of the same root as in *shtrij* (MEYER *Wb.* 418). ◇ CAMARDA I 139; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1052 (from Lat *sternō* 'to spread'); KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 255-256; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193, 241.

**shtrošë** f. pl. *shtroša* 'goat hide (used as a cushion)'. Derived from *shtroj*.

**shtrud** m 'strawberry'. Phonetic variant of *shtrydh*, cf. also *shtrydhëz* id. Derived from *shtrydh* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 157). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 418 (to Slovene *truskelica* 'garden strawberry' and the like); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 101 (to Lat *frāgum* id.); RĂDULESCU *JIES* III 385-393 (< IE *\*strugʰh-*).

**shtrungë** f, pl. *shtrunga* 'milking enclosure'. Derived from *shtroj* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 157-158). From Albanian, the term was borrowed by various languages of the Balkans and of the Carpathian area, cf. Rum *strungă*. ◇ HAHN 127 (to *shtrëngoj*); MEYER *Wb.* 418 (loanword of dubious origin); JOKL *Studien* 89 (from IE *\*strug-* as in Lat *stringō* 'to press, to squeeze'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 105, *AArbSt* I 154-156 (from *\*sm-tronkʷa* related to G *drängen* 'to press', ON *þróngr* 'narrow'); GIUGLEA *DR* II 343-345 (crossing of Gmc *\*stanga* 'pole' and Rom *\*rūga* 'road, street'); MEYER-LÜBKE *DR* IV 642-645 (crossing of Rom *\*stringa* and *\*rūga*); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 246; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 150; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 334; ROSETTI *ILR* I 281-282.

**shtrydh** aor. *shtrydha* 'to squeeze out'. Related to *ndrydh*. ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046 (from Latin); PISANI *Saggi* 122.

**shtrrak** m, pl. *shtrraqe, shtrriqe* 'partition wall; hut used to isolate a sick animal'. Borrowed from Rom *\*sternācus* based on Lat *sternō* 'to spread, to cover'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 158-159 (identical with *shtrat*).

**shtuara** adv. 'upright'. Based on *shtuar* ~ OGeg *shtuom*, participle of

*shtoj* (PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 196, *Kelt. Gr.* I 70, 79). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 88; ÇABEJ *St.* II 159 (follows PEDERSEN).

**shtunë** ~ **sh(ë)tundë** f, pl. *shtuna* ~ *shtunda* 'Saturday'. From an earlier form *shëtundë* (BUZUKU, BARDHI) continuing Lat *Saturnī diēs* id. (SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 251; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1050). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 405 (from Lat *sabbatum*); SKOK *ZfromPhil* XLIV 332-334 (from Rom *\*sambata* with a metathesis); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 262 (follows SKOK); ÇABEJ *St.* IV 58, VII 268; HAARMANN 148; LANDI *Lat.* 46, 134, 159.

**shtupë** f 'tow'. Borrowed from Lat *stuppa* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 65). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 395, *Alb. St.* IV 110 (from NGk *στουπί* id.); SKOK *ZfromPh* XLIV 332-337; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 262; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* II 159; HAARMANN 152.

**shturë** f, pl. *shtura* 'starling'. Borrowed from Lat *sturnus* id.

**shtyj** ~ **shtyj** aor. *shtyta*, *shtyva*, *shtyra* ~ *shtyna* 'to push'. From PALB *\*stūdnja* etymologically close to Skt *tundate* 'to push, to strike', Lat *tundō* 'to push', OIr *do-tuit* 'to fall', Goth *stautan* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 418, *Alb. St.* III 28, 59). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 3 (agrees with MEYER); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 10-11 (to Lith *stūmti* 'to push'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 261-262; PISANI *Saggi* 123; FEIST *Goth.* 451; MAYRHOFER I 511; WALDEHOFMANN II 616-617; POKORNY I 1033-1034; HULD 116; DEMIRAJ *AE* 379-380.

**shtyllë** f, pl. *shtylla* 'post, column'. Borrowed from Gk *στῦλος* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 419 (from NGk *στῦλος* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 29; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 281; HAARMANN 151 (from Lat *stilus*).

**shtyp** aor. *shtypa* 'to crush, to squash, to break into pieces'. Derived from *\*typ*, cf. *typh*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 416 (to Lat *stīpāre* 'to press together'), *Alb. St.* III 59; KRISTOFORIDHI 414 (to Gk *τύπτω* 'to strike'); WEIGAND 236 (from Slav *\*stōpati* 'to step'); JOKL *Studien* 85-87 (from *\*shtryp* related to Gk *τραπέω* 'to tread grapes'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 263.; MANN *Language* XXVI 387 (to Gk *τύπτω*); CHANTRAINE 1129; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 273.

**shtyr** ~ **shtir** aor. *shtyra* ~ *shtira* 'to push; to cross (a river)'. Derived from *shtyj*. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 87-88 (to Skt *tārati* 'to cross over').

**shuaj** ~ **shuej** aor. *shova*, *shuajta*, *shojta* 'to extinguish'. Borrowed from Lat *subjugāre* 'to subjugate' with the loss of two intervocalic voiced stops. ◇ CAMARDA I 86 (to Gk σβέννυμι 'to quench'); MEYER *Wb.* 419 (from Lat *exungere* 'to anoint'); JOKL *LKUBA* 329; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 327 (follows CAMARDA); MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (to Gk ψάω < \*k\*sājō); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 257.

**shuguroj** aor. *shugurova* 'to ordain'. Other phonetic variants are *shëkroj*, *shukroj*, *shugroj*. From Lat *sacrāre* 'to sanctify' (MEYER *Wb.* 403). ◇ HAARMANN 147.

**shuj** aor. *shujta* 'to be silent'. An onomatopoeia based on *shuj* 'hush!'.

**shuk** aor. *shuka* 'to throw'. Derived from here are *shuk* 'ball' and *shukull* 'mignonette'. A prefixal derivative of PALB \**uka* related to IE \**uek-* 'to bend', cf. in particular Skt *vacyāte* 'to fly up'. ◇ POKORNY I 1134.

**shul** m, pl. *shule* 'post, pole'. Borrowed from Slav \**šulb* 'log, trunk', cf. in South Slavic: Slovene *šulj*, SCr *šulj*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 419 (to Slav \**sulica* 'spear'), *Alb. St.* III 43 (from \**sud-lo-*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 131 (from Lat *insubulum* 'weaver's beam').

**shul** adv. 'one-sided, crooked'. Prefixal derivative of *ul*.

**shullatë** f, pl. *shullata* 'drain, gutter'. Borrowed from Lat fem. *sublāta* 'lifted, raised'.

**shullë** ~ **shullâ** m 'sunny spot'. Borrowed from Lat *solānus* (*locus*) id. (MEYER *Wb.* 419). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1042; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 150; LANDI *Lat.* 48, 88, 157.

**shumë** adv. 'many, much'. Borrowed from Lat *summus* 'uppermost, highest' (MEYER *Wb.* 419). ◇ CAMARDA I 86 (cognate of Lat *summus*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 263; JOKL *Arch. Roman.* XXIV 134 (borrowing from the substantive Lat

*summa*); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 196 (from neut. Lat *sumum*); HULD 116; HAARMANN 58, 152.

**shungulloj** aor. *shungullova* 'to shake'. Borrowed from Rom \**exunguläre* for \**exunduläre* 'to seethe'.

**shuplakë** f, pl. *shuplaka* 'palm'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. SCr *supljaca* (MEYER *Wb.* 419-420). ◊ CAMARDA II 167 (to Gk *πλήσσω* 'to strike, to hit'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 264, *Stratificazione* 96-97; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252 (to OFr *soufflace* 'slap in the face').

**shurdhër** adj. 'deaf'. Another morphological variant is *shurdhët*. Borrowed from Lat *surdus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 65; MEYER *Wb.* 420). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1049; 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 264; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193; HAARMANN 152.

**shurqel** m, pl. *shurqela* 'waterfall'. Singularized plural of \**shurkal* < \**shurkadël*, a nominal derivative of \**shurkadoj* borrowed from Lat *super-cadere* 'to fall down (of water)'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 159-160 (identical with *zurkal* id. and further connected with *rrëkajë*).

**shurukoj** aor. *shurukova* 'to thunder, to make noise'. Borrowed from Rom \**subraucare* 'to make hoarse', cf. Ital dial. *surragare*.

**shurrë** f 'urine'. Derived from *shurr* 'to urinate', a prefixal form based on PAIb \**ura* connected with Skt *vār* 'water', Tokh A *wār*, B *war* id., ON *vari* id. and the like, cf. in particular Lat *ūrīna* 'urine' (JOKL *Studien* 89-90). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 420 (to Gmc \**suraz* 'sour', Lith *sūras* 'salty'), Alb. *St.* III 43, 73; BARIĆ *ARSt* 96-97 (to Skt *kṣara-* 'water'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 97; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195 (to Bulg *šurkam* 'to urinate'); MAYRHOFER III 194; WALDE-HOFMANN II 840; VAN WINDEKENS I 557-558; POKORNY I 80; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 46 (to Gk *σκῶπ* 'dung'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 251; HAMP *Evidence* 139 (to Hitt *šëhur* 'urine'); ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 208, *KZ* LXXXVI 131 (treats *shurrë* as a *Lallwort*); MURATI *Probleme* 133; DEMIRAJ *AE* 380.

**shushallë** f, pl. *shushalla* 'peeled corn-cob'. Derived from \**shush* borrowed from Lat *exossus* 'boneless, devoid of bones'.



**shushkël** f, pl. *shushkla* 'pod'. Variant of *shikël*.

**shushunjë** f, pl. *shushunja* 'leech'. Borrowed from the metathesize Rom \**saguisungia* < Lat *sanguisuga* id. (MEYER Wb. 420). ◇ HAARMANN 148.

**shut** adj. 'hornless'. Another form is *shyt*. Borrowed from Slav \**šutъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *šut*, SCr *šut* (MEYER Wb. 420). Rum *ciut* id. goes back to the same source. ◇ DENSUSIANU GS I 245 (from Iranian); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 707 (Rum *ciut* from Albanian); IL'INSKIJ *IORJaS* XX/3 103 (identifies Slav \**šutъ* 'hornless' with \**šutъ* 'clown, stupid' < IE \**kseu-* 'to cut'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 150; GOLAB *MJ X* 27 (from a Balkan substratum); RUSSU *TD* 203-204 (Rum *ciut* is from Dacian); REICHENKRON *Dakische* 109; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* 340; KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 84-86; DESNICKAJA *Slav. jaz. VIII* 153 (from IE \**skhed-* 'to split'); DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 67-71 (farfetched Romance etymology from Lat *sectāre*); ROSETTI *ILR I* 275; MOUTSOS *ZfBalk* XXV/2 161-165 (from Rumanian).

(T) **shutra** pl. 'comb (to card linen or wool)'. Based on Lat *sūtus* 'sewn together'.

## T

**tabelë** f, pl. *tabela* 'table, plate'. Borrowed from Lat *tabella* id.

**taç** pron. 'the one that, the one which'. The univerbation of *ta*, neut. of *ai*, and *çë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 160).

**taft** m 'stench; scorching heat'. Borrowed from Lat *tāctus* 'touch, feeling'. ◇ MANN *HAED* 508 (to *aht* 'sigh' and *afsh*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243.

**taftar** m 'funnel'. Borrowed from Rom \**traiectārium* id. for Lat *traiectōrium* id. (MEYER Wb. 421). ◇ JOKI *IF* XXXVII 209 (from Rom \**trānsfunditōrium*); BARIÇ *Hymje* 63; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 269; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 71-73; ÇABEJ *St.* II 160-161 (follows MEYER but reconstructs Rom \**tractārius*); HAARMANN 154.

**tajě** f, pl. *taja* 'screw-nut, female screw'. Identical with *tajě* 'wet-nurse', *tajjis* 'to feed' (from NGk τργίζω id.). ◇ MEYER Wb. 422 (*tajě* 'wet-nurse' from Turkish).

**tajkě** f 'kind of oblong grapes'. Derived from \**tajě* borrowed from Lat *tālea* 'cut off part, trunk'. ◇ ÇABEJ St. II 162-163 (borrowed from SCr *tamjanika* 'kind of grapes', Bulg *tam'anika* id.).

**take** f, pl. *take* 'small boat'. Borrowed from Turk *taka* 'kind of boat' (ÇABEJ St. II 163). ◇ JOKL LKUBA 161 (from SCr *tak* 'pole, post'); TREIMER *Slavia* III 448 (agrees with JOKL).

**takoj** aor. *takova* 'to reach, to meet, to get'. Borrowed from Rom \**toccare* 'to touch' which, however, leaves unexplained the root vowel in Albanian. ◇ MEYER Wb. 422 (from Ital *toccare* 'to strike, to touch'); ÇABEJ St. VII 217.

**talě** f 'measure, size'. Borrowed from Rom \**talia* 'tally': Ital *taglia*, OFr *taille*, Sp *taja* and the like.

**tall** aor. *talla* 'to ridicule, to deride'. From PALb \**talna*, causative related to OIr *tuilid* 'to sleep', Lith *tylü, ūlti* 'to become silent', Slav \**toliti* 'to persuade, to make quiet' and their cognates. ◇ FRAENKEL 1095; VASMER IV 71; VENDRYES [T] 170; POKORNY I 1062.

**tallě** f 'Sorghum halepense; peeled corn-cob; corn straw'. From PALb \**talā*, zero-grade connected with Gk τήλις 'fenugreek', Lith *atólas* 'first grass emerging after the hay-mowing' (RESTELLI RIL XCI 475-476). ◇ MEYER Wb. 423 (borrowed from Lat *talla* 'skin of onion'); POKORNY I 1055; FRISK II 892-893; FRAENKEL 22; ÇABEJ St. II 163-164 (borrowed from Lat *tālea* 'sprout, shooting'); MIHĂESCU RESEE IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 152; LANDI Lat. 28, 126.

**tamě** f, pl. *tamě* 'water-source'. Derived from *amě* with a prefix *t-* continuing PALb \**at-*. The prefix is etymologically identical with Lith *at-* 'from', Slav \**ot(ъ)-* id. ◇ XHUVANI - ÇABEJ BShkSh 1956/4 99 (recombination of the oblique case form *tě amě*); FRAENKEL 20; VASMER III 168; POKORNY I 344-345; ÇABEJ St. II 164.

**tamě** f 'smell, stench'. As in *tamě* 'water-source', a prefixal deriva-

tive of \**amë*, cf. *amëz*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 164 (recombination of the oblique case *të amë*).

**tangallë** f, pl. *tangalla* 'big forest'. Derived from PALb \**tangā* 'thick (forest)' related to ON *þétrr* 'thick', Lith *tánkus* id. ◊ POKORNY I 1068; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254, 281.

**tangë** f 'resentment, prejudice, damnation'. An early loanword from Slav \**toğa* 'grief'. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 386 (related to Slav \**toğa*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 381.

**tapë** f, pl. *tapa* 'cork'. Borrowed from Romance \**tappum* id., cf. Ital *tappo*, Catal *tap*.

**tarogžë** f, pl. *tarogza* 'helmet'. The word seems to be created by FISHTA and representing a derivative in *-žë* based on *tarok*. ◊ JOKL *St.Fil.* XVIII/2 5-9 (borrowed from Gk θωρακείον 'parapet'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; DI GIOVINE *SSL* XXIV 271-291; ÇABEJ *St.* II 165 (from Gk θώραξ 'cuirass').

**tarok** m, pl. *tarokë* 'young bull'. Deminutive of \**tar*, see *ter*. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (directly from \**tauro*).

**tartallis** aor. *tartallisa* 'to flounder, to roll'. Borrowed from NGk ταρταρίζω 'to shiver of cold' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 165-166). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 90 (to Skt *taralá-* 'moving to and fro').

**tarr** aor. *tarra* 'to cut (vine)'. An *o*-grade continuing PALb \**tara* and related to *tjer*.

**tarrabec** m, pl. *tarrabeca* 'youth, youngster'. Derived from \**rabec*, cf. *rabeckë*.

**tash** adv. 'now'. Other variants are *tashi*, *tashti*, *ndashti*, *tesh*. Continues \**to-su*, locative of the pronominal stem \**to-* (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 5-6). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 19 (combination of *t-* and *-shtu* attested in *ashtu*); BARIĆ *A ArbSt* I 140 (against VASMER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 265; ÇABEJ *St.* II 166 (pronominal *t(a)-* and a second element of dubious origin).

**tatě** m 'father, dad'. A typical *Lallwort* (CAMARDA I 115; MEYER *Wb.* 424-425) which, however, may be borrowed from Slavic, cf. SCr *tata*, Bulg *tato*. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 23 (from \**tatā*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 1021-102 (from Lat *tata* id.), *Stratificazione* 120; PUŞCARIU *EWB* 1718 (influenced by Romance forms); ÇABEJ *St.* II 166-167 (univerbation of the oblique definite form of *atë* preceded by the article *të*); SVANE 189; MURATI *Probleme* 103; DEMIRAJ *AE* 382-383.

**tatëpjetë** f, pl. *tatëpjeta* 'slope', adv. 'down'. With assimilation of occlusives, continues \**katëpjetë*, an antonym of *përperjetë*, with \**katë* < PALb \**kata* related to Gk *κάτα* 'down', OIr *cét-* 'with', Hitt *kata* 'with, below' (CAMARDA I 304). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 333 (*tatë-* identical with *ter-* in Geg *tetposhtë*, cf. *tërposhtë*); FRISK I 800; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 48; VENDRYES [C] 83-84; ÇABEJ *St.* II 167 (*tatë-* continues a "double article" *të të*).

**tatoj** aor. *tatova* 'to tax'. Borrowed from \**taxitäre* id. based on Rom \**taxa*.

**tatull** f 'stramonium, thorn-apple'. Borrowed from South Slavic: Bulg *tatul*, *tatula* id., SCr *tatula* id. (WEIGAND 87), a phonetically transformed loanword coming from Lat *datura* id. and influenced by Slav \**tata* 'father'. ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 72 (from Ital *datura* 'thorn-apple'); DIEFENBACH I 259 (to Rum *tatina*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 167 (from Turk *tatula* id.)

**te** prep. 'to', adv. 'where, there'. More archaic forms are *tek* ~ *tekë* as well as *teku*. As a preposition, *te(k)* requires nominative and therefore continues PALb \**tai ku*, dative reflecting IE \**toi k'u-* 'to that which' (BOPP 501, 504; CAMARDA I 317). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 425, *Alb. St.* III 23, 88 (*te-* from ablative \**tōd*); JOKL *LKUBA* 26 (agrees with MEYER), *WuS* XII 64; PEDERSEN *Festschr.Thomsen* 255-256 (form of the pronoun \**to-* followed by *ku*); TAGLIAVINI 272; SANDFELD *LBalk* 118-119 (similarity between *tek* and Rom \**illac* > Rum *la* 'there'); MANN *Language* XXVI 386 (*te-* to Gk *τῶ* 'then'); HAMP *SCL* XXXIII/6 493, *ZfceltPh* XXXVII 170-172; KOPEČNÝ *ESSJ* I 257 (to Slovene *tu* 'in, into'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 167-169; DEMIRAJ *AE* 383.

**teh** m, pl. *teha* 'blade'. A prefixal derivative of *eh* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 169). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 425 (to Ital *taglio* 'cut'); GELZER *ZfromPhil* XXXVII

268 (from Rom *\*taliäre* 'to cut'); RESTELLI *RIL* XCI 540-541 (to Gk τέκτων 'artisan').

**tej** prep. 'on that side', adv. 'over there'. Continues PALb *\*tai e* < *\*toi eks* parallel to *tëhu*.

**tejzë** f, pl. *tejza* 'sinew'. Derived from *tel* 'wire', of Turkish origin. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 426 (on *tel*).

**teka** pl. 'whims'. Borrowed from Slav *\*tekъ* 'wish, appetite', cf. in South Slavic: SCr *tek* (MEYER *Wb.* 426). The verb *tekem* 'to wish' is derived from *teka*.

**telatin** m 'lacquered leather'. Borrowed from Turk *telatin* 'Russian leather', itself borrowed from Russian (ÇABEJ *St.* II 170). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 311 (from Russ *tel'atina* 'veal, calf's leather'); MANN *HAED* 512 (agrees with SELIŠČEV).

**tendë** f, pl. *tenda* 'tent'. Another form is *tëndë*. Borrowed from Romance *\*tenta* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 429). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; MANN *Language* XVII 20 (from *\*tnt-*); HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 55, 116.

**tenjë** f 'moth, wood-engraver'. Borrowed from Lat *tinea* 'moth, worm' (MEYER *Wb.* 427). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 136 (from Lat *taenia*); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66 (from Latin or from Ital *tigna* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 152-153; LANDI *Lat.* 56, 71.

**tepë** f 'spelt, *Triticum monococcum*'. Borrowed from Gk τίφη id. (JOKL *Beiträge*). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 170-171.

**tepër** adv. 'more, very', adj. 'superfluous'. Univerbation of neut. *t(ë) epër*, cf. *epër* (XHUVANI *Studime* 63). ◊ CAMARDA I 319 (from *te* and *për*); MEYER *Wb.* 427 (same as CAMARDA); JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 171 (from *\*töd uperom*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 171 (follows XHUVANI).

**teposhtë** f 'slope', adv. 'down, downwards'. Another variant is *tërposhtë*. A synonym of *tatëpjetë*, this word is divided into a prefix *tër-* and the adverbial *poshtë*. There are numerous other derivatives in *tër-*,

cf. *tërfurk* 'pitchfork' to *furkë*, *tërheq* 'to pull, to draw' to *heq* and the like. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 333 (suggests *tet-* as the first element); HAARMANN 154.

**ter** m, pl. *terë*, *tera* 'bull'. Singularized plural of \**tar* continuing PALb \**taura* related to Gk τάρπος id., Lat *taurus* id., Lith *taūras* id., Slav \**turъ* id. (CAMARDA I 53). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 427 (borrowed from Lat *taurus*), *Gr. Gr.* 232; MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (follows CAMARDA); FRAENKEL 1067-1068; FRISK II 860-861; WALDE-HOFMANN II 650-652; VASMER IV 122; POKORNY I 1083; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* II 171-172; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; HAARMANN 152; LANDI *Lat.* 72; DEMIRAJ *AE* 384.

**ter** aor. *tera* 'to make dry'. Continues PALb \**tarsja*, a causative of \**ters-* etymologically identical with Skt *tarśyati* id., Lat *torreō* id., ON *þerra* id. (CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 427, *BB* VIII 187) ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* II 23 (doubts the comparison with IE \**ters-*), *Alb. St.* III 23; FOY *IF* VI 334 (to OIr *tír* 'earth, ground'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 96; MAYRHOFER I 525; WALDE-HOFMANN II 694; POKORNY I 1078-1079; HAMP *Münch. St. Spr.* XLI 36; ÇABEJ *St.* II 172-173; HULD 156; DEMIRAJ *AE* 383.

**terë** f 'dry land'. Derived from *ter*, cf. a similar semantic motivation in Lat *terra* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 173-174). From here *terik* 'land' is derived.

**terig** m 'light breeze'. Borrowed from an unattested in its Venetian form, \**eterigo*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 174 (identical with *terik*, see *terë*).

**term** m 'foundation, plot of land'. Derived from *terë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 174).

**terplote** f, pl. *terplote* 'winnowing shovel'. Prefixal derivative of *plotë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 174-175). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 320 (prefixal derivative in *tër-* of \**plote* borrowed from Italian or Rom \**palotta*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538.

**terr** m 'darkness'. Continues an oblique case of *err*: *t(ë) err* (MEYER *Wb.* 97-99). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049 (from Lat *tenebrae* 'darkness'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243, 246.

**terrtohem** refl. 'to knit one's brows in wrath'. Based on *terr*.

**tesh** m 'herpes'. Related to *teshë*.

**tesha** pl. 'belongings, utensils, things'. Continues PALb *\*taišā* related to Lith *tiesiù, tiēsti* 'to make right, to build, to set', *teisùs* 'right'. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 96 (to Gk τέκτων 'artisan' and other reflexes of IE *\*tekb-*); FRAENKEL 1073-1074, 1089; ÇABEJ *St.* II 175-176 (from Lat *testa* 'vessel, pot'); LANDI *Lat.* 94, 119.

**teshem** refl. 'to sneeze'. Continues PALb *\*teuša* related to Latv *tusēt* 'to pant', *tust* id. representing IE *\*teus-*. Derived from *teshem* is *teshtij* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 356 (connected with *fshaj* and *psherëtij*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 267; PORZIG *Gliederung* 107; ÇABEJ *St.* II 175 (onomatopoeia).

**teshë** f 'speck of dust, little splinter'. From PALb *\*taksjā* related to IE *\*tekb-*: Skt *takṣati* 'to carpenter, to cut', Lat *texō* 'to weave', Lith *tašau, tašyti* 'to hew' (OREL *Fort.* 80). ◊ MAYRHOFER I 468; WALDEHOFMANN II 678-679; FRAENKEL 1065; POKORNY I 1058-1059; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 212, 266.

**tetë** num. 'eight'. Continues PALb *\*aktō(ti)* related to the Indo-European word for 'eight' *\*oktō(u)*: Skt *aṣṭā*, Arm *uʃ*, Gk ὀκτώ and the like (BOPP 512; MEYER *Alb. St.* II 66, *Wb.* 428). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 319-320, *Kelt. Gr.* I 123; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 267; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 259; LA PIANA *Studi* I 81-82; BARIĆ *Hymje* 43; PISANI *Saggi* 106; FRISK I 374-375; MAYRHOFER I 63; POKORNY I 775; HULD 156; HAMP *Numerals* 914-915; DEMIRAJ *AE* 385.

**teto** f, pl. *teto* 'aunt'. Borrowed (in the form of vocative in *-o*) from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *teta*, SCr *teta* (MEYER *Wb.* 428). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 267.

**tëbanë** f, pl. *tëbana* 'shepherd's hut'. A prefixal derivative of *banë*. Cf. some other derivatives in *të-*: *tëharr* 'to cut (wood)' (cf. *harr*), *tëholloj* 'to make thin' (cf. *hollë*), *tëmbëll* 'sweetness' (cf. *ëmbel*).

**tëbuti** m, pl. *tëbuta* 'oak'. Singularized form of (*dru*) *të buta* 'soft wood' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 176). ◊ LAMBERTZ *KZ LIII* 306 (borrowed from NGk μροῦτι 'stump').

**tëhu** adv. 'on this side'. From PALb *\*toi ksu* where the second com-

ponent is equal to Gk ξύν 'with, at the same time'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 334 (connected with *tē*); FRISK II 339; ÇABEJ *St.* II 176-177 (to *-tu* in *atu*, *kētu*).

**tëmbël** ~ **tambël** n/m 'gall-bladder'. Identical with *tëmbël* ~ *tambël* 'sweetness', see *ëmbël*. The original meaning of the latter includes such elements as 'sour', 'bitter'. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 273; DEMIRAJ *AE* 385-386 (to Lat *tama* 'swelling (on the leg)' or to Lith *tužis* 'bile').

**tërboj** aor. *tërbova* 'to have a dry mouth; to infuriate; to pamper (children)'. Borrowed from Lat *turbāre* 'to ruffle, to agitate' (CAMARDA I 195, 203; MEYER *Wb.* 429). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1039, 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155.

**tërë** ~ **tanë** adj. 'whole, all'. Continues Palb *\*twana* < *\*tuono-* derived from IE *\*teuə-* 'to swell' (SPITZER *MRIW* I 331-332) and morphologically close to Lith *tvinti* 'to rise, to swell (of water)', *tvānas* 'flood'. For the semantic development, cf. Lat *tōtus* continuing the same *\*teuə-*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 429 (from Rom *\*tōtānus* to Lat *tōtus* 'whole'); MANN *Language* XVII 23; FRAENKEL 1154; WALDE-HOFMANN II 695-696; POKORNY I 1080-1083; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258; JANSON *Unt.* 31.

**tërfojë** f 'trefoil, shamrock'. Borrowed from Lat *trifolium* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 27). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67 (from Ital *trifoglio* id.); MEYER *Wb.* 429 (follows MIKLOSICH 67); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; ÇABEJ *St.* II 177 (agrees with MIKLOSICH); HAARMANN 154; LANDI *Lat.* 102, 108, 126.

**tërmał** adv. 'downwards'. Another form is *tërma*. Prefixal derivative of *mał* (MEYER *Wb.* 255; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 542). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 177.

**tërmet** m, pl. *tërmete* 'earthquake'. Another form is *termek*. Borrowed from Rom *\*terrae mōtus* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 427). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66 (from Ital *terremuoto* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; MANN *Language* XXVI 386-387; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 64, 128, 159.

**tërmonë** adv. 'always, ever'. A prefixal form based on *muaj*.



**tērpi** f 'tuberculosis'. Based on an unattested \**tērpis* 'to suffer, to endure, to bear' borrowed from Slav \**tъrpěti* id., cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *търпа*, *тър'а*, SCr *trpljeti* (MEYER *Wb.* 430). ◊ SVANE 183.

**tērpjetē** adv. 'up, upwards'. Compound consisting of *tēr-* and *pjetē*, cf. *tatēpjetē*.

(T) **tērsirē** f, pl. *tērsira* 'rope (made of genista)'. Borrowed from Rum *tārsinā*, itself from Bulg *trāsina* 'horse-hair' (CAPIDAN *DR* III 885-886). The rhotacism is of analogical origin. ◊ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 158; JOKL *AARBSt* I 46 (from Slav \**torčina* 'band' but then one should expect Rum *tārcinā*), *Sb. Miletič* 118-120; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 323 (agrees with JOKL); ÇABEJ *St.* II 177-178 (from Bulg *trāsina*); JANSON *Unt.* 65-67.

**tērshērē ~ tērshanē** f 'oats'. In Geg there is also a form *trishanē*. Borrowed from Rom \**trimēnsānum* for Lat *trimēnse triticum* (MEYER *Wb.* 430), cf. OĪtal *tremeste* 'cereal needing three months to ripen' < Lat *trimestris*. ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 154.

**tērthortē** adj. 'oblique, indirect'. Based on an unattested \**tērthor*. Prefixal derivative in *tēr-* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 178-179) based on \**thor*. The latter reflects PALb \**tsāsra* continuing IE \**k̑es-ro-*, to Skt *sāsati* 'to slaughter, to cut down', Gk *κέαζω* 'to split' and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 255 (from Rom \**trānsvertōrius*); POKORNY I 586; PISANI *KZ* LXXI 63-64 (from Lat *tortus* 'twisted').

**tērrkas** aor. *tērkata* 'to be out of tune'. Borrowed from Slav \**tъrkati* 'to rub, to touch, to stir, to knock', also used as an onomatopoeia, cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *търкам*, SCr *trkati*.

**tētym ~ tētīm** m 'cold season, cold'. Singularized univerbation of *tē tyma*, to *tym*, as supported by the following expression: *u diqa sē tymi ~ me dekē sē timi* 'to die of cold' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 179). ◊ CAMARDA II 140 (to Gk *τῆταίνω* 'to stretch'); LAMBERTZ *KZ* LIII 301 (to *tym*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 179 (*tē-* treated as a prefix).

**tī** pon. 'thou'. From PALb \**tū* continuing IE \**tā* id.: Av *tū*, Gk *σύ*, Lat *tū*, OĪr *tú* and the like (CAMARDA I 217; MEYER *Wb.* 430, *Alb. St.* III 23). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 282; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 109; TAGLIAVINI *Dal-*

*mazia* 267; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 71; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; FRISK II 817; WALDE-HOFMANN II 712; BARTHOLOMAE 654-655; POKORNY I 1097-1098; ÇABEJ *St. II* 179-180; HULD 116; DEMIRAJ *AE* 386-387.

**tillĕ** adj. 'such'. Continues PAIb *\*tila* based on the pronominal stem *\*tjo-* and similar in its formation to ON *þít* 'there'  $\diamond$  MEYER *Wb.* 425 (to IE *\*to-*); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 200 (to Lat *tālis* 'such'); POKORNY I 1086-1087; ÇABEJ *St. II* 181 (analogical formation based on *ti, tij*).

**timĕr ~ timĕn** m 'weft, woof'. Borrowed from Lat *tegminem* 'cover' (WAGNER *ZfromPhil* XXXIX 102).  $\diamond$  MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; ÇABEJ *St. II* 181 (explains *timĕr* as a singularized plural with a secondary *-i-*); HAARMANN 152; LANDI *Lat.* 117, 147.

**tinĕ** f 'slime, mud'. Borrowed from Slav *\*tina* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *tina*, SCr *tina* (SVANE 169).

**tinĕz** adj. 'secret'. Continues an earlier noun *\*tĕjnĕ* borrowed from Slav *\*tajbna* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *tajna*, SCr *tajna* (MEYER *Wb.* 431).

**tingĕ** f, pl. *tinga* 'tench'. Borrowed from Lat *tinca* id.

**tingĕlloj** aor. *tingĕllova* 'to ring, to sound'. Another variant is *tringĕlloj* 'to knock, to ring' (MEYER *Wb.* 432). Based on *tingull* 'sound, ring' continuing an unattested Rom *\*tinnunculus*, cf. Lat *tinnuncula* 'kestrel', *tinnulus* 'sonorous, resonant'.

**tirĕ** f 'bundle, skein, hank'. Derived from *tjerr*.

**tirĕ ~ tinĕ** f, pl. *tira ~ tina* 'large wine barrel'. Borrowed from Lat *tina* 'wine vessel' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66; MEYER *Wb.* 430). The parallel Geg form *tî* seems to reflect Rom *\*tĭnum* > Ital *тино* id. (ÇABEJ II 181-182).  $\diamond$  MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; JOKL *BA* IV 209 n. 1 (from Latin rather than Ital *тино* id.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; JANSON *Unt.* 59; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 141.

**tirk** m, pl. *tirq* 'white felt', pl. *tirq* 'felt gaiters'. Another form is *tire*. Together with Rum *tureac* 'top (of a boot)' (DIEFENBACH I 250; MEYER

Wb. 431) borrowed with an East Germanic cognate of OHG *theobroch* 'gaiters': Goth or Gepid \**þiuhbrōks* (DICULESCU *ZfromPh* XLIX 399; JOKL *Balkangerm.* 116-118). ◇ KRISTOFORIDHI 424 (to *tjerr*); OŠTIR *Anthropos* VIII 169 n. 1 (to Lat *tergum* 'back, spine'); TREIMER *ZfromPh* XXXVIII 392 (to Russ *perčatka* 'glove'); SANDFELD *LBalk* 97; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 265; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 93-94 (to Lat *torqueō* 'to turn'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 113 (suffix *-k*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 182-183 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI), IV 90-93.

**tis** m 'yew'. Borrowed from Slav \**tisъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *tis*, SCr *tis* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 184; SVANE 130.

**titull** m, pl. *tituj* 'title, ground of right or claim'. Borrowed from Lat *titulus* id.

**tjegull** f, pl. *tjegulla* 'brick'. Borrowed from Lat *tēgula* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 65; MEYER *Wb.* 431, *Alb. St.* IV 65). ◇ CAMARDA I 161 (to Gk *στέγη* 'cover, roof'); MEYER-LÜBKE *MRIW* I 25, *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1049; JOKL *Studien* 105, *LKUBA* 50; TREIMER *MRIW* I 251; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 268; HELBIG 31, 133 (from Ital *tegola* id.); ÇABEJ *St.* II 184; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 135.

**tjerr** aor. *torra* 'to spin'. Continues PALb \**terka* related to Tokh B *tärk-* 'to turn' (only as part. pret.), Lat *torqueō* id. and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 431, *Alb. St.* III 23, 84). For the development of the cluster \**-rk-* < \**-rkʷ-* cf. *mjel*. ◇ CAMARDA I 41 (to Gk *τέρω* 'to rub'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 268; JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 38; PEDERSEN *BB* XX 231, *KZ* XXXIII 542 (reconstructs \**terknō*); MANN *Language* XXVI 382; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 195-196 (to *turr* and, further, to Gk *τόπος* 'tool for drawing a circle'), *St. IE* 44; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 49; WALDE-HOFMANN II 692-693; CHANTRAINE 134; VAN WINDEKENS I 503; POKORNY I 1077; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 209; ÇABEJ *St.* II 184-185 (follows CAMARDA and CIMOCHOWSKI); DEMIRAJ *AE* 387.

**tjetër** adj., pl. *tjerë* 'other'. In dialects, the original paradigm *jetër, jatër*, pl. *tjerë* is still preserved. The form *tjetër* result from crasis with the preceding particle *të* and/or analogical influence of plural. Goes back to PALb \**etera* (with a mobile stress: sg. \**étera* ~ pl. \**etérai*) related to Slav \**eterъ* 'some, somebody' (MEYER *Wb.* 162, *Alb. St.* III 85). ◇

BOPP 489 (to Skt *āntara-* 'interior'); CAMARDA I 215 (compares *tjetër* with Gk *ἕτερος* 'other' but the latter goes back to *\*sm-tero-*); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 71; PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 177; LA PIANA *Studi* I 93 (follows CAMARDA); JOKL *Studien* 93, *IF* XXXVI 115, *LKUBA* 98; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 268; PISANI *Saggi* 131; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; POKORNY I 284; HAMP *Laryngeals* 138; ÇABEJ *St.* II 185-187; VASMER II 29; HULD 117; DEMIRAJ *AE* 208.

**tkurr** aor. *tkurra* 'to make small, to press together'. Prefixal derivative based on *\*kurr* < PAIb *\*kursa*, a zero-grade etymologically connected with Hitt *karš-*, *karšija-* 'to cut off', MlR *corr* 'stunted' and other continuants of IE *\*(s)ker-s-*. ◊ VENDRYES [C] 211-212; POKORNY I 945; ÇABEJ *St.* II 187 (to *korr* and *shkurre*).

**tlandër** f, pl. *tlandra* 'bundle'. Derived from *lëndë*.

**tmerr** m 'horror, fright'. Other variants are *mner*, *kmer* and *mer*. Borrowed from Lat *timōrem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66; MEYER *Wb.* 431). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 146; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 190; ÇABEJ *St.* II 187-189 (to Gmc *\*maron* 'nightmare', Slav *\*mora* id. or to Gk *μέριμνα* 'thought, trouble, uneasiness'); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 64-65, 130.

**toçillë** f, pl. *toçilla* 'whetstone'. Borrowed from Slav *\*točidlo* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *točilo*, SCr *točilo* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172). ◊ SVANE 72, 242.

**toçis** aor. *toçita* 'to press the juice out of grapes'. Borrowed from Slav *\*točiti* 'to secrete, to make flow', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *toča*, SCr *točiti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 433). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 183; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237; SVANE 72, 242.

**tog** m, pl. *togje* 'heap, pile'. Continues PAIb *\*tāga*, a long grade of IE *\*(s)teg-* 'to cover', cf. in particular Gk *τέγη* 'roof', OIr *tech* 'house' < IE *\*tegos*. The same vowel grade may be attested in Lith *stiegti* 'to thatch (a roof)' if the latter reflects *\*stēgti*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 431; FRAENKEL 904; FRISK II 780-781; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 30; POKORNY I 1013-1014.

**tojë** f, pl. *toja* 'lace'. A parallel form is *tonjë*. Borrowed from Venet *togna* id. (TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 269). ◊ ALESSIO apud ÇABEJ *St. II* 190 (from Rom *\*tonia*).

**tok** aor. *toka* 'to cut (meat), to sharpen (a scythe), to knock'. An onomatopoeia with an original meaning 'to knock'. Similar verbs are also attested in Romance, cf. Ital *toccare* 'to touch, to tap'.

**tokë** f, pl. *toka* 'earth, land, soil, ground, plot of land, field'. Borrowed from Slav *\*tokъ* 'threshing floor' (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 18). Another widespread variant *trokë* is explained by the influence of *trokas*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 432 (considers *tokë* 'earth' to be connected with *toká* 'belt buckle'); JOKL *Studien* 80; MLADENOV 635; ÇABEJ *St. fil.* 1966/2 84, *St. II* 190 (to *terë*); OREL *Balkanica* 111-112 (improbable explanation from an unknown Indo-European substratum language close to Hittite), *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 363; MURATI *Probleme* 133-134.

**tokël** f, pl. *tokla* 'piece'. Derived from *tokë* id., of Italian origin. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 432 (on *tokë*).

**tolle** f 'bald spot; drum membrane'. Continues PALb *\*rāslā* < *\*tēkslā* etymologically related to Lat *tēla* 'cloth', OHG *dehsala* 'axe', Slav *\*tesla* id. < *\*tēkslā*, further derived from IE *\*teḱp-* 'to weave, to hew'. ◊ WALDE-HOFMANN II 655; VASMER IV 51; POKORNY I 1058-1059.

**topër** f, pl. *topra* 'small axe'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*toporъ* 'axe' (MEYER *Wb.* 432). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 172-173; SVANE 78.

**topil** m 'pit filled with water'. Borrowed from Slav *\*topidlo*, a deverbative of *\*topiti* 'to sink', cf., for example, Bulg *topilo* 'deep pit in the river'. ◊ SVANE 59.

**topis** aor. *topita* 'to blunt; to frighten, to discourage'. Borrowed from Slav *\*topiti* 'to blunt' (MEYER *Wb.* 417), cf. South Slavic reflexes: SCr *tupiti*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 432 (*topis* 'to discourage' from SCr *stupiti* 'to step, to walk'); ÇABEJ *St. II* 190-191; SVANE 242.

**torishtë** f, pl. *torishta* 'sheep enclosure'. Borrowed from Slav *\*toriščę* 'enclosure', cf. South Slavic forms with the same or close meaning:

Bulg *tor*, *torište*, SCr *tor* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 165). ◇ SVANE 63, 141.

**tork** m, pl. *torqe* 'beam of the oil-press; wine-press'. An analogical back-formation based on \**torq*. The latter is borrowed from Ital *torchio* 'press' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 66). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 433 (from Lat *torculum* 'wine- or oil-press'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; JOKL *LKUBA* 105, 144; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 142.

**torolec** m, pl. *toroleca* 'cricket'. Derived from *torolis*. The form *torovan* may be an emphatic transformation of *torolec*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 433 (to Slav \**ščurъ* 'grasshopper').

**torolingë** f, pl. *torolinga* 'toy pipe, flute'. Derived from *torolis*.

**tortë** f, pl. *torta* 'rope'. Borrowed from Lat *tortum* 'rope (for tortures)', cf. Rum *tort* 'yarn, thread' (MEYER *Wb.* 433) ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67 (from Latin or from Ital *torta*); PUŞCARIU *EWB* 162; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 153-154.

**torua** ~ **torue** m, pl. *toronj* 'trace; secret path'. Borrowed from Slav pl. \**torove* 'paths, traces' (JOKL *Slavia* XIII 302). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 433 (derived from *torrë*); SVANE 141.

**torrë** f 'circle'. Attested in Albanian dialects of Greece. Borrowed from Rom \**tornum* 'turn', cf. Ital *torno*, Fr *tour*, Prov *torn*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 433 (from Ital *torno*).

**torrloj** aor. *torrlova* 'to deceive'. Derived from *torrlë* 'screw', based on *torrë*.

**toskë** m, pl. *toskë* 'Tosk, North Albanian'. Borrowed from Ital *tosco* 'Tuscan' < Lat *Tūscus* 'Etruscan'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193.

**totolesh** m, pl. *totoleshë* 'credulous person'. An emphatic derivative of *lesh*.

**tra** pl. *trerë*, *trarë*, *trenj* 'beam, post'. Borrowed from Lat *trabem* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67; MEYER *Wb.* 433).

◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1040, 1053; JOKL *LKUBA* 128; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 271; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 154; LANDI *Lat.* 83, 144-146.

**tragĚ** f, pl. *tragĚ* 'trace'. Borrowed from Slav \**tragъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *trag*, *traga*, SCr *trag* (MEYER *Wb.* 433). ◊ SVANE 36.

**trajkĚ** f 'fishing net'. Identical with *tratkĚ* 'big fishing net', a local loanword from SCr *tratka* < Dalm *trakta* (SKOK *ZfromPhil* LIV 425). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 433 (< \**tralkĚ*, derivative in *-kĚ* borrowed from Rom \**tragula* 'trawling net'); JOKL *RIEB* II 59 (agrees with SKOK); ÇABEJ *St.* II 191 (follows MEYER); HAARMANN 153 (from Rom \**terraticum*), 154 (from Rom \**tragula*).

**trajstĚ** f, pl. *trajsta* 'sack, knapsack'. Another form is *trastĚ*. Borrowed from Rum *t(r)astră* id., a Balkan *Wanderwort* (MEYER *Wb.* 434).

**trajtĚ** f, pl. *trajta* 'form, shape'. Borrowed from Lat neut. *tractum*, participle of *trahō* 'to draw'. (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 154). ◊ LANDI *Lat.* 102, 121.

**trajtoj** aor. *trajtova* 'to deal with, to treat'. Borrowed from Lat *tractāre* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67; MEYER *Wb.* 434). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1054; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 73-74; HAARMANN 154.

**trakullij ~ trakullĭ** aor. *trakulliva* 'to knock (at the door)'. Other forms are *trakulloy*, *trokulloy*. Borrowed from Rom \**trūdicolāre*, a variant of \**trūdicāre* 'to push'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 434; MEYER-LÜBKE 679 (on Rom \**trūdicāre*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 191 (onomatopoeia).

**trakullues** m 'talker, windbag'. Derived from *trakullij ~ trakulloy* (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 60). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 434 (borrowed from SCr *traskalo* 'windbag'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 191 (agrees with VASMER).

**trangull** m, pl. *tranguj* 'cucumber'. Borrowed from MGk τεράγγυρον id. (MEYER *Wb.* 434).

**trap** m, pl. *trepe* 'pit, grave'. Borrowed from Slav \**trapъ* 'pit', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *trap*, SCr *trap* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente*

35; MEYER *Wb.* 434). ◇ CAMARDA I 40 (to Gk *τρυπάω* 'to drill, to bore'); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 60; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 168, 188; SVANE 38.

**trap** m, pl. *trapa* 'ferry'. From PALb *\*trapa* identical with Slav *\*tropa* 'path' and further related to IE *\*trep-* 'to tread' (VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 60). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 128 (to Lith *traupūs* 'fragile'); VASMER IV 105; POKORNY I 1094.

**tras** aor. *trita* 'to pull (a boat to the coast)'. Continues PALb *\*t(e)ratja*, etymologically related to Skt *tárati* 'to cross over' and its cognates. ◇ JOKL apud ČABEJ *St.* II 191 (from Rum *tras*, part. of *trage* 'to pull'); MAYRHOFER I 480; POKORNY I 1074-1075.

**trashë** adj. 'thick, fat'. From PALb *\*trauša*. Appears to be connected with Lith *trašūs* 'fat, fertile (of soil)', a form based on *trešiu* 'to rot, to manure' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 435) despite obvious phonetic difficulties: Lith *-q-* must reflect a nasal which, however, may be secondary; thus, it could be derived from *\*treu-s-*, cf. Slav *\*truxa* '(hay) dust', further derived from IE *\*treu-*: Gk *τρώω* 'to destroy, to exhaust', Slav *\*trovoq* 'to destroy' and the like. ◇ CAMARDA I 71 (to Gk *τραχύς* 'jagged, rugged'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 18 (from Lat *crassus* 'solid, thick, fat' ~ Rom *\*grassus*); MEYER *Wb.* 435 (follows MIKLOSICH); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 61; SCHMIDT *KZ* L 245 (to OIr *trén*, ON *brekr*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 269; BÜGA II 178; MANN *Language* XVII 18 (to Slav *\*r̥l̥st̥b* 'fat, thick'); FRAENKEL 1112; POKORNY I 1072-1073.

**trashëgoj** aor. *trashëgova* 'to inherit'. Borrowed from Lat *trānsigere* 'to reach an accord, to carry out transaction' (MEYER *Wb.* 435).

**trath** m, pl. *trathë* 'roof plank'. As well as *trazue* 'kind of beam' derived from *tra*.

**trazoj** aor. *trazova* 'to mix'. Another and more archaic form is *tramë-zoj*. Borrowed from Rom *\*trānsmediāre* > Ital *tramezzare* 'to divide' (MEYER *Wb.* 435). ◇ CAMARDA I 40 (to Gk *ταράσσω* 'to shuffle, to mix'); KRISTOFORIDHI 428 (follows CAMARDA); JOKL *Slavia* XIII 321 (from Slav *\*tražiti* 'to seek'); ČABEJ *St.* II 192 (from Ital *travasare* 'to pour from one vessel into another'), IV 93-94.



**tre** num., f *tri* 'three'. From PALB \**treje* continuing IE \**trejes* id.: Skt *trayaḥ*, Gk τρεῖς, Lat *trēs* and the like (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; CAMARDA I 76; MEYER *Wb.* 435, *Alb. St.* II 43, III 24, 63, 72). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIV 291, *Kelt. Gr.* I 132; FRISK II 921-922; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 270; MANN *Language* XXVIII 31; MAYRHOFER I 531; WALDE-HOFMANN II 702-703; POKORNY I 1090-1092; SZEMERÉNYI *Numerals* 81; HULD 117; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 47; HAMP *Numerals* 906-907; CLACKSON *LR* 209; DEMIRAJ *AE* 387-388.

**tredh** aor. *trodha* 'to castrate'. Continues PALB \**treuda* etymologically related to Lat *trūdō* 'to push', Goth *us-priutan* 'to burden', Slav \**trudъ* 'labor, work' (MEYER *Wb.* 435, *Alb. St.* III 24, 28, 72). ◊ PISANI *Saggi* 130; VASMER IV 108; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 243; WALDE-HOFMANN II 710; FEIST *Goth.* 535-536; POKORNY I 1095-1096; HULD 156, 167; DEMIRAJ *AE* 388.

**treg** m. pl. *tregje* 'market'. Borrowed from early South Slavic \**trъgъ* (OCS *trъgъ*) < Slav \**trъgъ* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 436, *Alb. St.* I 23). ◊ DIFENBACH II 125; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67 (from Ital *tregua* 'armistice'); JOKL *Studien* 115 (follows MEYER), *Reallex.Vorgesch.* I 88 (continues *terg-* in the Illyrian place-name *Tergeste*); MLADENOV *Ist.* 356; MILETIĆ *Sp. BAN* XVI/9, 35-42 (-e-reflects West Macedonian [ä] < \*ъ); ANTTILA *Schw.* 100; ÇABEJ *St.* II 193 (reconstructs \**trag* going back to Illyrian).

**tregoj** aor. *tregova* 'to show, to tell, to prove, to declare'. Derived from *treg* as a calque of Gk ἀγορεύω 'to talk, to declare' as based on ἀγορά 'market, place' (JOKL *Studien* 115). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 436 (borrowed from Lat *trādere* 'to pass, to tell'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 538 (against MEYER); ÇABEJ *St.* II 193-194 (follows JOKL).

**tremb** aor. *tremba* 'to frighten'. Continues PALB \**trema* related to Tokh A *tärm-* 'to get angry', Gk τρέμω 'to tremble (of fear)', Lat *tremō* id. (MEYER *BB* VIII 187, *Wb.* 436, *Alb. St.* III 24, 65, 72). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 67 (from Lat *tremere*); PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX 211; JOKL *Studien* 27, *Festschr. Kretschmer* 92; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1050 (follows MIKLOSICH); TREIMER *ZfromPhil* XXXVIII 302; KIECKERS *IF* XXIII 364; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 270; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 43; FRISK II 922-923; WALDE-HOFMANN II 701; VAN WINDEKENS I 504; POKORNY I 1092-1093; DEMIRAJ *AE* 388-389.

**treme** f, pl. *treme* 'porch'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *trem*, *tr'am* 'inner porch, outer entrance hall', SCr *trijem*, *trem* 'porch' (MIK-LOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 436).

**trenoj** aor. *trenova* 'to become mad, to become stupid'. Derived from *tra*, pl. *trenj*, cf. Lat *stultus* 'stupid' ~ *stolō* 'shoot, branch, twig', Russ *ostolbenet* 'to be bewildered' ~ *stolb* 'column, post'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 434 (to Ital *strano* 'strange' or SCr *krenuti* 'to bend, to incline'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 194 (to *terrnoj* 'to change').

**tres** aor. *treta* 'to melt, to loosen, to dissolve'. From PALb *\*trōtja* etymologically identical with Slav *\*tratjō*, *\*tratiti* 'to spend, to waste' (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 37). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 436 (borrowed from Slav *\*tratiti*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; VASMER IV 94-95.

**trevē** f, pl. *treva* 'land, area; peace, quiet'. Borrowed from MGk τρέβα 'truce' < OFr *treve* id. (JOKL *Litteris* IV 197, *Slavia* XIII 317). ◊ CAMARDA I 42 (to Gk τπίβος 'path, way'); MEYER *Wb.* 353 (borrowed from Lat *trivium* 'crossroads'); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 255 (to OFr *triege*); SANDFELD *LBalk* 57; ÇABEJ *St.* II 194 (follows JOKL).

**trevoj** aor. *trevova* 'to succeed, to prosper'. Derived from *trevē* (CAMARDA I 106). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 436 (from Slav *\*terba* 'need, necessity'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 194 (follows CAMARDA).

**trikē** f, pl. *trika* 'twig, branch'. From PALb *\*treikā*, a derivative of *tre*. For the semantic development cf. E *twig*, Slav *\*dviǰь* 'branch' < *\*duǰho-* based on *\*dyō* 'two'. ◊ JOKL *Slavia* XIII 289 (to *trim*); TRUBAČEV *Ėtimologija* 1964 4-6; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (from *\*trk-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 389-390.

**trim** m, pl. *trima* 'hero', adj. 'brave, courageous'. From PALb *\*trima* related to IE *\*tr̥mo-*, cf. Arm *t'arm* 'young, fresh, green' and other continuants of IE *\*ter-* 'weak, young'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 437 (to Gk τέρην 'soft, delicate'), *Alb. St.* III 24, 64; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 289; AČAREAN *HAB* II 161; MANN *Language* XXVI 388; POKORNY I 1070-1071; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* III 41; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 (-ri- as a reflex of IE *\*-r-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 389.

**trink** adj. 'brand new'. Emerged from the expression *i ri trink* id., a

semi-calque of Venet *novo de trinca*, Ital *nuovo di trinca* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 195). ◇ JOKL *Slavia* XIII 290 (< \**trim-kě*, derived from *trim*).

**trirě** ~ **trině** f, pl. *trina* ~ *trira* 'harrow'. Borrowed from Rom \**trina* 'bundle, lace' > Ital *trina* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 195). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 437 (from Ital *trina*); RESTELLI *RIL* LXXXIX - XC 422 (to Gk τείρω 'to rub'), XCII 609 (to *tjerr*); JANSON *Unt.* 59-60.

**trisk** m, pl. *trisque* 'shoot (of vine)'. Etymologically close to *triskě*.

**triskě** f, pl. *triska* 'piece of wood, shavings'. Borrowed from Slav \**trěska* 'chip' otherwise unattested in South Slavic. The substitution of Slav -ě- > Alb -i- may reflect an early loanword.

**trishe** f, pl. *trishe* 'shooting, sprout'. An early borrowing from Slav \**trěsz* 'grape, stalk', cf. SCR *trs* (PEDERSEN *RomJb* IX I 217). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 437, 526 (to SCR *trs* 'grape, vine'), *Alb. St.* III 24, 61; SCHEFTELOWITZ *KZ* LVI 166 (to Gk θρινία ἄμπελος ἐν Κρήτη, Hes.); PEDERSEN *Krit. Jahresbericht* IX 217 (borrowed from Slav \**trěstě* 'cane'); GEORGIEV *Kr.-myk.* I 69 (to Gk θύρσος 'thyrsus'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 195-196 (to Gk τρέχνοσ 'shooting, twig'), IV 219; DEMIRAJ *AE* 389-390 (to *tre*).

**trishtoj** aor. *trishtova* 'to make sorry'. Derived from \**trishtě* borrowed from Lat *tristis* 'sad' (MEYER *Wb.* 437). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 154.

**troç** adv. 'straightforwardly'. Based on Gk τρόπος 'direction' with an adverbial suffix -ç.

**troftě** f, pl. *trofta* 'trout'. Borrowed from Lat *tructa* id. (STIER *KZ* XI 136; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER *Wb.* 437 with doubts). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1054; ERNOUT-MEILLET 704; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct* 74-77; HAARMANN 154; LANDI *Lat.* 67, 102, 122.

**trohas** aor. *trohasa* 'to crumble'. Derived from *trohě* 'crumb', borrowed from Slav \**troxa* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *troxa*, SCR *troha* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 437).

**troke** f, pl. *troke* 'kind of cow-bell'. From PALb \**trākā* etymological-

ly related to Skt *tarkú-* 'spindle', Tokh A *tark-* 'earring' and the like. See *tjerr*. ◇ MAYRHOFER I 485; VAN WINDEKENS I 492; POKORNY I 1077.

**trokoj** aor. *trokova* 'to make dirty; to destroy'. In both meanings, derived from *trokĕ* 'earth', a variant of *tokĕ*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 438-439 (to Ital dial. *truché* 'to push', *struccare* 'to press, to squeeze out').

**trondit** aor. *trondita* 'to swing'. An early borrowing from Slav *\*trōtiti* 'to push', cf. Czech *trútiti*, Pol *trącić* (MEYER *Wb.* 438). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 291; SVANE 242.

**troshis** aor. *troshita* 'to crumble, to break'. Borrowed from Slav *\*trošiti* id. (cf. Bulg *troša*, SCr *trošiti*), see *trohĕ* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 437). ◇ SVANE 94, 243.

**tru** ~ **trû** m, pl. *tru* ~ *trû* 'brain'. Continues PALB *\*taruna* identical with Skt *táruṇa-* 'young, tender', Av *tauruna-* 'young', cf. also Gk τέρην 'tender', τέρην ἄσθενές, λεπτόν (Hes.) and the like. ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 82 (to Lat *tempus* 'temple'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 97-98; MANN *Language* XVII 14 (from *\*entṛno-*); FRISK II 879; MAYRHOFER I 483; POKORNY I 1070.

**truaj** ~ **truej** aor. *trova* 'to put aside'. Borrowed from Lat *trādere* 'to pass, to give, to transfer' (HAARMANN 154). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 369 (connected with *ruaj*); MANN *Language* XXVI 382 (to Skt *trāyāti*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 266.

**truall** ~ **truell** m, pl. *troje* 'foundation, plot of land, site'. Borrowed from Lat *tribulum* 'thresher, \*threshing-floor'. The semantic development is similar to that of *tokĕ*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 438 (from Rom *\*terriola*); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 137 (from Lat *terra* 'earth' with an Albanian suffix); ÇABEJ *St.* II 196-197 (related to *terĕ*).

**trubull** adj. 'turbid, troubled (water)'. Borrowed from Romance *\*turbulus* id.: Rum *turbure*, Ital Sicil *trúbbulu*, Fr *trouble* and the like. Cf. *trubulloj*. ◇ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 166.

**trubulloj** aor. *trubullova* 'to stir, to trouble (water)'. Borrowed from Rom *\*turbulāre* id.: Rum *turbura*, Fr *troubler* and the like. ◇ MEYER-

LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155.

**truç** m 'crowd'. Derived from *truc* (cf. *trys*), for the semantics cf. ON *þrōng* 'crowd' ~ *þrōngr* 'narrow', *þryngva* 'to press'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 438 (to *trokoj*); BUCK *Synonyms* 929-930.

**trumbĕ** f, pl. *trumba* 'water-pump; trumpet'. Another variant is *trumĕ*. Borrowed from Rom *\*trumba* ~ *\*trumpa* 'trumpet, (water) pipe': Ital *tromba*, OFr *trompe*, Prov *trompa* and the like. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68 (from Ital *tromba*); MEYER *Wb.* 438 (follows MIKLOSICH).

**trumiĕ** f, pl. *truma* 'crowd, group'. Metathesis of *turmĕ* under the influence of *truç*.

**trumzĕ** f, pl. *trumza* 'thyme'. Suffixal derivative of *\*trumĕ* < *\*turmĕ* borrowed from Gk θύμβρον 'savory' (MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* II 197).

**trung** m, pl. *trungje* 'trunk'. Borrowed from Lat *truncus* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER *Wb.* 438), ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 155; LANDI *Lat.* 102, 137-138.

**trup** m, pl. *trupa* 'corpse'. Borrowed from Slav *\*trupъ* id., cf. South Slavic reflections: Bulg *trup*, SCr *trup* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 35; MEYER *Wb.* 438-439). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; JOKL *LKUBA* 89; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 153, 195; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 271, *Stratificazione* 84; SVANE 178.

**trushkyej** aor. *trushkeva* 'to rob (a church)'. From Rom *\*trumpiscāre* 'to cheat', cf. *\*trumpāre* id. > Fr *tromper*. Further connection is Lat *trumphāre* 'to triumph'.

**tryelĕ** f, pl. *tryela* 'bore, drill'. Other variants are *turjelĕ*, *trujelĕ*. Borrowed from Rom *\*terebellum* id.: Ital *trivello*, Prov *taravela*, Port *travoela* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 452). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68 (from Ital *trivella*); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 260 (from Ital *trivello*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 202; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 153; LANDI *Lat.* 50.

**tryezë** f, pl. *tryeza* 'table'. Borrowed from dialectal (North Italian) Romance \**trabeza* < Gk τράπεζα id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 117-118: prefers to identify *tryezë* with Gk θρόνος 'seat, chair'). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 434 (from NGk τράπεζα 'table'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 271.

**trys** aor. *trysa* 'to press, to compress, to squeeze'. Parallel forms are *trus*, *truc*. From PALb \**trūtja*, a formation in \*-*tja* based on IE \**treu-* ~ \**trū-*: Gk τρώω 'to wear out, to exhaust', Lith *trūniù*, *trūnėti* 'to rot, to go foul'. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Lat *trūdō*); FRISK II 938; FRAENKEL 1132; POKORNY I 1026-1027; OREL *IF* XLIII 116-117 (to *tjerr*; PALb \**trūtja* reflects IE part. \**trūto-*).

**trystë** f 'gathering'. Derived from *trys*. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 124 (to *tryezë*).

**tufë** f, pl. *tufa* 'bunch of flowers, bundle'. Borrowed from Lat *tūfa* 'plume (on the helm)' (MEYER *Wb.* 439), Rom \**tūfa* 'bush, bunch': Rum *tufă*, Span *tufó* and the like. The same word is also used metaphorically to denote a 'crowd', probably, not without influence of *turmë*. ◊ CAMARDA II 61 (to Gk τύπτω 'to beat, to strike'); MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68 (from Ital *tuffo*); PUŞCARIU *EWB* 165; JOKL *Balkangerm.* 110-111 (from Gmc \**puba-*); LOEWE *KZ* XXXIX 272-274 (from Gmc \**pūfa*); TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 309; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155.

**tufk** m 'pollen'. Derived from *tufë*.

**tul** m, pl. *tule*, *tula* 'meat, flesh, pulp'. From PALb \**tula* etymologically connected with Gk τύλη 'swelling', Slav \**tylъ* 'back side' (CAMARDA I 131; MEYER *Wb.* 451, *Alb. St.* III 23, 80). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535, 543; SPITZER *MRIW* I 332; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 272, *Stratificazione* 98; VASMER IV 131; FRISK II 942; POKORNY I 1081; ÇABEJ *St.* II 197-198; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 390-391.

**tumbë** f, pl. *tumba* 'rock edge; pl. tombs'. Another variant is *tume* 'top of the rock'. Borrowed from Lat *tumba* 'tomb' (MEYER *Wb.* 452). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 25; HAARMANN 155.

**tumbë** f, pl. *tumba* 'bunch, brush'. An analogical transformation of *tufë*.

**tumullac** m, pl. *tumullaca* 'bubble, bladder'. Derived from \**tumull* borrowed from from Lat *tumulus* 'hill, heap'.

**tun** m, pl. *tunj* 'back, rear'. Borrowed from Slav \**tunъ* 'false, vain, futile', in South Slavic attested in Bulg *tun* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 19). Note *tuně* 'butt' belonging to this group. ◊ SVANE 79.

**tund** aor. *tunda* 'to move, to stir, to swing'. Continues PALb \**tunda*, a nasal present identical with Skt *tundate* 'to push, to strike', Lat *tundō* 'to push' (CAMARDA I 74). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 452; JOKL *Studien* 91 (to Skt *tamsáyati* 'to draw to and fro'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37; MAYRHOFFER I 511; WALDE-HOFMANN II 716-717; POKORNY I 1033-1034; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 232.

**turbë** f 'turf'. Borrowed from Rom \**turba*: Fr *tourbe*, Ital *torba* (from French).

**turfulloj** aor. *turfullova* 'to snort'. Borrowed from an unattested Rom \**trānsflāre* or \**trānsinflāre* 'to blow through'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 452 (from Ital *tronfio* 'swollen').

**turi** ~ **turf** pl. *turinj* 'trunk, muzzle'. Borrowed from Rom \**utrīnum* derived from Lat *uter* 'hose' (MEYER *Wb.* 452). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

**turis** aor. *turita* 'to frighten off (animals)'. Borrowed from Slav \**turiti* 'to drive away, to chase', cf. in South Slavic, in the meaning 'to push, to put, to drop': Bulg *tur'a*, SCr *turiti* (SVANE 247).

**turmë** f, pl. *turma* 'crowd, herd'. Borrowed from Lat *turma* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER *Wb.* 453). ◊ CAMARDA I 99 (to Ital *torma* id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1039, 1046; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 260; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155.

**turp** m 'shame'. Borrowed from Lat *turpe* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 26; CAMARDA I 143; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER *Wb.* 453). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1046; MANN *Language* XVII 14 (related to Lat *turpis*, Goth *þaurban*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 155; LANDI *Lat.* 84.

**turshej** aor. *tursheva* 'to break, to destroy'. Borrowed from Rom \**trūsāre* 'to push, to stir': Prov *truzar*, Engad *trüscher* and the like.

**turtull** m, pl. *turtuj* 'turtle-dove'. Borrowed, with a dissimilation of sono-

rants, from Lat *turtur* id. (STIER KZ XI 136; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 68; MEYER *Wb.* 453). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046, 1049; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 155; LANDI *Lat.* 84, 144-146.

**turrem** refl. 'to rush, to run'. Continues PALb *\*tura* etymologically connected with Skt *tūrtá-* 'quick, fast', OHG *dweran* 'to turn fast', ON *þyrja* 'to run' (MANN *Language* XXVIII 37). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 453 (to or from Slav *\*turiti* 'to drive away, to chase'); MAYRHOFER I 514; POKORNY I 1100; MURATI *Probleme* 134.

**turrë** f, pl. *turra* 'haystack, pile of logs, tower'. Borrowed from Lat *turrem* 'tower' (WEIGAND 91; ÇABEJ *St.* II 198). ◊ MANN *Language* XXVIII 37 (to W *twr* 'pile').

**tus** aor. *tuta* 'to frighten'. Continues PALb *\*tutja* based on a deverbal adjective in *\*-to-* and related to ON *þeya* 'to melt', OHG *douwen* id. with 'being silent' as an intermediary stage of semantic development. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 453 (from Turk *tutmak* 'to seize'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Gk ἀτὺζομαι); TRUBAČEV *PIEJa* 100-105 (on the development of meaning); ÇABEJ *St.* II 198 (related to *tund*).

**tutje** adv. 'there, on the other side'. Compound of *tu-* and *-tje* (as in *atje*). The first component continues PALb adverbial *\*tu* preserved in *këtu* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 199) and related to IE demonstrative *\*to-* (CAMARDA I 317; MEYER *Wb.* 425). The other component goes back to PALb *\*te* of uncertain origin.

**tuturis** aor. *tuturita* 'to sing (of swallows)'. An onomatopoeia (MEYER *Wb.* 453).

**tym** m 'smoke'. Hardly a loanword from Gk θυμός 'soul, spirit' as far as the latter is unknown in any meaning close to 'smoke'. Rather, continues PALb *\*ātuma* connected with Gmc *\*ēdumaz* 'breath' and further related to Skt *ātán-* 'blow, breath, soul'. The inlaut *-y-* in the Albanian word may be secondary. ◊ CAMARDA I 53 (related to Gk θυμός); MEYER *Wb.* 93 (secondary formation based on *tymos* 'to smoke' < CS *timjasati* 'to burn incense' < Gk θυμιάμα 'incense'); KRISTOFORIDI HI 363 (to IE *\*dhūmos*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 272; OREL *Balcanica*



110-111 (from a substratum continuation of IE *\*dhūmos*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 217, 254; HULD 117.

**typth** m, pl. *typtha* 'little hammer'. Diminutive of *\*typ* < PALb *\*tūpa* related to Skt *tupāti*, *tūmpati* 'to harm, to hurt', Gk *τύπτω* 'to strike with a weapon'. ∅ FRISK II 945-946; MAYRHOFER I 512-513; POKORNY I 1034.

**tytë** f, pl. *tyta* 'pipe, tube, barrel', adj. 'empty, unnecessary, futile'. From PALb *\*tūtā*, probably related to IE *\*teuə-* 'to swell'. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 77 (explains *tytë* 'trunk' from *\*dytë*, borrowed from Rom *\*ductus*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Lith *tūščias*); POKORNY I 1080-1085; OREL *Balcanica* 112-113 (to a substratum continuation of IE *\*dhūto-* derived from *\*dhū-* 'to blow').

## Th

**thadër** f 'kind of a double-sided axe'. Continues PALb *\*tsestrā* identical with Skt *śastrā-* 'knife, sword'. The auslaut *-dër* may be considered to be a regular result of the non-initial *\*-str-*. ∅ JOKL *LKUBA* 157-159 (to IE *\*kes-dhro-*, to *\*kes-* 'to cut'); BARIÇ *Hymje* 10; MAYRHOFER III 319; POKORNY I 586; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 62 (from *\*kontro-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 199 (< *\*thardë*, postverbal derivative of *\*thar*, cf. *ther*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 391-392 (to Skt *śitā-* 'sharp').

**thaj** aor. *thava* 'to dry'. From PALb *\*sausnja*, a derivative of IE *\*sauso-* 'dry'; Gk *αῖθος*, MHG *sôr*, Lith *sausas*, Slav *\*suxъ* (MEYER *Wb.* 88, *Alb. St.* III 43, 92). Note the dissimilation of sibilants leading to *\*s-* > *th-*. The adjective *thatë* 'dry' is a deverbative derived from an unattested PALb *\*sausa*. ∅ CAMARDA I 76 (to Gk *δασύς* 'thick with leaves, hairy, shaggy'); PEDERSEN *Alb. Texte* 34, *KZ* XXXIII 543, XXXVI 283; JOKL *Studien* 61, *LKUBA* 261; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 300-301; PISANI *Saggi* 102; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233; FRISK I 188-189; FRAENKEL 766; VASMER III 813; MANN *Language* XXVI 381, *Hist. Gr.* 184 (to Gk *καυτός* 'burnt, red-hot', inconvincing semantically and inaccurate phonetically); ÇABEJ *St.* II 199-200 (reconstructs *\*sauknjō* and compares *thaj* with *σαυκόν· ξηρόν*, Hes.); HULD 117-118; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; DEMIRAJ *AE* 392.

**thanĕ** f, pl. *thana*, *thanĕ* 'cornel'. Participle of *thaj* (MEYER *Wb.* 88 with an alternative comparison with Lat *cornus* id.). ◊ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk θάμνος 'bush, shrub'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332 (to OIr *congan* 'horn'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 9-10 (from \**korngo-*, cf. Skt *śṅga-* 'peak', Gk κραγγών 'small crustacean'); JOKL apud WALDE-HOFMANN I 277 (to Lith *šaūnas* 'quick, strong'); FRIEDRICH *Trees* 118 (borrowed from Greek or Thraco-Phrygian); ÇABEJ *St.* II 200-201 (follows PEDERSEN); HULD *KZ* XCV 306-307 (from \**sosdh-nā*, cf. Lat *sorbum* 'serviceberry' < \**sosdhom*); JANSON *Unt.* 92-94; DEMIRAJ *AE* 393 (from Gk θάμνος).

**thar** aor. *thara* 'to add ferment to milk'. Historically identical with *ther*. For the semantic development cf. Lith *kartūs* 'bitter' - *kiřsti* 'to cut, to hew', Goth *bairts* 'bitter' - *beitan* 'to bite', Latv *skābs* 'sour' - Lith *skabėti* 'to cut, to hew'. ◊ BUCK *Synonyms* 1033-1035; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 225, 239.

**thark** m, pl. *tharq*, *tharqe* 'enclosure (especially, for milking)'. Continues PAIb \**tserka*, a derivative of *thur* < \**tsurja*. Borrowed to Rum *țarc*. ◊ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk έρκος 'fence, enclosure'); MEYER *Alb. St.* III 39 (from IE \**kyorkos*); PETERSSON *Heter.* 134 (same as MEYER); CAPIDAN *DR* II 552 (Rum *țarc* from Albanian); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 691 (Rum *țarc* from Lat *circus*); DENSUȘIANU *GS* I 245-248 (from Iranian); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (suffix *-k*); REICHENKRON *Dakische* 165 (Rum *țarc* < Dacian < IE \**serk-*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 351; KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 200-203; ROSETTI *ILR* I 282; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 199, 204.

**tharm** m 'sour dough, yogurt ferment'. Derived from *thar*. ◊ JOKL *WuS* XII 90 (to Lith *šarmas* 'lye'); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 202.

**thartĕ** adj. 'sour'. Another form is *tharbĕt* from where *thartĕ* seems to have been derived phonetically. Rum *sarbād* is borrowed from PAIb \**tsarbata* (for a voiced auslaut cf. also the name of the Beskidy mountains continuing PAIb \**beskai tai*). The source of this word is \**tharbĕ*, derived from *thar*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 88, *Alb. St.* III 13, 72, 87, V 75 (to Lith *šarmas* 'lye' and its cognates); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332 (to Lat *acerbus* id.); JOKL *WuS* XII 90 (to *tharm*); RESTELLI *RIL* XCI 538-539 (to IE \**sāro-* 'sour'); PUȘCARIU *EW*R 136 (together with Rum *sarbād* - from Rom \**exalbidus*); MANN *Language* XVII 18 (*tharbĕt* related to Lat *acerbus*); PISANI *Saggi* 122; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II

347; ROSETTI *ILR* I 281; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 120 (suffix *-bë* in *tharbë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 201-202 (derived from *ther*).

**thashëm** adv. 'on an empty stomach'. An adverbial form based on *thaj*.

**thatë** adj. 'dry'. Derivative of *thaj* (JOKL *LKUBA* 278). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

**theç** adj. 'fragile'. Derived from *thyej*.

**thek** aor. *theka* 'to roast, to toast (bread)'. Continues PAIb *\*tsaka* from IE *\*k<sub>1</sub>nk-* attested also in Greek, both in zero and full grades: κέκει·πεινᾶ, καγκομένης·ξηρᾶς τῷ φόβῳ (Hes.), πολυκαγκής 'burning strongly' (Hom.) and the like. Other parallels implying the initial *\*k-* (Skt *kānkṣati* 'to wish, to desire') are semantically too farfetched and should be ignored despite POKORNY I 565. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 88 (from Ital *seccare* 'to dry'), 440 (from Ital *secco* 'dry'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1053 (from Lat *siccāre* 'to dry'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 13 (to *thëngjill* and, further, to Skt *śocati* 'to shine, to glow'); MAYRHOFER I 194; FRISK I 750-751; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20 (from Latin); ÇABEJ *St.* II 202-203 (to *thaj*).

**thekë** f, pl. *thekë* 'fringe'. From PAIb *\*tsakā* etymologically close to Skt *śākhā* 'branch', Lith *šakà* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 88). ◊ PEDERSEN *IF* V 48 (follows MEYER), *KZ* XXXVI 332, *Kelt. Gr.* I 126; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 14 (same); LA PIANA *Studi* I 33 (against the comparison with *śākhā*); FRAENKEL 957-958; MAYRHOFER III 321-322; POKORNY I 523; ÇABEJ *LP* VII 191, VIII 90, *St.* II 203-204 (to *thek*); OREL *Sprache* XXXI 282, *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 393-394.

**thekër ~ thekën** f, pl. *thekëra ~ thekëna* 'rye'. Singularized plural of *thekë* (CAMARDA I 177-178) ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 88 (from Lat *secāle* id. with a shift of stress); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1053; PEDERSEN *IF* V 82 (agrees with MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt.* 13-15 (to *thikë*); JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 204 (repeats CAMARDA's etymology); SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 248 (agrees with MEYER); SPITZER *MRIW* I 315 (same).

**thel** m, pl. *thela* 'big nail'. Continues PAIb *\*tsala* related to Skt *śalā-*

'stick, cane', OIr *cail* 'spear', ON *hali* 'point of a pole'. ◇ POKORNY I 552-553.

**thelb** m, pl. *thelpinj*, *thalba*, *thelbna* 'kernel (of a nut)'. From PALb *\*tsalba*, a derivative of IE *\*kel-* 'to cover' from which various words for 'shell' are derived, cf. OHG *hulsa*, OE *hulu*. ◇ CAMARDA I 199; MEYER *Wb.* 89 (to Friul *sepe* id.); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 30 (to *bër-thamë*); JOKL *LKUBA* 192; SCHMIDT *KZ LVII* 1; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 177; PISANI *Saggi* 119; ÇABEJ *St.* II 204 (from IE *\*sphel-* 'to split'); POKORNY I 553-554.

**thellë** adj. 'deep; dark (of color)'. From PALb *\*tsawila* related to Gk *κοῖλος* 'hollow' < *\*κόφιλος* (PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 332). ◇ CAMARDA I 64; MEYER *Wb.* 88 (to Skt *sūnyá-* 'empty'), *Alb. St.* III 13, 90; LA PIANA *Studi* I 71 n. 1 (to Gk *θέλυμνα* 'foundation'); JOKL *Slavia XIII* 311, *RIEB* I 48; TREIMER *KZ LXV* 83; FRISK I 891-892; CHANTRAINE 552; PORZIG *Gliederung* 177; PISANI *Saggi* 119 (follows PEDERSEN); ÖLBERG *IBK XIV* 115; ÇABEJ *St.* II 204-206 (*thellë* < dialectal *fellë*, to IE *\*sphel-* 'to split'); HULD 118, *KZ XCII* 297-299 (reconstructs *\*kouHlo-*); KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 39; DEMIRAJ *AE* 394-395.

**thember** f, pl. *thembra* 'heel'. Continues PALb *\*tsambrā*, a derivative of IE *\*(s)kamb-* 'to bend': Gk *σκαμβός* 'bent, crooked', OIr *camm* id. ◇ CAMARDA I 62 (to Gk *θέναρ* 'palm'); MEYER *Wb.* 89, *Alb. St.* IV 120 (from Lat *femur* 'thigh'); FRISK II 716-717; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1053; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 298; POKORNY I 918 (reconstructs IE *\*(s)k-*); HAARMANN 126; RUSAKOV *RB* 138; ÇABEJ *St.* II 206-207 (the original meaning is 'bending').

**thep** m, pl. *thepa* 'peak, point, cog, tooth'. From PALb *\*tsaipa* etymologically identical with Skt *śépa-* 'tail, penis', Lat *cippus* 'pole' (JOKL *Studien* 20, 117). Borrowed to Rum *ţeapă*. ◇ LIDÉN *XXXIX/2* 52-54 (to Arm *sep* 'point, peak'); MAYRHOFER III 374-375; WALDE-HOFMANN I 219-200; POKORNY I 543; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 79; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 352; ROSETTI *ILR* I 282; HAMP *SCL XXXII* 428; ÇABEJ *St.* II 207-208; OREL *ZfBalk XXIII* 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 395-396.

**ther** aor. *thera* 'to slaughter, to pierce'. From PALb *\*tsera* related to Skt *śṛṇāti* 'to smash, to crush', Gk *κήρ* 'death', OIr *do-cer* '(he) fell' (MEYER *Wb.* 89). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 332; JOKL *LKUBA* 217-218, *ZONF X* 187; TREIMER *KZ LXV* 80-81 (to Lat *feriō* 'to strike'); TAGLIA-

VINI *Dalmazia* 115; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to *therrë* = *ferrë* and Lith *šerti* 'to eat, to graze'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 41; MAYRHOFER III 371-372; FRISK I 842-843; VENDRYES [C] 237-238; POKORNY I 578; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 111; ÇABEJ *St.* II 208-210 (to IE \**kers-* 'bristle'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 396-397.

**therokë** f 'Passerina hirsuta; sweepings'. Derived from *ther* (MEYER *Wb.* 89). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* V 75 (identical with *throkë* 'dung' from Gk φρόκαλον 'rubbish'); MANN *HAED* 534 (to *thërrime*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 210 (follows MEYER *Wb.*).

**therpelë** f 'kind of thorny plant, woody nightshade, sim'. Compound of *ther* and *pelë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 210-211 (derived from *ther*).

**thes** m, pl. *thasë* 'sack'. Continues Palb \**tsatja* related to Gk κοτύλη 'hole, empty vessel', Lat *catinus* 'bowl' and, probably, to Av *kata-* 'chamber, room', Goth *heþjo* id. ◊ SCHMIDT *KZ* L 238-240 (from Gk σάκκος id.); LA PIANA *Studi* I 30, 32 (connected with Gk σάκκος); FEIST *Goth.* 254-255; WALDE-HOFMANN I 182; FRISK I 933-934; BARTHOLOMAE 432; POKORNY I 586-587; HAMP *IF* LXVI 25 (from \**kouti-*, cf. Gk κύτος 'hollow', Lat *cutis* 'skin'), *Orbis* XXIII/1 128-129; ÇABEJ *St.* II 211 (together with σάκκος, borrowed from Semitic).

**thëllëzë** f, pl. *thëllëza* 'partridge'. Derived from *thellë* as a color adjective (STIER *KZ* XI. 110; CAMARDA II 30). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 89, *Alb. St.* IV 95 (from Rom \**fulingia* based on Lat *fulica* 'coot'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 535 (< \**fëllëng-zë* borrowed from Rom \**fullinga*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 10-12 (from \**kelont* 'jumper'); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 240-241 (follows STIER); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 81 (< IE \**kelont* = Skt *sālūra-*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 86; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 142; LA PIANA *Studi* I 72; SCHWENTNER *KZ* XLVII 255 (to *thëllim* in view of Gk πέρδιξ 'partridge' - πέρδομαι 'pedere'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 211-212.

**thëllim** m, pl. *thëllime* 'cold wind, tempest, storm, dry frost'. Derived from *thellë*, probably, in its function of a color adjective, with a further semantic development from 'darkness' to 'cold' or 'storm' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 212-213 with typological parallels). ◊ CAMARDA I 57 (to Gk θλίμμα 'pressure', θλίβω 'to squeeze'); DOZON *Manuel* 92 (to Gk θύελλα 'storm'); DIEFENBACH I 55 (agrees with DOZON); KRISTOFORIDHI 127, 459, 470 (follows DOZON and compares *thëllim* with *fulloj*); BUGGE

*BB XVIII 174* (from Lat *follēre* 'to bag'); *PETERSSON KZ XLVII 255* (to Lith *švil̃pti* 'to whistle'); *BARIC ARSt. I 22* (to *fyell* and *fryj*).

**thēngjill** m. pl. *thēngjij* 'hot ashes'. Continues PAIb *\*tsangila*, with a prefix *\*ts-*, further connected with Lith *anglis* id., OPrus *anglis* id., Slav *\*oglb* id., Skt *āngāra-* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn. 22*; PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI 328*). ◊ *CAMARDA I 64* (to Gk φέργος 'light, shine'); *MEYER Wb. 90* (from Lat *favilla* 'hot ashes'); *PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 538* (against MEYER); *JOKL Studien 105-106* (from Slav *\*oglb* with a prothetic *\*v-* > Alb *f-, th-*); *TREIMER MRW I 375* (against JOKL); *BARIC ARSt. I 12-13* (to *\*kenk-* 'to burn'); *TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 298*; *TRAUTMANN BS/Wb. 8*; *CANDREA GS III 235* (from Rom *\*focilis* 'fire'); *FRAENKEL 10*; *MAYRHOFER I 21*; *VASMER IV 146*; *POKORNY I 779*; *TOPOROV PJa I 87* (against the connection with Lith *anglis* and the like); *HAMP LB XIV/2 13* (*th-* < *\*f-*), *BLing 77-78*; *ÇABEJ St. II 214-215* (explains *thēngjill* as a singularized plural).

**thēnukël** f. pl. *thēnukla* 'dogberry'. Irregular transformation of *\*thēnubël* continuing PAIb *\*tsunu-abōla-* 'dog's apple' identical with Dac κινούβοιλα 'plant *Brionia alba*' (Diosc. 4. 182) and Lith *šūnubuolas* 'dog's pumpkin'. ◊ *TOMASCHEK Thr. I 34*; *DETSCHER Thr. Sprachreste 362, 373*; *ÇABEJ St. VII 230*.

**thēri ~ thēni** f. pl. *thēri ~ thēni* 'louse'. From PAIb *\*tsanidā* related to Gk κόνις 'nit', OHG *hniz* id. (*MEYER Wb. 90, Alb. St. III 13, 37*). ◊ *PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 332, 339, Kelt. Gr. I 41*; *JOKL Studien 105, Sprache IX 123*; *BARIC ARSt. I 12*; *TAGLIAVINI Dalmazia 301* (reconstructs IE *\*kenid-*), *Stratificazione 142*; *LA PIANA Studi I 33-34*; *ERNOUT-MEILLET 351*; *MANN Language XVII 23, XXVIII 32*; *PISANI Saggi 128*; *CIMOCHOWSKI LP II 243*; *FRISK I 912-913*; *CAMAJ Alb. Wortb. 115*; *HAMP KZ LXXVI 278* (correct reconstruction of *\*-o-* in the first syllable of *\*konid-*); *POKORNY I 608*; *ÇABEJ St. II 215-216* (to *thind* 'sting, thorn'); *HULD 118-119*; *JANSON Unt. 31-32*; *GRIEPENTROG Wurzelnomina 474-475*; *KORTLANDT Arm-IE 39*; *OREL ZfBalk XXIII 146*; *DEMIRAJ AE 397*.

**thērpehem** refl. 'to become impregnated (of goats)'. Other forms are *thuprehem* and also *thuprue, thyprue* 'to impregnate'. Derived from *thupër* as many other verbs for 'futuere' based on the word for

'stick'. ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 104 (to *cap*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 218-219 (from \**përthehet* based on \**përth* = *përç*).

**thërras** aor. *thërrita*, *thirra* 'to call, to name'. Continues PALb \**tsira*, with a secondary present in \*-*atja*. An old onomatopoeia. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 20-21 (to Lith *šárka* 'magpie', Slav \**sorka* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 300 (follows JOKL); ÇABEJ *St.* II 216-217.

**thërreckë** f, pl. *thërrecka* 'kind of thistle'. Derived from \**thërrec* based on *ther*.

**thërrime** f, pl. *thërrime* 'crumb'. Derived from *ther* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 217-218). The verb *thërrmoj* 'to break, to crumb' (borrowed to Rum *färima* id.) is derived from *thërrime*. ◇ CAMARDA I 52, 99 (to Gk θρόμμα 'bit, something broken off'); MEYER *Wb.* 90, *Alb. St.* IV 26 (*thërrmoj* from Rom \**fragminäre*); PUŞCARIU *ZfromPh* XXVII 739, *EWB* 50 (together with Rum *färima*, from Rom \**farrimen*); GIUGLEA *DR* III 594-597 (starts from Rom \**farrima*); WEIGAND *BA* III 214; REICHENKRON *ZfBalk* III 166 (reconstructs a Dacian source continuing IE \*(*s*)*per-*); ROSETTI *ILR* I 277.

**thi** m, pl. *thi* 'pig'. From PALb \**sū(s)* (with dissimilation of sibilants) etymologically related to IE \**sūs* id.: Av *hū*, Gk ὄς, Lat *sūs*, OHG *sū* (STIER *KZ* XI 214; CAMARDA I 77; MEYER *Wb.* 90, *Alb. St.* III 43-44, 63). ◇ PEDERSEN *IF* V 82, *KZ* XXXVI 282; JOKL *Studien* 77; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 298, *Stratificazione* 143; BARIĆ *Hymje* 22; ERNOUT-MEILLET 670; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 234; FRISK II 973-974; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 142 (reconstructs \**k-* in the anlaut); LA PIANA *Studi* I 23; PISANI *Saggi* 102, 222; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233; WALDE-HOFMANN II 635-637; BARTHOLOMAE 1817; POKORNY I 1038; ÇABEJ *St.* II 219-220; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 279; KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 220; HULD 119; DEMIRAJ *AE* 397-398.

**thikë** f, pl. *thika*, *thikë* 'knife'. From PALb \**tsikā*, derived from IE \**kēi-* 'to sharpen': Skt *śísāti* 'to whet, to sharpen', Arm *sur* 'sharp; knife' and the like. ◇ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk θήγω 'to whet'), 117 (to Lat *sīca* 'knife'); MEYER *Wb.* 90, *Alb. St.* III 44 (from Lat *sīca*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044, 1053; PEDERSEN *IF* V 82, *KZ* XXXIV 287 (follows MEYER); SPITZER *MRIW* I 293 (same); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 155 (same); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 13-14 (to Skt *śikhā* 'tuft of hair, fringe');

AČAREAN *HAB* IV 254-255; MAYRHOFER III 345; LA PIANA *Studi* I 30-31 (against borrowing from Latin for phonetic reasons: Lat *s* - > Alb *sh*-); MANN *Language* XXVI 387; POKORNY I 541-542; ÇABEJ *St.* II 221-222 (follows BARIĆ and adduces *thekë* as another cognate).

**thimë** adj. 'grey'. Derived from *thij*, see *thinjë*.

**thimth** m, pl. *thimtha* 'sting, nipple'. A diminutive of \**thim* related to *thind* (JOKL *LKUBA* 318-319). The meaning 'nipple' may be secondary, due to the influence of *thithë*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 223-224).

**thind** m, pl. *thinda* 'beak, nipple'. Derived from the same verbal root as *thikë*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 91 (from Lat *findere*); JOKL *LKUBA* 318-319 (to *ther*, *theye*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 144; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 238; POKORNY I 920; ÇABEJ *St.* II 222-223 (to *thëri*, *thumb*); HAMP-Münch. *St. Spr.* XLIII 47-48 (< IE \**kent*-).

**thinjë** f, pl. *thinja* 'grey hair'. Derived from *thij* 'to go grey' < PALb \**tsinja*, a denominative verb related to Skt *śyāvā*- 'dark brown', Av *syāva*- 'black', Slav \**sivъ* 'dark grey' and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 91, Alb. *St.* III 44 (from Slav \**sinъ* 'dark blue'); WEIGAND 92; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 300 (agrees with MEYER); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233-234 (to *finjë* and *hi*); MAYRHOFER III 384; BARTHOLOMAE 1631; VASMER III 617; POKORNY I 541; ÇABEJ *St.* II 225-226 (follows CIMOCHOWSKI in his comparison with *finjë*); MURATI *Probleme* 135.

**thipë** f 'bread crust'. Identical with *cipë* (KRISTOFORIDHI 129). ◊ JOKL *Balkangerm.* 127; ÇABEJ *St.* II 226.

**thirqe** f, pl. *thirqe* 'chick-pea'. Singularized plural of \**thirk*, derivative in \*-ka- of *thjerrë* (CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* VIII 96). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 91, Alb. *St.* III 44 (from Venet *siserchia* id.); HELBIG 79 (accepts MEYER's etymology); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 233-234 (from *siserchia* with dissimilation of *s* - *s*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 226 (follows CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* VIII).

**thirr** m 'soot'. From PALb \**tsirwa* identical with Lith *šiřvas* 'grey' (CIMOCHOWSKI *ABS* III 42) and continuing the Indo-European root for dark color \**ker*-. Cf. *surmë* and *thjermë*. ◊ FRAENKEL 989; POKORNY I 573-574; ÇABEJ *St.* II 226-227 (to Slav \**sëra* 'sulphur').



**thirravajë** f 'complaint'. Lexicalization of *me thirrë vaj* 'to make a complaint, to complain' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 227).

**thith** m, pl. *thitha* 'joint-pin, sprig'. Another form is *thinx*. From \**thind-th*, deminutive of *thind*.

**thith** aor. *thitha* 'to suck'. Another form is *thëthij*. Continues PALb \**tsitsa*. An old "descriptive" stem (JOKL *Balkanogerm.* 127-128, *Slavia XIII* 325). Of the same origin is *thithë* 'nipple' < PALb \**tsitsā*. ◊ CAMARDA I 37, 77-78 (to Gk τίθημι 'to put'); MEYER *Wb.* 90, *Alb. St.* III 44, IV 31 (from SCr *sisa* 'nipple, bosom'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 290; MANN *Language XXVI* 386-387 (*thithë* to Ir *cioch*, Slav \**sisa*); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP II* 234; ÇABEJ *St.* II 227-228.

**thjermë** adj. 'grey'. From PALb \**tserma*, a full grade of the root found in zero grade in *surmë* and etymologically related to Lith *šiřmas* 'grey' (JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 153-155, *WuS XII* 89-90). ◊ CIMOCHOWSKI *LP II* 221 (follows JOKL); POKORNY I 574; ÇABEJ *St.* II 228-229 (derived from *thjerrë*); HULD 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 399.

**thjerrë** f, pl. *thjerra* 'lentil'. Continues PALb \**tserā*, a non-reduplicated parallel of Lat *cicer* 'pea', Arm *siserñ* id. < IE \**ki-ker-* (BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 15, *AArbSt* II 81-83). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 91, *Alb. St.* IV 118 (from Rom \**fahārium*, to Lat *fabā* 'bean'); WEIGAND 19 (agrees with MEYER); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* 81-83; JOKL *LKUBA* 179-181 (to Lith *šerti* 'to feed'); AČAREAN *HAB IV* 218; MANN *Language XXVIII* 33 (agrees with BARIĆ); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP II* 254; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 1127; WALDE-HOFMANN I 212; POKORNY I 598; ÇABEJ *St.* II 220-221 (identical with *fier*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 398-399.

**thjeshtë** adj. 'simple, easy'. Another form is *fjeshtë*. Continues PALb \**tseksta*, a derivative in \**ts-* based on \**eksta* > *jashtë* with the basic meaning 'not outside' = 'easy to reach', for the semantic model cf. OIr *asse* < \**ad-stajo-* 'standing by' = 'easily attainable' = 'easy', Fr *aise* 'ease' < Lat *adjacēns* 'lying near'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 91 (from Lat *festus* 'solemn, festive'); JOKL *Studien* 37-38, *LKUBA* 190, 214 (from IE \**skāi-* 'to shine'); VENDRYES [A] 96; BUCK *Synonyms* 648-650; ÇABEJ *St.* II 224-225 (derived from *fill*).

**thjeshtër** m, pl. *thjeshtër* 'stepson'. In Sicilian dialects of Albanian one finds *fjeshtër*. Borrowed from Lat *filiaster* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1053) phonetically influenced by *thjeshtë* (LA PIANA *St. Varia* 51-52). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 91, *Alb. St.* V 75 (from Ital *figliastro* id., Venet *fiastro* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 48, 211 (same); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 16; HAARMANN 126; ÇABEJ *St.* II 229.

**thkollët** adj. 'thin, meager'. A phonetic evolution of *tëholloj* 'to become thin' based on *hollë* (MANN *HAED* 539). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 229-230 (agrees with MANN).

**thnegël** f, pl. *thnegla* 'ant'. Other forms are *thënegullë*, *thënëjegëll*. Continues PAIb *\*tsangulā*, with a prefix *\*ts-*, further connected with Lat *anguis* 'snake', Lith *angis* id., OHG *angar* 'kind of maggot', *engirine* 'larva', Lith *ankštirai* 'maggot'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 89-90 (from Lat *formicula* id.); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 175; SCHUCHARDT *Revue basque* V 106-108 (to Basque *chiugurri*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 12 (compound of *thëri* ~ *thëni* and *\*goll-* 'thorn, sting'); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 142; LA PIANA *Studi* I 79 (from *\*khthonai-g'ila* 'living on earth'); FRAENKEL 10; WALDE-HOFMANN I 48-49; POKORNY I 43-44; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 119 (suffix *-ël*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 214 (related to *thëri* ~ *thëni* as well as to *thind*).

**thom** aor. *thashë* 'to say'. From athematic PAIb *\*tsānsmi* etymologically connected with Lat *cēnsēō* 'to assess, to value' and its cognates (MEYER *Wb.* 91, *Alb. St.* III 13, 63). ◊ CAMARDA I 46 (to Gk φημί 'to say'); WACKERNAGEL *IF* XLV 326; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332; JOKL *IF* XXXVII 101, *Sprache* IX 123; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 298-299; MANN *Language* XXVIII 33; LA PIANA *Studi* I 37; PISANI *Saggi* 101, 130; WALDE-HOFMANN I 198-200; POKORNY I 566; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 37; HAMP *Anc. IE* 117 (3 sg. *thotë* derived from *\*kē-ti* since *\*kēns-ti* would be reflected as *\*thoshhtë*); ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 208; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 108-109, *Verbum* 151-152, *Koll. Idg. ges.* 230; HULD 119; DEMIRAJ *AE* 399-400.

**thonjëza** pl. 'quotes'. A recent derivative of *thua*.

**thopërç** pl. 'dwarfs (in folklore)'. Other variants are *thopç* and, rarely, *thopërk*. The latter is formed analogically on the basis of the alternation *-k* : *-q* (> *ç*). Because of the stress in *thopërç* it must be ana-

lyzed as a compound of *thua* and *përç* (for the meaning cf. *Tom Thumb* and Russian *mužičok-s-nogotok*). BUZUKU has a participle *thopërkuom* 'paralyticus', *thoprëkuom* 'hydropicus' which has nothing to do with *thopërç* and reflects a verb *\*thë-për-køj* 'to undernourish', with two prefixes, based on *køj*. ◊ JOKL *Balkangerm.* 123-125, *Vox Rom.* VI 227 (from Slavic, cf. SCR *coprati* 'to conjure'); MANN *HAED* 92; ÇABEJ *St.* II 230-231 (from Ital *zoppo* 'lame').

**thua** ~ **thue** m, pl. *thoj* ~ *thonj* '(finger) nail'. Goes back to PALB *\*atsāna* derived from IE *\*ak-* 'sharp' and, as far as its structure is concerned, similar with Gk ἄκανθος 'thorny fruit', ἄκαινα 'tip, point'. ◊ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk ὄνυξ 'nail'); MEYER *Wb.* 92 (to Av *spāma-* 'saliva' misinterpreted as 'nail'), *Alb. St.* III 14, 16; LEWY *IF* XXXII 159 (compares *thua* with Lat *squāma* '(fish) scale'); JOKL *LKUBA* 26; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 10 (derivative of IE *\*ker-* 'horn'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 301, *Stratificazione* 98; FRISK I 49, 51; ÇABEJ *St.* II 231-232 (to Gk κεντέω 'to prick'); HULD 120 (to Gmc *\*xanduz* 'hand').

**thuk** m, pl. *thukë* 'mortar'. Derived from *thuk* 'to grind, to press', a verb of onomatopoeic origin. The adjective *thukët* 'robust' also belongs here. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 235.

**thumb** m, pl. *thumba* 'sting, thorn'. Derived from *thua*. PALB *\*tumba* was borrowed to Rum *ciump*. ◊ CAMARDA I 78 (to Gk θωμός 'heap'); MEYER *Wb.* 92 (to Skt *sāmba-* 'pole', Gk κόμβος 'roll, band'), *Alb. St.* III 14; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 332-333 (to *fëndyell* and *thnegël*); JOKL *LKUBA* 217-218; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 144; MANN *Language* XXVIII 32 (to Lith *šūmpis* 'ham, leg of pork'); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 339; ROSETTI *ILR* I 275; ÇABEJ *St.* II 233 (agrees with PEDERSEN).

**thumbull** f, pl. *thumbulla* 'button'. Derived from *thumb*. Borrowed to Rum *sîmbure* 'stone (of a fruit)'. ◊ ROSETTI *ILR* I 281; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 254.

**thundër** f, pl. *thundra* 'hoof'. Derived from *thua*. ◊ CAMARDA I 81 (to Gk θένωπ 'palm of the hand').

**thupër** f, pl. *thupra* 'twig, rod'. As far as *th-* < *\*ts-* is impossible before *-u-*, it is a prefix (cf. *thëngjill*). The rest of the word continues PALB

\**upera* 'upper' etymologically related to OHG *obaro* id., Lat *super* id. and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 92 (to Hung dial. *supra* id.); POKORNY I 1106.

**thur** aor. *thura* 'to fence, to enclose, to plait, to weave'. From PALb \**tsurja*, a zero grade form related to Arm *sarik* 'band, rope', Gk *καίρος* 'row of thrums in the loom'. ◊ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk *θυρώω* 'to furnish with doors'); MEYER *Wb.* 92 (to Lat *crātis* 'wicker-work', Gk *κύρτη* 'fishing net'); AĀAREAN *HAB* IV 188; FRISK I 756; POKORNY I 577-578; CLACKSON *LR* 140.

**thuthaq** adj. 'lispings'. Pronouncing *s* as *th* (MEYER *Wb.* 92).

**theyj** aor. *theva* 'to break'. Continues PALb \**tsā(i)nja* derived from IE \**kēi-* 'to sharpen': Skt *śīśāti* 'to sharpen', Arm *sur* 'sharp; knife' and the like. See *thikē*. ◊ CAMARDA I 77 (to Gk *θύω* 'to rage, to seethe').

## U

**u** part. of passive. From PALb \**wa* related to IE \**syom*, acc. 'self' with the vowel lost in the unstressed position and \**w* vocalized as *u* (BOPP 480-481) or resulting from the regular development of IE \**syo-* in Albanian. ◊ CAMARDA I 217; MEYER *Wb.* 468, *Alb. St.* III 39; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 111, *LKUBA* 74; BARIĆ *ARSt* I 111; JOKL *LKUBA* 74, *IF* L 56; MANN *Language* XXVI 384; POKORNY I 882; HAMP *IF* LXXXI 36-37; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 100; ĆABEJ *St.* II 234-235; HULD 122; DEMIRAJ *AE* 400.

**ubël** f, pl. *ubla* 'well, shaft, hillside well'. The original meaning is 'hillside well'. With a secondary voicing of \**-p-* continues PALb \**upela*, a derivative of IE \**upo* 'under'. Morphologically particularly close to Goth *ubils* 'evil', originally 'exceeding due limits' < \**upelo-*. ◊ ONIONS 332; POKORNY I 1106-1107.

**udob** adv. 'easy, light'. Borrowed from Slav \**udobъ* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36). ◊ ĆABEJ *St.* VII 217; SVANE 272.

**udhĚ** f, pl. *udhĚ* 'way'. From PALb \**wada*, an *o*-grade \**uodhā* based on \**uedh-* 'to beat, to break'. For such semantic development cf. Slav

\**trepati* 'to knock, to beat' ~ OS *thravon* 'to trot' ~ Slav \**tropa* 'path' and the like (BUCK *Synonyms* 693-694). ◇ CAMARDA I 50, 108 (comparison with Gk ὁδός 'road'); MEYER *BB* VIII 191 (compares with Slav \**ulica* 'street'), *Wb.* 455 (derives from IE \**ueǵh-*), *Alb. St.* III 18, 80; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 189 (borrowed from Gk ὁδός); JOKL *Studien* 92, *LKUBA* 128, 316 (cognate of Lat *vehō* 'to bear, to carry, to convey'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; DERŽAVIN *Jazyk I literatura I* 190-191 (to *urĕ* and *ujĕ*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274 (from IE \**ueǵh-* 'to move, to pull'); LA PIANA *Studi I* 60-61; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 231; TISCHLER II 318-319 (etymology of the Hittite word); HAMP *Laryngeals* 138 (to IE \**uedh-* 'to lead'); ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 34-35; MANN *Hist. Gr.* 186; ÇABEJ *StF* IV/1 69, 83 (follows HAMP), *St.* II 237-238 (zero-grade formation of IE \**uedh-* 'to beat, to break'); HULD 120-121; OREL *LB* XXVIII/4 54-55 (close to Hitt *huda-* 'hurry', a zero-grade of IE \**uedh-*), *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 400-401.

**udhos** m 'sort of cheese'. Originally, participle in *-ues, -os* of Geg *hudh* 'to throw, to pour' (see *hedh*) with the loss of initial *h-*. Semantically, the Balkan-Carpathian technology of cheese production makes such a motivation fairly possible, cf. Slav \**žetica* derived from \**žeti* 'to press, to squeeze' (KLEPIKOVA *SPT* 142-143). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 455 (to Carpathian *urda*); SCHMIDT *KZ* L 245-246; DURIDANOV *LB* XVII 51-62 (from \**urdhos* related to *urdhĕ*; phonetically difficult); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 363.

**ugar** m, pl. *ugarĕ* 'land unused for two years'. Borrowed from Slav \**ugarъ* 'fallow ground', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *ugar*, SCr *ugar* (MEYER *Wb.* 456). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 158; SVANE 36.

**ujĕ** f/n, pl. *ujĕra* ~ *ujna* 'water'. From PALb \**udrjā* (HAMP *St. Whatmough* 83, *Laryngeals* 138) derived from the Indo-European word for 'water' \**ued-* (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; CAMARDA I 51, 75). For a similar formation cf. Gk ὕδρῖα 'water-bucket'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 456 (reconstructs \**udnjā* but there are no traces of *unjĕ* in the dialects), *Alb. St.* III 66; LA PIANA I 118 (derives *ujĕ* from \**ulĕ* < \**ud-l-o-*); SPITZER *MRIW* I 217; BARIĆ *A ArbSt.* II 86; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 273-274; PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 247, *KZ* XXXIII 285-286, XXXVI 339 (from \**uĕ* < \**udā* with *-j-* filling hiatus), *Kelt. Gr.* II 19; JOKL *WuS* XII 64; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274; POKORNY 78-79; FRISK II 957-959; ÇABEJ

*St.* II 238-239 (follows PEDERSEN); HULD 121; DEMIRAJ *AE* 401-402 (from PALb \**urjā*, related to Skt *vár-* 'water').

**ujk** m, pl. *ujq*, *ujqër* ~ *ujqën* 'wolf'. The archaic form *ulk* is preserved in Chamian. Goes back to PALb \*(w)*ulka* continuing IE \**ul̥kʰos* id.: Skt *v̥ka-*, Gk *λύκος*, Lat *lupus*, Goth *wulfs* and the like (STIER *KZ* XI 143; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 24; MEYER *Wb.* 457, *Alb. St.* III 2, 80). The form *ujkth* 'wolf's hide' is an obvious derivative of *ujk* (MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 99) ∅ CAMARDA I 26 (metathesis of *λύκος*); MEYER *BB* VIII 191, *Gr. Gr.* 69, 233, 262; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 549; JOKL *Studien* 92, 119 (*ujkth* - to Lat *vellus* 'fleece, hide'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274, *Stratificazione* 143; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 45 (agrees with JOKL on *ujkth*), 111, *Hymje* 22; PORZIG *Gliederung* 206; ENDZELIN *KZ* XLIV 61; MANN *Language* XVII 15; FRISK II 143-144; MAYRHOFER III 240-241; WALDEHOFMANN I 836-837; FEIST *Goth.* 576; POKORNY I 1178-1179; HAMP *Laryngeals* 138; GINDIN *Form. SN* 61; ÇABEJ *St.* II 239-240, 242-244; KLINGENSCHMITT *Münch. St. Spr.* XL 124; HULD 121-122; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 144, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351; DEMIRAJ *AE* 403.

**ukrajë** f 'forest'. Borrowed from Slav \**ukrajь* attested, in a different meaning, in SCr *ukraj* 'near', Russ *ukraj* (MEYER *Wb.* 456).

**ul** aor. *ula* 'to lower'. From PALb \**wala* related to Gk *εἴλω* 'to shut in, to press', Lith *valýti* 'to clean', *iš-valýti* 'to carry away' (CAMARDA I 54). Forms like *unj* reflect an earlier \**ulnj* < \**walnja*. ∅ MEYER *Wb.* 457-458 (to the non-existent Slav \**xynqiti*); PEDERSEN *IF* V 64, *KZ* XXXIII 542 (separates *unj* from *ul*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 32 (agrees with PEDERSEN and compares *ul* with Slav \**xylъ* 'crooked, weak'); JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 39 (to *vang*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274; FRAENKEL 1190; FRISK I 456-457; POKORNY I 1138; ÇABEJ *St.* II 240-242 (follows CAMARDA).

**ulërij** ~ **ulëri** aor. *ulërita* 'to shout, to howl'. Another form is *ulëras*. Borrowed from Rom \**uruläre* id. (cf. Rum *urla*, Sard *urulare* and the like) continuing Lat *ululäre* 'to howl, to yell' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 69; MEYER *Wb.* 457). ∅ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 171; ÇABEJ *St.* II 242 (onomatopoeia).

**ulishtë** f, pl. *ulishta* 'small tub'. Borrowed from Slav \**uliščę*, deriva-

tive of \**ulьjь* 'hive; trough', cf. SCr *ulište* (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 242 (derived from *ul*); SVANE 159.

**ulmej** aor. *ulmeva* 'to make wet'. Derived from an unattested \**ulm* continuing PALb \**ulg(a)ma* related to OHG *welc* 'wet', Lith *vilgyti* 'to make wet', Latv *vaļgums* 'wetness', Slav \**vьlgъkъ* 'wet'. ◇ FRAENKEL 1251; VASMER I 337; POKORNY I 1145 (with mistakes in Lithuanian forms); ÇABEJ *St.* II 244 (identical with *lëmehem* 'to apply rouge' and *mëlmej* 'to add butter or oil to food').

**ulzë** f, pl. *ulza* 'kind of maple'. Derived from PALb \**ulma* continuing IE \**lmo-* also reflected in Lat *ulmus* 'elm', cf. also ON *almr* id., OIr *lem* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 244). ◇ WALDE-HOFMANN II 811-812; POKORNY I 303.

**ullastër** f, pl. *ullastra* 'wild olive tree'. Borrowed from Ital *olivastro* 'olive' influenced by *ulli* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 244-245). The variant *ullashtër* may well go back to Lat *oleaster* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 457). ◇ WEIGAND 95 (to *ulli*); JOKL *LKUBA* 210-211 (from Rom \**olivaster*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24, 31; HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 87, 129, 136.

**ulli** ~ **ullî** m, pl. *ullinj* 'olive (tree)'. Borrowed from Lat *olivus* 'olive tree' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 245) or, less exactly, from *olîva* 'olive' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 457). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 536; JOKL *LKUBA* 210; WEIGAND 95; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 274; HAARMANN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 87, 158.

**umas** aor. *umata* 'to bark'. Derived from an unattested \**umë* from PALb \**wamā* further related to Skt *vāmiti* 'to vomit', Av *vam-* 'to spit', Gk ἐμέω 'to spit out', Lat *vomeō* 'to vomit' and the like. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 275 (from an uncertain Slavic source); JOKL *ArRom* XXIV 16 (< \**ulmatijō* related to Gk ὑλάω id.); WALDE-HOFMANN II 835; MAYRHOFER III 146; FRISK I 504-505; POKORNY I 1146; ÇABEJ *St.* II 246 (onomatopoeia).

(G) **umb** m 'plowshare'. Other forms are *um* and *hum*. Borrowed from the nominative of Lat *vōmis* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 457). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 23, 135-136; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 198; HAARMANN 158.

**unak** m, pl. *unakë* ‘hearth stone’. Borrowed from Slav \**junakъ* ‘young man, hero’, cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *junak*, SCr *junak*. The Slavic word can also denote the ritual log at the hearth stone and the hearth-stone itself in the *polaznik* ritual known all over the Balkans.

**unazë** f, pl. *unaza* ‘finger-ring, small iron ring’. Based on *unë* < PAIb \**wandā* related to Arm *gind* ‘ring’, Goth *bi-windan* ‘to unwreath’ and the like (ÇABEJ *St.* II 246-247: reconstructs \**uendā*, IV 57). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 457 (based on the rare *una* borrowed from Rom \**virāna*, cf. Lat *viriae* ‘armlets, bracelets’), *Alb. St.* IV 40; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 78, 102 (to Lat *unguis* ‘nail’, *ungulus* ‘finger-ring’); FEIST *Goth.* 98; POKORNY I 1148.

**undyrë** f, pl. *undyrë* ‘fat’. Another form is *yndyrë*. Borrowed from Lat *unctūra* ‘ointment’ (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 69; MEYER *Wb.* 461). ◊ BARIĆ *AArbSt.* I 145; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; DI GIOVINE *Gruppo -ct-* 50-52; ÇABEJ *St.* II 313; HAARMANN 155; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 121.

**unë** pron. ‘I’. A composite consisting of the personal pronoun *u* (attested as such in dialects) and particle *në* (cf. Gk *ναί, νή*). The Italo-Albanian form *uth* contains a diminutive suffix *-th* (DOZON 276). The personal pronoun *u* is identical with *u* ‘self’ < PAIb \**we* (LA PIANA *St. Varia* 69). It may also result from the allegro change of a sequence \**edz we* < IE \**eǵhom s̥e*. In other cases we find IE \**me-*, cf. acc. *mua ~ mue* < \**mēm* as in Skt *mām*, OPers *mām*, OPrus *mien* and Slav \**mę* (JOKL *IF XLIX* 274). ◊ BOPP 504-505 (to IE \**eǵhom* ‘I’); CAMARDA I 215-216 (follows BOPP); MEYER *Wb.* 454 (*u* borrowed from Rom \**eo* < Lat *ego* ‘I’), *Alb. St.* I 34; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 102 (*uth* < \**udh* identified with \**eǵō*), *Hymje* 17; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 275 (agrees with BARIĆ); quaj, MANN *Language XXVI* 385; PISANI *Saggi* 107, 167; HAMP *RRL XXI* 50 (notes a similar vocalism in Hitt *ugga* ‘I’), *St. Whatmough* 78; ÇABEJ *St.* II 233-234 (agrees with LA PIANA); HULD 122; DEMIRAJ *AE* 400.

**unë** f ‘piece of a broken pot’. Used once by BUZUKU. Continues PAIb \**wantā* further related to Arm *vandem* ‘to destroy’, OHG *wund* ‘wound’, MW *gweint*, praet. ‘(I) pierced’. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 455 (related to *ûth* ‘wooden jug’); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 111 (*ûth* related to IE \**ued-* ‘water’); LEWIS-PEDERSEN 296; POKORNY I 1108; ÇABEJ *St.* II 247.



**ungroj** aor. *ungrova* 'to howl, to whine, to squeak (of animals)'. Borrowed, with a secondary inlaut *r*, from Lat *uncāre* 'to roar (of bears)'.

**ungj** m, pl. *ungjër* 'uncle'. Borrowed from Lat *avunculus* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4; MEYER *Wb.* 457, *Alb. St.* IV 54-55). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1049; WEIGAND 96; JOKL *LKUBA* 15, 28; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 110; TAGLIAVINI *Origini* 189, 227; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 12; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *St.* II 247; LANDI *Lat.* 175.

**ungji** adv. 'completely'. Another form is *unji*. Univerbation of *u në gji* 'itself in its totality', cf. *u* and *gjithë*. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 64 (to *një*); OŠTIR *AArbSt* II 296 (agrees with BARIĆ); ÇABEJ *St.* II 247-248 (from \**n gji* with *n > un*).

**ungjill** m, pl. *ungjij* 'gospel'. Borrowed from Lat *evangelium* (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 457) or from Rom \**evangelum* > Ital *vangelo* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 248-249). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1049; WEIGAND 96; HAARMANN 124; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 141-142.

**unzë** f, pl. *unza* 'pen-point, pen'. Phonetic form of *hundësë*, derivative of *hundë* (MANN *HAED* 163). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 249.

(G) **unzë** f 'firebrand, smut'. The Tosk form is *urth*. Related to or derived from *uri* 'hunger'. ◊ MANN *Language* XVII 15 (to Lith *ugñs* 'fire').

**upeshk** m 'bishop'. Borrowed from Lat *episcopus* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 23; MEYER *Wb.* 458). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1048; JOKL *LKUBA* 22; HAARMANN 123; LANDI *Lat.* 57, 119, 139.

**upri** f 'group of peasants helping another peasant in his farm'. Based on an unattested \**upër* continuing PALb \**upera* and related to Av *uparō* 'upper', Gk ὕπερος 'pestle', OHG *oharo* 'upper'. ◊ JOKL *Vox Rom.* VI 221 (from \**vëpri*, to *vepër*); FRISK II 966-967; POKORNY I 1106; ÇABEJ *St.* II 249 (borrowed from Slav \**upirati* sę 'to lean').

**urdhë** f, pl *urdha* 'sort of white cheese'. There are also variants *urlë* and *hurdhë* with a secondary prothetic *h*-. The word reflects PALb \**wurdā*, from an earlier \**ur̥dā* or \**uordā*, derived from IE \**uer-* 'to boil, to burn' (Arm *varem* 'to kindle', Lith *virti* 'to cook, to boil', Slav \**variti* id.). Semantically, it is important for this etymology that *urdhë* is pro-

duced by *boiling* whey (OREL *SBJa Kont.* 211-212). From Albanian *urdhë* was borrowed to other Balkan and Carpathian languages, such as Rum *urdă* (KLEPIKOVA 142-144). ◊ MLADENOV 654 (derives *urdhë* and other Balkan cognates from Turk *vurmak* 'to beat, to strike'), *Slavia* V/1 56; MACHEK 670 (from Lat *būtyrum* 'butter'); PHILIPPIDE *Or. Rom.* II 739-740 (to Gk οὐρός 'trench'); SIMEONOV *LB* XV 33-35 (to Ossetic *urs* 'white'); BARIĆ *Lingv. st.* 39 (from IE \**srdhā*); DURIDANOV *LB* XVII 51-59 (from \**skřdo-*, cf. *hirrë* < \**skřno-*, both treated as derivatives of IE \**sker-* 'to cut'); CAPIDAN II 470 f. (Arumanian sources of the Albanian word); GIUGLEA *DR* III 587; FRAENKEL 1263; POKORNY I 1166; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 352; ROSETTI *ILR* I 282-283; RUSSU *Etnogeneza* 411-412; KLEPIKOVA *Ētimologija* 1966 62-81; HAMP *LB* XXIV/3 47-50 (from \**skorHdā*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 363.

**urdhër** ~ **urdhën** m, pl. *urdhëra* ~ *urdhna* 'order'. Borrowed from Lat *ordinem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45; MEYER *Wb.* 458). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß*<sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1048; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 276-277; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 139.

**(T) urdhëratë** f, pl. *urdhërata* 'servant'. Derived from *urdhër*, *urdhëroj* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 250). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 458.

**urelə** f, pl. *urela* 'water-pit'. From PALb \**urelā* related to ON *úr* 'drizzle', OPrus *wurs* 'pool', Gk ἄν-αυρος 'devoid of water' and the like. ◊ FRISK I 103-104; KRETSCHMER *Glotta* X 51-54; PERSSON *IF* XXXV 199; POKORNY I 80-81.

**urë** f, pl. *ura* 'bridge'. From PALb \**warā* related to Goth *warjan* 'to prevent, to defend', ON *vqr* 'row of stones', *ver* 'dam', Osc *veru* 'door' and, further, to IE \**yortom* 'gate' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 250-251). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* IV 33; JOKL *Studien* 92-93 (to *udhë*), *LKUBA* 128, 316-317 (against BARIĆ); BARIĆ I 110-111 (to Gk γέφυρα 'bridge'); DERŽAVIN *Jazyk i literatura* I 190-191 (to Basque *ura* 'water'); ROMANSKI *MPr* VII 1-4 (to Illyr *-ora* in *Vilazora*); MAYER *Illyrier* I 99 (follows ROMANSKI); FEIST *Goth.* 551-552; POKORNY I 1160-1162; DEMIRAJ *AE* 403-404.

**urë** f, pl. *ura* 'burning log'. Continues PALb \**warā* related to Arm *vařem* 'to kindle (fire)', Hitt *gar-* 'to burn' and their cognates. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 458 (from IE \**eus-* 'to burn'), *Alb. St.* III 63; JOKL *LKUBA* 113-115;

TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 275-276; POKORNY I 1166; JANSON *Unt.* 84-85.

**uri** ~ **û** f 'hunger'. The Tosk form is derived from \**ur*. From PALb \**wana*, a nominal derivative of IE \**uen-* 'to want, to desire', cf. Skt *vánati*, *vanati* id., Lat *venus* 'love' (MEYER *Wb.* 455, *Alb. St.* III 80). ◊ JOKL apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 235 (to Skt *ûná-* 'defective, wanting', Goth *wans* 'defective, faulty'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 273; MANN *Language* XVII 15; MAYRHOFER III 141-142; WALDE-HOFMANN II 752-753; POKORNY I 1146-1147; ÇABEJ *St.* II 235-237 (agrees with JOKL).

**uri** m, pl. *urinj* 'mole'. Another, and more archaic, variant is *ur*. Derived from *uri* is *urith* id. From PALb \**wara*, a non-reduplicated form close to Lat *viverra* 'ferret', Lith *vaiveris* 'pole-cat', *vaiverė* 'squirrel' and the like. Another non-reduplicated form is represented in OHG *eihhurno* 'squirrel', OE *ác-weorna* id. ◊ STIER *KZ* XI No. 11 (to the second element of Gk *ἰνδορρος*, Hes. 'mole'); CAMARDA I 295 (identical with *buri* 'mole', from *brej*); DIEFENBACH I 48 (to Gk *ὀρύσσω* 'to dig'); LAMBERTZ *KZ* LIII 304 (to Lat *sorex* 'shrew-mouse', Gk *ὄραξ* 'mouse, shrew-mouse'); JOKL *LKUBA* 310; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 143; FRAENKEL 1185; WALDE-HOFMANN II 808; POKORNY I 1166; ÇABEJ *St.* II 251-252 (to IE \**yers-* 'top' or to Lith *ūrvas* 'hole, cavern'; *urithe* 'astragalus' based on *urith*).

**uroj** aor. *urova* 'to wish luck, to congratulate, to adore (deity)'. Borrowed from Lat *orāre* 'to argue, to plead, to pray' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45). ◊ SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 247 (from Lat *augurāre* 'to prophesy, to make auguries'); MEYER *Wb.* 459 (agrees with SCHUCHARDT); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049 (accepts both alternatives); JOKL *ZONF* X 190; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 276; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 27; ÇABEJ *St.* II 252-253; HAARMANN 139.

**urok** m 'aim, intention'. Borrowed from Slav \**urokъ* 'condition, deal', cf. ORuss *urokъ* (MEYER *Wb.* 459). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197; SVANE 176.

**urtë** adj. 'quiet, intelligent'. Based on an unattested \**ur* continuing PALb \**wara* related to Lat *vērus* 'true', OIr *fír* id., OHG *wār* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 458 (to *unj*, see *ul*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 551 (against MEYER); JOKL *Studien* 93 (compares *urtë* with OHG *wār* 'prudent', Gk *ὀράω* 'to see'), *LKUBA* 194, 228; TREIMER *MRIW* I 353-354 (to Lat *urgeō*

'to press, to push'); WALDE-HOFMANN II 768-769; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 7, 11; POKORNY I 1166; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184, 270.

**urtundě** f 'big vessel without handles'. Borrowed from Lat adj. fem. *rotunda* 'round, circular' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 253). The intermediate form must have been \**rutundě*.

**urth** m 'ivy'. Derived from an unattested \**ur* continuing PALb \**wara* related to Lith *veriù*, *vėrti* 'to thread', *pa-varė* 'long row' and other reflections of IE \**ǵer-* 'to bind'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 154 (identifies *urth* with *fruth*); BARIĆ I 29, 102 (to Lat *hedera* 'ivy'); WEIGAND *BA* II 274, 283-284 (to *urdhē*, *udhos*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 79; RIBEZZO *RivAlb* I 140 n. 2 (to Dac *scardian* 'aristolochia, kind of plant'); MANN *Language* XVII 15 (to Skt *vrj-* 'to twist'); POKORNY I 1150-1151; FRAENKEL 1229-1230; ÇABEJ *St.* II 253-255 (to IE \**ǵer-* 'to turn').

**urrej** aor. *urreva*, *urrejta* 'to hate'. Borrowed from Lat *horrēre* 'to be afraid, to be astonished' (MEYER *Wb.* 459). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1048; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252; ÇABEJ *St.* II 255 (univerbation of *vě re* 'to pay attention').

**urrě** f 'sapwood, laburnum'. From PALb \**warnā* etymologically related to *verr* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 255-256). ◊ GURAKUQI *Illyria* I/21 8 (to the second element of Lat *alburnum* id.).

**ushqej** aor. *ushqeva* 'to feed'. Based on passive Lat *vescor* 'to feed oneself' (MEYER *Wb.* 459). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 75; HAARMANN 156.

**usht** m, pl. *ushta* 'ear (of grain)'. Historically identical with *ushtë* 'spear' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 256). Continues PALb \**ušta* close to OHG *ort* 'point', ON *oddr* id. and Lith *usnīs* 'thistle' (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 62, 80). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* I (to Slav \**ostь* 'awn'), *Wb.* 459 (to Gk ἀέξω 'to increase, to foster', Goth *wahsjan* 'to grow, to increase'); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 29-30; FRAENKEL 1172; POKORNY I 1172; ÇABEJ *LP* VIII 93, *St.* II 256-257; HAMP *ALH* XII 159; DEMIRAJ *AE* 404.

**ushtar** m, pl. *ushtarē* 'soldier'. Derived from *ushtë*, see *usht*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 459 (from Lat *hostis* 'enemy'); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1049; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 277 (agrees with MEYER); HAARMANN 130 (*ushtri* 'army' from Lat *hoste*).

**ushtoj** aor. *ushtova* 'to sound, to shout'. Borrowed from Lat *ōscitāre* 'to shout, to open mouth, to yawn'. ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 75 (to *uturij*); ÇABEJ *St. II* 257 (onomatopoeia).

**ushtoj** aor. *ushtova* 'to try, to probe'. Borrowed from Lat *ūsītārī* id.

**ushunjë ~ ushûj** f 'lard'. Borrowed from Lat *axungia* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 19-20 (from NGk ὀξούγγι, ἄξούγγι id.); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1052, 1055; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 277; HAARMAN 112; ÇABEJ *St. II* 257 (from Byz Gk ὀξούγγι).

**ushunjëz** f, pl. *ushunjëza* 'leech'. Another form is *shushunjë*. Borrowed from Rom *\*sanguisungia*, cf. Lat *sanguisuga* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 420).

**ut** m 'owl'. Another form is *hut*. Borrowed from Lat *ōtus* 'horned owl' (MEYER *Wb.* 460). ◇ HAARMANN 139.

**uturij ~ uturî** aor. *uturiva* 'to thunder'. Onomatopoeia.

**uthët** adj. 'sour'. An irregular phonetic variant of *athët*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 455-456 (to *\*us-* in Lith *usnìs* 'thistle'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 111-112

**uthull** f 'vinegar'. Derived from *\*uth* 'sour', see *uthët* (MEYER *Wb.* 455). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 332 ("unclear"); BARIĆ *ARSt* I 111-112 (from IE *\*eues-dh-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 267; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 277; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 117 (suffix *-ull*).

**uzdajë** f, pl. *uzdajë* 'hope'. Borrowed from Slavic *\*u-sъ-daja*, cf. SCR *uzdaja* id. (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 460). ◇ SVANE 224, 259.

## V

**va** m/f, pl. *va* 'ford'. Borrowing from Lat *vadum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 461). ◇ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 68 (related to Lat *vadum*); MEYER-LÜBKE *MRIW* I 28, *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1052; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285-286; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 243 (Latin loanword); SPITZER *MRIW* I 332 (treats *va* as a cognate of *vadum*); JOKL *IF XXXVI* 105, 137 (admits the possibility of an Indo-European source for *va*), *LKUBA* 209; SCHUCHARDT *KZ XX* 252; MANN

*Language* XXVIII 33, XXVI 380 (reconstructs \**uadhom*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 257-258 (follows SPITZER); HULD 122-123 (loanword); DEMIRAJ *AE* 405.

**vađě** f, pl. *vada* 'water-pit, irrigation channel'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *vada* id., SCr *vada* id. (DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12).

**vadis** aor. *vadita* 'to water, to irrigate'. Borrowed from Slav \**vaditi* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vad'a* (MEYER *Wb.* 461). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 159; SVANE 39, 243.

**vadhě ~ vodhě** f, pl. *vadha ~ vodha* 'sorb-apple'. Borrowed from Gk οῤῥ id. (JOKL *LKUBA* 207-209, 325) with *-dh-* rendering the intervocalic Gk *-i-* [j]. ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 112 (to Lat *sorbus* id. < IE \**suordho-*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/3-4 350; ÇABEJ *St.* II 258-259 (from Gk ὄα id.).

**vagëlloj** aor. *vagëllova* 'to be dim, to be weak (of eyes)'. Together with *vagulloj* 'to dawn, to be dim' and *vagët* 'faded, faint, dim' based on Lat *vagus* 'strolling about, rambling'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 4 (to *agoj*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 38 (to Gk ἀχλὺς 'mist'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 259 (agrees with MEYER).

**vaj** m, pl. *vaje* 'mourning wail'. Based on the onomatopoeia *vaj* 'alas' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 461). From here *vajtoj ~ vojtoj* 'to mourn a dead' is derived. ◊ MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (connected with Lat *vae*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 260; HAARMANN 138; DEMIRAJ *AE* 405-406.

**vaj ~ voj** m/n, pl. *vajra ~ vojna* 'oil'. A more conservative form is *val*. Borrowed from Lat *oleum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 462, MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 575). The anlaut *va-* ~ *vo-* is typical of loanwords. ◊ CAMARDA I 39 (treats *vaj ~ voj* as a cognate of *oleum*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; JOKL *Studien* 116, *Slavia* XIII 641 (G *vojna* 'odors' borrowed from Slav \**von'a* 'odor'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 193, 305; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286; HAARMANN 52; HULD 123; ÇABEJ *St.* II 299-300 (against JOKL); LANDI *Lat.* 61, 126, 141.

**vajc** adj. 'tearful'. Derived from *vaj*.

**vajzě** f, pl. *vajza* 'girl'. Other important variants are *varzě*, *vashě* < \**varshě* and *vajě* < \**varjě*. They are based on an unattested \**varě* continuing \**vĕharě* < PAIb \**swesarā*. The latter reflects the Indo-European word for 'sister': Skt *svāsar-*, Arm *koyr*, Lat *soror* and the like (HAMP SABBO 109-110). ◊ TREIMER *MRIW* I 46 (to Skt *vardhati* 'to increase' and its cognates), *Slavia* II 455, KZ LXV 107-108; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 113-114 (to Gk *παρθένος* 'maiden', Lat *virgō* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 260-261, 332 (from \**smo-ro-*, to IE \**smē-* 'self, own'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 278, *Stratificazione* 120; MAYRHOFER III 565; WALDEHOFMANN II 563; POKORNY I 1051; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 47; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 208; ÇABEJ *St.* II 261-263 (deminutive of *varrě*); FEKA *GjJ* IV/2, 88-89; DEMIRAJ *AE* 406-407 (to Lat *virgō* 'maiden').

**vak** ~ **vok** aor. *vaka* ~ *voka* 'to warm slightly, to make lukewarm'. Of uncertain origin. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 462 (from SCr *mlak* 'warm'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 112-113 (to ON *vókr* 'wet'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286-287.

**vak** m 'into the open, outside'. Borrowed from Rom \**vacus*, cf. Lat *vacuus* 'empty' (MEYER *Wb.* 462).

**val** m 'valley'. Occurs in the phrase *mal e val* only. Borrowed from Lat *vallis* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 263).

**valanicě** f, pl. *valanica* 'fulling-mill'. Borrowed from South Slavic \**val'anica* (KRISTOFORIDHI 14, 485; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 170). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 264.

**valavit** aor. *valavita* 'to swing, to sway'. Another form is *valĕvit*. An expressive derivative of *valĕ*.

**valĕ** f, pl. *valĕ* 'wave'. From PAIb \**walā* etymologically connected with OHG *wella* id., Lith *vilnis* id., Slav \**vьlna* id., \**valъ* id. (MEYER *BB* VIII 191, *Wb.* 462, *Alb. St.* III 38 with the reconstruction of \**uoljā*). PAIb \**walā* seems to reflect a zero grade \**uəlĭā*. ◊ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36 (from Slav \**valъ*); JOKL *LKUBA* 270, 325 (*valĕ* < \**ualnā*, \**uĭnā*), *Sprache* IX 22; PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 543; BUGA II 375; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286; MANN *Language* XVII 18 (to Lith *vilnis* 'wave'), XXVIII 38; PISANI *Saggi* 126; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 48 (reconstructs \**uolnā*); FRAENKEL 1254; VASMER I 268, 339; POKORNY I 1141-1143;

CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 56; ÇABEJ *StF* IV/2 8, St. II 264-265; HULD 123-124; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 407-408.

**valët** adj. 'boiling hot'. Derived from *valë*. The verb *valo*j, *vlo*j 'to boil' is of the same origin (MEYER *Wb.* 462, *Alb. St.* III 38). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285.

**valikë** f 'time spent on the work in fields'. Derived from *val*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 264-265 (derived from *valë*).

**valle** f, pl. *valle* 'folk dance in a ring'. Borrowed from NGk βαλλίζω 'to dance a folk dance' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 50; MEYER *NGr. St.* IV 15). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 462 (directly from Italian); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 278; ÇABEJ *St.* II 265-266 (to Lat *volvō* 'to roll').

**vallë** particle 'maybe (in questions)'. Continues PALb *\*walā* related to Goth *waila* id., OHG *wela*, *wola* continuing IE *\*uel-* 'to wish' (MEYER *Wb.* 462). ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (to Skt *vará-* 'best'); JOKL *LKUBA* 209, 325; FEIST *Goth.* 543; POKORNY I 1137; ÇABEJ *St.* II 266.

**vallë ~ vollë** f, pl. *vallë ~ vollë* 'sorb-apple'. Borrowed from Rom *\*vola*, derivative of *volāre* 'to fly'. ◊ HAMP *Strat.* 41-43 (from IE *\*oblu-* 'apple').

**vallkua ~ vallkue** m, pl. *vallkonj* 'fish trap'. An early borrowing from Slav pl. *\*volkove* 'objects that can be dragged or carried, nets'.

**vanë** f, pl. *vana* 'crease, fold'. Participial form of *vete*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 266 (derived from *va*).

**vangë** f, pl. *vanga* 'spade'. Historically identical with *vëng~ vang*.

**vapë** f 'heat'. Borrowed from Rom *\*vapa* or OItal *vapa* 'vapor' (MEYER *Wb.* 463).

**var** aor. *vara* 'to hang'. A secondary ablaut variant of *vjerr* (CAMARDA I 43; MEYER *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 58, 84). ◊ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290; ÇABEJ *St.* II 267.

**varesë** f, pl. *varesa* 'chain'. Derived from *var*.



**varfër ~ vorfën** adj. 'poor'. Borrowed from Lat *orphanus* 'orphan' (MEYER *Wb.* 463). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; SPITZER *MRIW* I 334; JOKL *LKUBA* 208-209; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 247; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; HAARMANN 139; JANSON *Unt.* 61; LANDI *Lat.* 61.

**varg** m, pl. *vargje* 'row, chain, ring'. Derived from *var* (MEYER *Wb.* 475). Note also *vargan* 'caravan, long row'. ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 288; MANN *Language* XXVI 386 (to Gk ὄρχος 'row of vines or trees'); CHANTRAINE 831; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 114 (suffix -g); ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 209; ÇABEJ *St.* II 267-268 (agrees with MEYER); OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 147; DEMIRAJ *AE* 408-409 (to *vjerr*).

**vargër ~ vërgâ** m, pl. *vërgenj* 'uncastrated ram'. In Tosk, there is also *vërgër* id. An innovation based on Lat *virgō* 'virgin' and presumably reflecting Rom \**virgānus* (MEYER *Wb.* 470, *Alb. St.* V 104-105). ◇ STIER *KZ* XI No 32 (from Rom \**virgārius*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 268-269 (related to βάρηχοι ἄρνες Λάκωνες, Hes.); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 157.

**varjesht ~ varresht** m 'swath'. A prefixal derivative of *rresht* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 270).

**varr ~ vorr** m, pl. *varre ~ vorre* 'grave'. Borrowed from late Rom \**orna* < Lat *urna* 'cinerary urn' (OREL *Antič. balk.* 5 31-32). ◇ DIEFENBACH I 55 (to Gk ὀρύχω 'to dig up' and/or OE *éar* 'earth of the grave'); MEYER *Wb.* 37 (to *verrë, birë*), *Alb. St.* V 104 (to IE \**uer-* 'to wrap'); JOKL *Studien* 94, *IF* XXXVI 125; ÇABEJ *St.* II 269-270 (follows DIEFENBACH); DEMIRAJ *AE* 409.

**varrë** f, pl. *varrë* 'wound'. Secondary formation built on *vras* and based on the analogy with verbs in *-as*. Cf. *vrajë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 464 (to *vras* and Skt *vranā-* 'wound'), *Alb. St.* III 38, 73; VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 63 (to OHG *wern, werra* 'varix'); JOKL *LKUBA* 194; SKOK *AArbSt* I 223; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 289; FRISK *Kl. Schr.* 277 (follows MEYER); ÖLBERG *IBK* XIII 66; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 194; ANTTILA *Schw.* 156; ÇABEJ *St.* II 270-271; DEMIRAJ *AE* 408.

**vatër ~ votër** f, pl. *vatra ~ votra* 'hearth, fireplace'. Borrowed from

Iranian, cf. Av *atar-* 'fire' (JOKL *Festschr. Rozwadowski* 37-50). The intermediate Iranian form in the Balkans must have been *\*atar-* or *\*otar-*. Rum *vatrā* 'hearth, fireplace' is an Albanian loanword. Slavic forms (SCr *vatra* id. and the like) were borrowed from Albanian or Rumanian (JOKL *WZKM* XXXIV 49). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 4 (from Lat *atrium*); MEYER *Wb.* 464-465; MLADENOV *RESI* IV/2 191-192; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287-288; JOKL *Slavia* XIII 283-284; BARTHOLOMAE 312-316; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 248 (to Lat *atrium*); VASMER I 279; ZALIZN'AK *VSJa* 40-41; POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 353; ROSETTI *ILR* I 283; HAMP *Opusc. slavica* 201-210 (looks for an ancient Balkan source), *RRL* 4 (1981) 315, *ALH* XII 153-155; ÖLBERG *IBK* XVII 45-46; KLEPIKOVA *BJaz.* 149-169; SCHUSTER-ŠEWC *ZfPhonetik* XXXII 699-702; HULD 124; DEMIRAJ *AE* 410-412 (Latin influence).

**vath** ~ **vāth** m, pl. *vathë* ~ *vāthë* 'earring'. Another variant is *vēth*. Diminutive of *vëng* ~ *vang*. ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 151; MAYRHOFER III 154-155; WALDE-HOFMANN II 763-766; FEIST *Goth.* 546-547; POKORNY I 1156-1158.

**vathë** f, pl. *vathë* 'sheepfold, pen'. Diminutive of an unattested *\*vartë* continuing PALb *\*wartā*. The letter is etymologically identical with Tokh B *wārto* 'garden', Ir *fert* 'grave mound', OE *weorð* 'yard' and the like (JOKL *Studien* 94). ◇ HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 390; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 5 (to Lat *urbs* 'town'); POKORNY I 1162; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 209; HAMP *ZfceltPh* XL (1984) 275-276; DEMIRAJ *AE* 412 (connected with IE *\*ues-* 'to live; to stay night').

**vazhdë** f 'trace'. Borrowed from East South Slavic, cf. Bulg *važdam*, OCS *važdati* 'to lead' (MEYER *Wb.* 465).

**vdēs** aor. *vdīqa* 'to die'. From *\*awa-takja*, derivative of *\*teka* 'to run away, to go away', cf. *ndjek* (HULD 124-125). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 465 (comparison with SCr *zdeknuti* 'to die, to peg out'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 77 (to OHG *touwen* 'to die' - but the source of the latter is IE *\*dhau-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285 (agrees with BARIĆ); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 25-30 (to Skt *vinakti* 'to separate'); PISANI *Saggi* 123 (follows BARIĆ); ÇABEJ *Die Sprache* XVIII 142 (to OE *deorc* 'dark'), *Etim.* III 206-208.

**vdjerr** aor. *vdorra* 'to leave'. From *\*awa-derna* 'to leave' < *\*to go*

away' formed with a prefix on the basis of IE \**der-* 'to run': Skt *dráti* 'to run, to hasten', Gk aor. ἔδρᾶν 'to run away' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 437). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* III 73 (to *djerr*); MANN *Language* XXVIII 33 (to Gk φθείρω); MAYRHOFER III 211; FRISK I 122-123; POKORNY I 204; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 204.

**ve** f, pl. *va, veja* 'widow'. From PALb \**widewā* related to Skt *vidhāvā* id., Lat *vidua* id., Goth *widuwo* id. and the like (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; JOKL *LKUBA* 51-53, 90). Phonetically, the borrowing from Lat *vidua* is equally possible (MEYER *Wb.* 465, *Alb. St.* I 73, IV 123). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71 (borrowed from Lat *vidua*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 120-121, 126; MANN *Language* XXVI 385; BARIĆ *Hymje* 21; FEIST *Goth.* 562; MAYRHOFER III 211; WALDE-HOFMANN II 785-786; POKORNY I 1128; ÇABEJ *St.* II 272-273 (follows JOKL).

**ve ~ vo** f, pl. *ve ~ vo* 'egg'. Etymologically relevant is the Old Albanian form *voe* (BUZUKU, BARDHI). Hence, the reconstruction of the contracted Tosk \**vae* > *ve* ~ Geg \**voe* > *vo*. The correspondence of anlaut Tosk *va-* ~ Geg *vo-* is typical of (mainly Latin) loanwords. Therefore, *ve ~ vo* is a borrowing from Lat *ovum* 'egg' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45; MEYER *Wb.* 465). ◊ BOPP 534 n. 1 (compares with Lat *ovum*, Gk φόνν); CAMARDA I 44, 91 (follows BOPP); MEYER *Alb. St.* I 73, IV 23; MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; JOKL *LKUBA* 51-52, 90, 207 (confronted with difficulties in the explanation of the vocalism, reconstructs \**ēujē*), *IF* XXXVI 109 f.; SPITZER *IF* XXXIX 110; BARIĆ I 81; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286; ÇABEJ *St.* II 272 (follows BOPP); HULD 125-126.

**veç** adv., prep. 'separately, besides'. Derivative of \**ve*, a form of PALb \**awa* 'away, out, un-', cf. *vdes, vrap*. ◊ MANN *Comp.* 44 (from IE \**aujos*).

**vedër** f, pl. *vedra* 'pail (for milk)'. Borrowed from Slav \**vědro* 'pail', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vedro*, SCr *vjedro, vedro* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 465). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 153; HAMP *LB* XIV/2 13; SVANE 68.

**vegë** f, pl. *vega* 'handle, tool, instrument'. With other variants (*vjegë, vegjë*), this words continues the attested form *vegël* 'ear (of a vessel), instrument, tool'. The latter is borrowed from Lat *vehiculum* 'vehicle'

(LAMBERTZ apud ÇABEJ *St.* II 273). ◇ CAMARDA I 70 (to Lat *vehō* 'to carry'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 549-550; JOKL *LKUBA* 101-104 (to *vangë* or to *vig*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 99; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 77-78; ÇABEJ *St.* II 273-276 (follows JOKL's second etymology), 296-297; DEMIRAJ *AE* 412-413.

**vegoj** aor. *vegova* 'to appear misty, to be indistinct'. Borrowed from Lat *vagārī* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 465 (from Turkish); ÇABEJ *St.* II 275 (to *vagëlloj*).

**vegsh** m, pl. *vegsha* 'clay pot'. Derived from *vegë* (JOKL *LKUBA* 101-103). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 275.

**vehte** pron. 'self'. Other widespread variants are *vete* and *vetë*. From PALb *\*swai-ta* derived from *\*swaja*. The latter is identical with IE *\*swojos* 'own': Slav *\*svojb*, OPrus *swais* (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 45), further related to IE *\*sue-* (BOPP 478; CAMARDA I 218; MEYER *Wb.* 468). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 468 (*vetë* from IE *\*sue-t-*), *BB* VIII 192, *Alb. St.* III 58; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 111, *LKUBA* 41, 261 (reconstructs *\*swojēti*); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290 (*vetë* < *\*suet-i-* with a locative particle *\*-i*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 280-281; MANN *Language* XXVI 379, 382 (to Gk *αὐτός*); TRAUTMANN *BSIWb.* 251; VASMER III 583; PISANI *Saggi* 167; LEUKART *Nomina* 152-153; KORTLANDT *SSGL* XXIII 174 ("unclear"); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 354, *Orpheus* VI 17 (against MANN); DEMIRAJ *AE* 416-417.

**vej** aor. *vejta* 'to weave'. From PALb *\*webnja* connected with Skt *ubhndti* 'to lace up', OHG *weban* 'to weave', Tokh B *wāp-* id. (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 36, 38). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 105; PORZIG *Gliederung* 178, 186; MAYRHOFER I 107; POKORNY I 1114; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 113; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 77; ÇABEJ *LP* VII 162-163, *St.* VII 184, 228; HULD 143; DEMIRAJ *AE* 413-414 (secondary form in *\*-nīð*).

**vel** aor. *vela* 'to overeat, to eat too much'. Continues PALb *\*wala*, a secondary ablaut variant of *vjell* (HAHN 7). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 276.

**velenxë** f, pl. *velenxa* 'woolen blanket'. A Balkan word indirectly borrowed to Albanian from Slav *\*val'anica* 'object made of felt' through the mediation of NGk *βελέντσα* 'woolen blanket'. ◇ MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36 (from Slavic); MEYER *Wb.* 465 (from Hung *velencze*);

SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 170; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279; DESNICKAJA *Slav. zaim.* 12; SVANE 48.

**vem** m, pl. *veme* 'larva, grub, caterpillar'. Derived from *ve* 'egg' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 276-277). The meaning 'caterpillar' appeared under the influence of *dhemje* occasionally confused with *vem* in dialects where *v* and *dh* are interchanged. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 84, *Alb.St.* IV 61 (identifies *vem* with *dhemje*); KRISTOFORIDHI 19, 87.

**vend** m, pl. *vende* 'place'. From PALB \**wen-ta*, an adjectival form based on the verb \**wena* > *vě* (MEYER *Wb.* 469). ◊ HAHN I 243 (comparison with the Illyrian place-name *Vendum*); KRETSCHMER *Glotta* XXI 89-90; TREIMER *KZ* LXV 116; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279; MANN *Language* XXVIII 38, *Hist. Gr.* 81 (to IE \**yes-*); GERCENBERG *Prosodika* 106 (to Illyr Οὐένδων, *A-vendius*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 278-280 (to Gk οὐδᾶς 'ground, earth', Arm *getin* id.); HULD 126.

**venitem** refl. 'to pale, to wane'. Borrowed from Slav \**venęti* id., cf. South Slav continuants: Bulg *vena*, SCr *venuti* (MEYER *Wb.* 466). ◊ SVANE 251.

**vepër** f, pl. *vepra* 'work'. A singularized plural of an unattested \**vapër* ~ *vopër*, cf. *vogël*, pl. *vegjël*. Borrowed from Lat *opera* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 44; MEYER *Wb.* 466). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; HAARMANN 138; LANDI *Lat.* 60, 130.

**verbër** ~ **verb** adj. 'blind'. Borrowed from Lat *orbis* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 45; MEYER *Wb.* 466) with the same phonetic development as in *vepër*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1046; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 18; HAARMANN 139; LANDI *Lat.* 60-61, 177.

**verdhtë** adj. 'yellow'. Borrowed from Lat *viridis* 'green' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71; MEYER *Wb.* 466). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045, 1053; JOKL *LKUBA* 14; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 157; LANDI *Lat.* 58.

**verë** f 'summer'. Borrowed from Rom \**vëra* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 466; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044;

TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279-280; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 82, 216; HAARMANN 156.

**verĕ** ~ **venĕ** f 'wine'. From PAIb \**wainā* cognate with Gk οἴνη 'vine', οἶνος 'wine', Lat *vīnum* 'wine', Arm *gini* id., ultimately borrowed from Sem \**wainu-* id. (CAMARDA I 42, 57; MEYER *Wb.* 465-466, *Alb. St.* III 38, 89). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71 (borrowed from Lat *vīnum*); MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 321; BÜGA III 427; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279; LA PIANA *Prefisso* 48; PISANI *Saggi* 99; MANN *Language* XXVI 387, *Hist. Gr.* 66 (loanword from Doric); FRISK II 364-366; CHANTRAINE 785; WALDE-HOFMANN II 794-795; POKORNY I 1121; ÇABEJ *St.* II 280-281; HULD 126-127 (borrowed from North-West Greek); JANSON *Unt.* 32-33; DEMIRAJ *AE* 414.

**verigĕ** f, pl. *veriga* 'chain ring'. Borrowed from Slav \**veriga* 'chain', cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *veriga*, SCr *veriga* (MEYER *Wb.* 466). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 15, 148; SVANE 86.

**verzĕ** f, pl. *verza* 'gill, branchia'. Continues the umlauticized PAIb \**wardjā* etymologically identical with Lith *varlĕ* 'frog' < \**vardĕ*, Latv *vārde*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 467 (from \**bьrca*, to Slav \**bьrkъ* 'mustache'); WEIGAND 98 (to *vesh*); JOKL *LKUBA* 137-139 (from Rom \**vertia*, to Lat *vertere* 'to turn'); FRAENKEL 1200; SOMMER *Balt.* 178 (on Lith *-l-* < \**-d-* in this word); DODBIBA *St. Leks.* 262 (from \**vesh-zĕ*, to *vesh*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 281-282 (follows DODBIBA).

**verzomĕ** f 'fishing net'. Derived from *verzĕ*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 282 (identical with *vĕrzop*).

**verr** m, pl. *verra* 'alder'. Continues PAIb \**werna* related to Bret *gwern* id., W *gwernen* id., Mlr *fern* id. (DIEFENBACH I 50) and Arm *geran* 'beam, timber' (LIDÉN *IF* XVIII 485-486). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 255, *Festschr. Kretschmer* 86-88, *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 236; BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 413; TREIMER *Slavia* III 454 (to Slav \**avorъ* 'elm', a Germanic loanword in Slavic); MANN *Language* XXVIII 37; LEWIS-PEDERSEN 53; POKORNY I 1169; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 205; HAMP *IF* LXXXVI 193 (on Bret *gwern*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 282-283; DEMIRAJ *AE* 414-415.

**verrĕ** f, pl. *verra* 'hole'. Another form is *vĕrĕ*. From PAIb \**werā* or

\**werwā* connected with Skt *urú-* 'wide', *váras-* 'space, width', Gk εὐρύς 'wide'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 36 (improbable comparison with *birē*); MAYRHOFER I 110; FRISK I 592-593; POKORNY I 1165; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 364.

**ves** m, pl. *vese* 'bad habit'. Borrowed from Lat *vitium* 'fault, defect, vice' (MEYER *Wb.* 467). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 187; HAARMANN 158; LANDI *Lat.* 58, 125.

**vesë** f 'dew'. DE RADA's variant is *voesë*, in Geg one also finds *vosë*. The original form must have been \**vaesë* ~ *voesë*. Borrowed from Rom \**ðvătium*, a word describing the falling dew as small eggs. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 262 (from \**uend-ti-*).

**vesh** m, pl. *veshë* 'ear'. From PAIb \**wausi-* further related to IE \**ōus-* ~ \**aus-* id. (CAMARDA I 54), in particular, cf. Lat *auris*, Lith *ausis*, Latv *auss* (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 11-12, 61). Another, less possible reconstruction for Proto-Albanian is \**wōusa*; in this case, the immediate parallel is found in Gk ὠς id. (HAMP *Laryngeals* 138) but in Greek the long vocalism belongs to nom. sg. of the consonantal stem. In both cases, prothetic *v-* is not quite regular. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21 (to Skt *ghóṣa-* 'noise'); MEYER *Wb.* 467 (compares with Av *gaoš-* 'to hear'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 172 (follows MEYER *Alb. St.* III); PEDERSEN *Festschr. Thomsen* 254 (*v-* treated as a hiatus-filler); JOKL *WZKM* XXXIV 40; SPITZER *IF* XXXIX 110-111; BÜGA II 641; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 280, *Stratificazione* 99; LA PIANA *Studi* I 82; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39; FRAENKEL 26; FRISK II 448-449; WALDE-HOFMANN I 85-86; POKORNY I 785; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31 (borrowed from Lat *ōs*); HAMP *Laryngeals* 138; HULD 127; KARULIS *LEV* I 90-91; RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 73; OREL *Sprache* XXXI 280, *ZfBalk* XXIII 144, *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 351 ("ruki" rule in *vesh*); KORTLANDT *SSGL* X 221; DEMIRAJ *AE* 414 (reconstructs dual, cf. *sy*).

**vesh** m, pl. *veshë* 'vine'. Historically identical with *vesh* 'ear'. ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 213-215 (to Lith *vaĩsius* 'fruit'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 114-115 (derived from IE \**uoino-* 'wine'); JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 93.

**vesh** aor. *vesha* 'to put on (clothes), to cover'. From PAIb \**wesja* etymologically connected with Skt *váste* 'to wear, to be dressed in', Gk ἔννυμι 'to dress', and in particular with causatives attested in Skt *vāsáyati*

and Goth *wasjan* id. (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; BOPP 503-504; MEYER *Wb.* 467, *Alb. St.* III 38, 61). ◊ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70 (from Lat *vestire* id.); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 283; LA PIANA *Studi* I 92; MANN *Language* XXVI 383, XXVIII 39; FRISK I 521-522; MAYRHOFER III 175-176; POKORNY I 1172-1173; HAMP *Laryngeals* 138; HULD 150; DEMIRAJ *AE* 416.

**veshĕl** adj. 'fruitful'. Derived from *vesh* 'vine'. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 184.

**veshje** f, pl. *veshje* 'kidney'. Historically identical with *veshje* 'clothing, clothes, dress', *veshje* is derived from *vesh* 'to cover, to put on' (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 75). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 467-468 (to Hung *vese* id. and Slav \**pečěň* 'liver'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 283-284 (connects *veshje* with *eshke*).

**veshkĕt ~ vyshkĕt** adj. 'faded, withered'. Borrowed from Lat *vĕscus* 'small, thin, weak' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 468). From here the verb *veshk* 'to make withered' is derived. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 156.

**veshqok** adj. 'clever, smart'. Derivative of *veshq* identical with *veshĕl*, with *-shq-* rendering *-sl-* as in *shqa*.

**veshtull** m, pl. *veshtuj* 'mistletoe'. Based on an unattested \**vesht*, an irregular continuant of \**veshk* borrowed from Lat *viscum* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 468). ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 244; HAARMANN 157 (from Rom \**vistulum*); HAMP *St. albanica* VIII/2 153-155.

**vete ~ vetem** aor. *vajta* 'to go'. The element *-te* in the paradigm of singular is, whatever its source, secondary. The original form of 1 sg. was \**vem* continuing Palb \**wadmi* identical with Arm *gam* '(I) come'. Further cognates are Lat *vādō* 'to go, to walk' and ON *vaða* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 468 (calque of Rom \**vādītus sum* with *vet(e)-* borrowed from \**vādītus*; alternatively, *vete* is related to Lat *vādere*); JOKL *IF* XLIX 292; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 109 (from \**gʷatos esmi*), *Zb. Belić* 187; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287; WALDE-HOFMANN II 723-724; POKORNY I 1109.

**vetĕtij** aor. *vetĕtiva* 'to sparkle'. Related forms are *vetoj* and *vektoj* 'to



shine'. The original form must have been *\*veg(ë)toj* connected etymologically with *vegoj*, *vegulloj*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 470 (from Slav *\*světiti* 'to shine'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279.

**vetlloj** aor. *vetllova* 'to crease, to fold'. Derived from *vetull*.

**vetull** f, pl. *vetulla* 'eyebrow'. Borrowed from Rom *\*vittula* derived from Lat *vitta* 'band', especially denoting a fillet or chaplet worn round the head (SPITZER *MRIW* I 332-333). ◊ MEYER *Alb. St.* I 93-94, *Wb.* 469 (to Slav *\*věko* 'eyelid', Lith *vokà* id. or to Slav *\*vĕdja* 'eyebrow'), *Alb. St.* III 5, 38; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 81 (to IE *\*ok<sup>h</sup>-t-* derived from 'eye' *\*ok<sup>h</sup>-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 267; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 280, *Stratificazione* 99; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* V 195; HAARMANN 50 (agrees with SPITZER); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ *St.* II 284 (follows MEYER's comparison with Slav *\*vĕdja*); HULD 128 (from *\*ok<sup>h</sup>lā* with *\*-k<sup>h</sup>-* > *-(u)ll*); HAARMANN 158.

**veth** m, pl. *vethë* 'maggot'. Deminutive of *vem*.

**vezulloj** aor. *vezullova* 'to shine'. From *\*dhezulloj*, derivative of *dhez* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 285). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 470 (to *vetëtij*).

**vë ~ vê** aor. *vura ~ vuna* 'to put'. Proto-Albanian innovation *\*awena* replacing IE *\*dhē-* (including such idioms as *i vë emrin* 'to give a name' < *\*onōm<sup>h</sup> dhē-*). The verb *\*awena* is a derivative in *\*-no-* based on *\*aue* 'down, off' (Skt *áva* id. and the like) and its original meaning is 'to put down', 'to put aside', just as in Lat *pōnere* 'to put'. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 469; MANN *Language* XXVIII 38 (< IE *\*ues-* 'to sell'); MAYRHOFER I 56; POKORNY I 72; HAMP *Laryngeals* 128-129 (reconstructs IE *\*Honō*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 278 f. (comparison with Arm *getin*); HULD 126 (to Goth *winja* 'pasture'); OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 436 (< IE *\*ues-* 'to stay, to live, to be'; possible only if *\*wena-* < *\*wes-na-* is accepted); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 364.

**vëlla** m, pl. *vëllezër ~ vëllazën* 'brother'. As plural reflects *-z-* < *\*-dj-*, the Proto-Albanian source of *vëlla* can be reconstructed as *\*swe-laudā*, composite of pronominal *\*swe* (see *u*) and *\*laudā* cognate with OHG *liut* 'people', Slav *\*l'udъ* id. and the like, from IE *\*leudh-* (JOKL *LKUBA* 41-46). ◊ BOPP 461 (connected with IE *\*bhrāter-* 'brother'); MEYER *Wb.* 469-470 (correctly reconstructs *\*swe-* as the first element),

*Alb. St.* III 63 (same as BOPP; adduces βρά· ἀδελφοί, ὑπὸ Ἰλείων [sc. Ἰλείων], Hes.); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 222 (compares with ON *svilar* ‘brothers-in-law’, Gk (Pollux) εἰλίονες id. thus reconstructing \**smelo-*); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 6; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 284-285 (agrees with WIEDEMANN), *Stratificazione* 121 (follows JOKL); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 34 (from \**sye-loghos* ‘‘from the same bed’’); PISANI *REIE* IV 17-18; VASMER II 545; POKORNY I 684-685; BENVENISTE *Inst.* I 322-323; CHANTRAINE 191; SZEMERÉNYI *Kinship* 116; HAMP *RRL* XXI/1 51, *JIES* XVI/1-2 121-122; KLINGENSCHMITT apud DEMIRAJ (from \**sye-sloughā*); HULD 129 (reconstructs \**auH-m-tlā* and compares *vëlla* with Lat *avunculus* ‘maternal uncle’); DEMIRAJ *AE* 417.

**vënd** ~ **vend** m, pl. *vende* ‘place’. A coexisting Tosk form is *vend*. From PAIb \**wenta*, derivative of *vě* ‘to put’ (MEYER *Wb.* 469). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 279; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 364.

**vëng** ~ **vang** m, pl. *vangje* ‘hoop, tyre, ring, rim’. The Tosk form is poorly attested. From PAIb \**wengā* related to Skt *vāngati* ‘to go, to limp’, OHG *winchan* ‘to make a sign, to make a motion’, Lith *vīngis* ‘arc’ and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 463, *Alb. St.* III 7, 38, 66, 87). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 103-104, *ArRom* XXIV 39, *Sprache* IX 130; BÜGA II 325, 648; SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 5; MANN *Language* XVII 20; FRAENKEL 1256-1257; MAYRHOFER III 124; POKORNY I 1148; ÇABEJ *St.* II 266-267; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 148; DEMIRAJ *AE* 408.

**vëngër** adj. ‘cross-eyed’. Related to *vang*.

**vërsë** ~ **vërcë** f ‘age’. The Geg form with its -c- < Slav \*-st- is more conservative. Borrowed from Slav \**vьrsta* ‘age, kind, kin’, cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vьrsta* ‘age’, SCr *vrsta* ‘kind, age’ (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195; SVANE 187.

**vërsnik** m, pl. *vërsnikë* ‘peer’. Borrowed from Slav \**сѣвѣръстѣникъ* id., cf. ORuss *сѣвѣръстѣникъ*. Another variant, *vëshnik*, may belong to an earlier layer of Slavic loanwords. ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 195; SVANE 187.

**vërs'hëllej** aor. *vërs'hëlleva* ‘to whistle’. Irregular transformation of Rom \**fistulāre*, cf. Lat *fistula* ‘pipe’.

**věrshoj** aor. *věrshova* 'to flood, to overflow'. Borrowed from Lat *versāre* 'to turn, to wind', in Romance also 'to pour out' (MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◇ MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70 (from Ital *versare*); MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; ÇABEJ *St.* II 285 (prefixal derivative in *věr-* based on *lëshoj*); HAARMANN 156.

**věrtetě** f, pl. *věrteta* 'truth'. Borrowed from Lat *veritātem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 156; LANDI *Lat.* 33, 39, 145.

**věrtit** aor. *věrtita* 'to turn'. Borrowed from Slav \**vьrtěti* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *врѣт'а*, SCr *vrtjeti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 289; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 289; SVANE 249.

**věrtyt** m 'physical strength'. Borrowed from Lat *virtūtem* 'manhood, strength' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71; MEYER *Wb.* 470-471). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 157; LANDI *Lat.* 69, 84.

**věrvit** aor. *věrvita* 'to hurl, to fling'. Borrowed from Slav \**vьrvěti*: Bulg *врѣв'а*, SCr *vrvjeti, vrvljjeti* (MEYER *Wb.* 471). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 243; SVANE 249.

**věrzop** m 'rope used to carry straw'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *вѣрзоп* 'tie bundle' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 282).

**věrras** aor. *virra* 'to shout; to bleat'. Secondary formation in *-as* < \**atja* based on PAIb \**wera* further related to Gk εἶπω 'to say', Hitt *yerija-* 'to sound' and the like. ◇ CAMARDA I 175 (to *hértas*); MEYER *Wb.* 471, *Alb. St.* III 38, V 105 (follows CAMARDA and compares *věrras* with Slav \**versčati* 'to squeak'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 89; FRISK I 469-471; POKORNY I 1162-1163; ÇABEJ *St.* II 285-286 (same as MEYER).

**věrri ~ věrrĭ** f, pl. *věrri ~ věrrĭ* 'winter pasture'. Borrowed from Rom \**hiberninum*, derivative of Lat *hibernum* 'winter' (SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 240-242). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 471 (agrees with SCHUCHARDT); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1049; JOKL *LKUBA* 264-265; WEIGAND 99

(Albanian derivative of *hibernum*); MIHÄESCU RESEE IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 129; ÇABEJ St. II 286 (from Rom *\*invernus*?!).

**vërri** f 'little furrow'. Another form is *rruvi*. Derived from *verrë* (MEYER Wb. 37). ◊ JOKL Studien 94-95 (to Lat *versus* 'furrow'); ÇABEJ St. II 286-287 (to *varrë*).

**vësht** ~ **vësht** m, pl. *vreshta* ~ *vneshta* 'vineyard'. From PALb *\*wainesta* with a mobile stress in the paradigm: sg. *\*wainesta* - pl. *\*wainés-ta*. Derived from *\*wainā* > *verë* ~ *venë* (MEYER Wb. 466; PEDERSEN KZ XXXIII 549). ◊ ; JOKL IF XXXVI 126-127, LKUBA 274; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285; CAMAJ Alb. Wortb. 123; ÇABEJ St. II 280-281; DEMIRAJ AE 414.

**vështirë** adj. 'hard, difficult, bad, evil'. Prefixal derivative of *shtirë* (MEYER Wb. 416). ◊ JOKL LKUBA 284; ÇABEJ St. II 287.

**vëshjell** aor. *vështolla* 'to wrap'. A prefixal derivative of *shtjell*.

**vështroj** aor. *vështrova* 'to see, to watch'. Another variant is *vështoj*. Borrowed from Lat *visitare* id. (MEYER Wb. 471). On the other hand, cf. *vëzhgoj*. ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß<sup>2</sup> I 1051; SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 246; MIHÄESCU RESEE IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ St. VII 204, 234; HAARMANN 157-158; HAMP SCL XXVIII/1 74-77.

**vëzhgoj** aor. *vëzhgova* 'to watch, to observe'. Borrowed from Lat *vestigāre* 'to follow, to track' (MEYER Wb. 471). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE Gr. Grundriß<sup>2</sup> I 1049; JOKL LKUBA 246; MIHÄESCU RESEE IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 157.

**vgje** ~ **vgjë** m, pl. *vgjenj* 'pine'. Borrowed from Lat *abiegnum* 'related to fir', derivative of *abietem* 'fir' (MEYER Alb. St. IV 64, V 105, Wb. 471). ◊ SCHUCHARDT KZ XX 252 (from Lat *abietem* 'fir-tree'); MEYER Alb. St. I 57 (from Gk *πεύκη* 'pine'); MIHÄESCU RESEE IV/1-2 31; HAARMAN 110; ÇABEJ St. II 287-288.

**vickë** f, pl. *vicka* 'hoofbeat, step'. From *\*vith-kë*, derived from *vithe* (ÇABEJ St. II 288).

**viç** m, pl. *viça*, *viçëra* ~ *viçna* 'calf'. From PALb *\*vetuša* with *\*-s-* >

\*-š- in accordance with the "ruki" rule (OREL *IJaK* 140-141) and further related to \*weta > vit (STIER KZ XI 207), cf. Skt *vatsá-* 'calf' belonging to the same root (BOPP 461, 513). ◇ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; CAMARDA I 200; STIER KZ XI No 48; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 72 (from Lat *vitulus*); MEYER *Wb.* 475-476; PEDERSEN KZ XXXVI 290 (reconstructs \**ueteso-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 34, 261 (suggests \**uetesjo-* as a source of *vig*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 281, *Stratificazione* 143; PORZIG *Gliederung* 159; PISANI *Saggi* 131; MAYRHOFFER III 133; SZEMERÉNYI *Quellen* 94; HAMP *GJA* VII/1 27-30, *BSL* LXVI 222; ÇABEJ *St.* II 288-290; HULD 129-130; OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 354; DEMIRAJ *AE* 417-418.

**vidĕr** f, pl. *vidra* 'otter'. Borrowed from Slav \**vydra* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *vidra*, SCr *vidra* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189, 299). ◇ SVANE 143.

**vidh** m, pl. *vidha* 'elm'. From PALb \**wīdza* related to Kurd *viz* id., OE *wīc* id., and, with nasalization, Lith *vīnkšna* id., Slav \**vyzъ* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 472, *Alb. St.* III 18, 38). ◇ PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 150; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 392; BÜGA II 653; PISANI *Saggi* 132; FRAENKEL 1257; VASMER I 374; POKORNY I 1177; FRIEDRICH *Trees* 83.

**vig** m, pl. *vigj*, *vigje* 'small bridge, coffin, stretcher on which the dead body is carried'. From PALb \**sweiga* related to IE \**suei-* 'to bend' and its derivatives, cf., in particular, ON *sveigr* 'flexible', OHG *sweiga* 'cattle shed' < \**suei-k-*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 472 (from Lat *vīcus* 'street, village'); JOKL *Studien* 96 (to Skt *vayá* 'branch', Slav \**větvъ* id.), *LKUBA* 149; POKORNY I 1041-1042; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 77-78; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 199, 208; DEMIRAJ *AE* 418.

**vigan** m, pl. *viganë* 'giant'. A Balkan *Wanderwort* for 'smith', cf. SCr *viganj*, Hung *vihnye* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 472). ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 279.

**vigje** pl. 'gifts (on marriage or birth); dinner on the third day after child's birth'. Borrowed from Lat *vīctualia* 'victuals'. The sonorization of the dental may point to the late date of borrowing. ◇ JOKL *Studien* 95-96 (from \**ued-l-*, to Gk *ἔδov* 'dowry'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 290 (plural of *vig*); MURATI *Probleme* 106-107 (from Lat *vigilia*); LANDI *Lat.* 94, 126.

**vigjër** f, pl. *vigjëza* 'vetch'. Collective form of \**vigjë*, a hypercorrect form of \**viqë* borrowed from Lat *vicia* id. (MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ *St.* II 290). ◊ HAARMANN 157; LANDI *Lat.* 113.

**vij** ~ **vinj** aor. *erdha* 'to come'. Borrowed from Lat *venire* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 473). The aorist continues PALb \**erdza* etymologically identical with Gk ἔρχομαι 'to come' (CAMARDA I 240; MEYER *Wb.* 69, *Alb. St.* III 18, 86). ◊ CAMARDA I 79 (mistakenly equates *vij* with Gk βαίνω 'to go' and Lat *veniō*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335; MEILLET *Arm.* II 42; FRISK II 572; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 71; KLINGENSCHMITT *Verbum* 97; ÇABEJ *St.* I 164 (to Gk ὀρνύμαι 'to move' and its cognates); HULD 129; HAARMANN 156.

**vijë** f, pl. *vija* 'furrow, line, ditch'. Borrowed from Lat *vīa* 'road, way' (MEYER *Wb.* 471-472). ◊ MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 279; HAARMANN 157; LANDI *Lat.* 77, 135.

**vikas** aor. *vikata* 'to cry, to shout'. Borrowed from Slav \**vykati* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *vikam*, SCr *vikati* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 472). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 192; SVANE 261.

**vilas** aor. *vilata* 'to cut down (trees)'. Derivative in *-as* < \*-*atja* of *vjel* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 291).

**vile** f, pl. *vile* 'bunch (of grapes)'. Derived from *vjel* (MEYER *Wb.* 475). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 291.

**virgjër** ~ **virgjin** f, pl. *virgjëra* ~ *virgjina* 'maiden'. Borrowed from Lat *virginem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 71; MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1045; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 21; HAARMANN 157; LANDI *Lat.* 57, 145-146.

**virua** ~ **virue** m, pl. *vironj* 'brook, rivulet'. Borrowed from Slav pl. \**virove* of \**virъ* 'whirlpool, water-pit' (JOKL *IF* XLIX 280-281). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 473 (from Slav \**virъ*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 292; SVANE 170.

**vise** f, pl. *vise* 'place'. Goes back to PALb \**wītsjā* < IE \**ueikjā* similar to Gk οἰκία 'dwelling, house'. The development of IE \**-k̑i-* to Alb -

*s-* is regular (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 38). Further connected with IE \**ueik-* 'house'. ◊ CAMARDA 131 (rejects the connection with \**ueiko-*); MEYER *BB* VIII 186, *Wb.* 473 (*vise* is treated as a reflex of \**ueiko-* but this is phonetically impossible as \**k̂* > PAIb \**-ts-* > Alb *-th-*), *Alb. St.* III 13, 38; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXV 338; JOKL *Studien* 5 (to Lith *vietà* 'place'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 32; PISANI *Saggi* 101; FRISK II 360-361; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 69-70; POKORNY I 1131; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 69-71; ÇABEJ *LP* VIII 127-128, *St.* II 293-294 (singularized pl. of *vënd*); HULD 126 (*-s-* < \**-d-t-*); OREL *Koll. Idg. Ges.* 364; DEMIRAJ *AE* 419.

**visk** m 'foal of donkey'. Borrowed from Slav \**viskъ* 'shriek', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *visk*, SCr *visak* (*BER* I 152). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 473 (from Slav \**viskati* 'to shriek'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 295 (hypocoristic of *Vinçenc*).

**vishkëlloj** aor. *vishkëllova* 'to whistle'. Borrowed from Lat *fistuläre* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 112). ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 284.

**vishkull** f, pl. *vishkulla* 'rod, cane'. Borrowed from Rom \**viscula*, cf. Calabr *višiyu* 'young oak-tree' < Rom \**viscile*. ◊ LANDI *Lat.* 111, 140.

**vishnje** f, pl. *vishnje* 'kind of cherry'. Borrowed from Slav \**višъn'a*, cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *višn'a*, SCr *višnja* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 473-474). ◊ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 164; SVANE 128.

**vishtat** pl. 'standing crop'. Related to *vjeshtë* (JOKL *LKUBA* 213-214).

**vit, vjet** m, pl. *vite, vjet, vjetëra* 'year'. From PAIb \**weta* connected with Hitt *uitt-* id., Gk *ἔτος* id. and the like (BOPP 460; CAMARDA I 17; MEYER *Wb.* 475-476, *Alb. St.* III 23, 38). ◊ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 35, 269, 320; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 282; LA PIANA *Studi* I 94; MANN *Language* XXVI 383; PISANI *Saggi* 131; FRISK I 583-584; CHANTRAINE 383; POKORNY I 1175; HAMP *GJA* VII/1 27-29, *BSL* LXVI 222; HULD 129-130; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 146; DEMIRAJ *AE* 419-420.

**vitërk** m 'stepfather'. Borrowed from Lat *vītricus* id. (TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 127-128). ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 295; HAARMANN 158.

**vito** f, pl. *vito* 'dove'. Other forms are *vitua* and *vidë*. Based on PAIb

\**weita* related to Skt *váya-* 'bird', Lat *avis* id. and the like (JOKL *LKUBA* 299-301). ◇ STIER *KZ* XI 223 (from an onomatopoeic call); MEYER *Wb.* 474 (same as STIER); (); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 254; FRAENKEL 1265; MAYRHOFER III 236-237; WALDE-HOFMANN II 713-714; POKORNY I 1123-1124; HAMP *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 101 (a compound containing IE \**uei-* 'bird'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 420-421.

**vitore** f, pl. *vitore* 'mythical serpent (keeper of the house), fairy, fate; mother of many children'. Borrowed from Lat *victoria* 'victory' (GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 25; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 252). ◇ HAHN 162 (derived from *vit*); MEYER *Wb.* 475; TREIMER *AArbSt.* I 27-28 (to Lith *vietà* 'place'); ĆABEJ *St.* II 295-296 (derived from *vej*).

**vithe** f, pl. *vithe* 'crupper, rump, buttock, haunch'. A diminutive in *-th* based on PAIb \**wlja* 'twisted, woven' derived from IE \**uei-* 'to twist, to weave': Lat *vīeō*, Skt *váyati*, Lith *výti*, Slav \**viti*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 472 (compared with *bythe*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 144; MANN *Language* XXVIII 39 (to Gk *ισχία*); FRAENKEL 1266-1267; VASMER I 322; MAYRHOFER III 147; WALDE-HOFMANN II 786-788; POKORNY I 1120-1121; ĆABEJ *St.* VII 242.

**vjedh** aor. *vodha* 'to steal'. From PAIb \**wedza* related to Skt *váhati* 'to drive', Lat *vehō* 'to bear, to carry', Goth *gawigan* 'to steal' and other continuants of IE \**uegh-* (MEYER *Wb.* 474-475, *Alb. St.* III 18, 38). From *vjedh* the word for 'badger', *vjedhull*, is derived (STIER *KZ* XI 140). The latter was borrowed to Rum *viezure*. ◇ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 36, 274; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 335 (to IE \**uedh-*), *Kelt. Gr.* I 59, 172; JOKL *LKUBA* 322; MANN *Language* XXVI 382; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 251; VASMER I 284 (to IE \**uedh-* 'to lead'); FEIST *Goth.* 212; WALDE-HOFMANN II 742-743; MAYRHOFER III 177-179; POKORNY I 1118-1120; STANG *Vergl.* 389 (on the long grade in aor. *vodha*); POGHIRC *Ist. limb. rom.* II 353; ROSETTI *ILR* I 283; HAMP *Laryngeals* 138, *Die Sprache* XIV 156 (follows VASMER); HULD 130; DEMIRAJ *AE* 421-422.

**vjehěrr** f, pl. *vjehrra* 'mother-in-law'. From PAIb \**swexurā* < \**swesurā* with assimilation from the expected \**swetsurā* (BOPP 531; GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 21; JOKL *LKUBA* 46) restructured under the influence of the masculine form *vjehěrr* 'father-in-law' < IE \**suekuros* and related to IE \**suekrū-*: Skt *śvaśrū-* 'mother-in-law', Lat *socrus* id. and the like. The masculine form *vjehěrr* corresponds to Skt *śvāsura-* 'father-



in-law', Gk ἐκυρός id. and the like (MEYER *BB* VIII 186, *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 5, 58). ◇ MEYER *Gr. Gr.* 37; BUGGE *BB* XVIII 169; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290, 339, *Kelt. Gr.* I 75; JOKL *LKUBA* 41-43, *Sprache* IX 127; BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 384-385; JOKL *LKUBA* 46-48; MLADENOV *Ist.* 188; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 282, *Stratificazione* 121; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22-23, 38 (from \**ueskuro-* < \**suekuro-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 382; PISANI *Saggi* 103 (reconstructs \**sueskuros* to account for *-h-*); MAYRHOFER III 400-401; WALDE-HOFMANN II 550-551; FRISK I 478-479; POKORNY I 1043-1044; ÖLBERG *Festschr. Pisani* II 687; HULD 131 (follows LA PIANA), *IF* LXXXIV 196-199; DEMIRAJ *AE* 422.

**vjej** ~ **vij** aor. *vjeva*, *vjejta* 'to need'. A more conservative form is *vėjej*. Borrowed from Lat *valēre* 'to be able, to be healthy' (MEYER *Wb.* 469). ◇ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 156.

**vjel** aor. *vola* 'to pluck (fruit), to vintage'. From PALb \**wela* related to Gk εἴλω 'to shut in, to press', Lith *su-valýti* 'to harvest, to reap' (MEYER *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 38, 77, V 106). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 190, 214, *Slavia* XIII 318; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 282; RIBEZZO *RivAlb* I/2 124 n. 2 (to Lat *vellō* 'to pluck, to pull'); FRAENKEL 1190; FRISK I 456-457; POKORNY I 1138; ÇABEJ *St.* II 297-298.

**vjell** aor. *volla* 'to vomit'. From PALb \**welwa* related to Lat *volvō* 'to turn' and its cognates (MEYER *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 38). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 283 (to *vjel*); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 57 (to *avull*); WALDE-HOFMANN II 832-834; POKORNY I 1140-1142; ÖLBERG *IF* LXXIII 211; HULD 130 (on the semantic evolution of *vjell*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 422-423.

**vjershë** f, pl. *vjersha* 'poem'. Borrowed from Lat *versus* 'verse' (CAMARDA 198; MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 475). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043; WEIGAND 100 (against borrowing from Latin); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 138-139; ÇABEJ *St.* II 298-299 (secondary feminine form restored from pl. *vjersha*); HAARMANN 156; LANDI *Lat.* 51, 110, 148.

**vjerr** aor. *vorra* 'to hang'. Continues PALb \**wera* related to Gk ἀείρω 'to raise up', Lith *veriù*, *vėrti* 'to weigh', *sveriù*, *sveřti* 'to open, to thread' (MEYER *Wb.* 475, *Alb. St.* III 58, 71). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 290; MANN *Language* XVII 18; FRAENKEL 951, 1229; FRISK I 23;

POKORNY I 1150-1151; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 193; HULD 148; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 43; DEMIRAJ *AE* 423.

**vjeshtë** f, pl. *vjeshta* 'autumn'. Derivative in *-shtë* from *vjel* (MEYER *Wb.* 475). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 549; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 123, *LKUBA* 190, 214; ÇABEJ *St.* II 299; MANN *Comp.* 46 (to IE *\*auēks-* 'to grow'); MURATI *Probleme* 108-110 (from *\*aięesjā*).

**vjetër** adj. 'old'. Borrowed from Lat *veterem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 476). ◇ CAMARDA I 102 (treats *vjetër* as a derivative of *vit*); MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1053; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26; HAARMANN 64, 157; HULD 131.

**vlag** m 'wetness'. Borrowed from Slav *\*volga* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vlaga* (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 189).

**vlak** m, pl. *vleq* 'fishing-net; lambskin'. Another form is *vllak*. Borrowed from Slav *\*volkъ* 'object that can be dragged or carried', cf. Bulg *vlak*, SCr *vlak* 'net' (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 476). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 170, 303; SVANE 154.

**vlej** aor. *vleva, vlejta* 'to be worth, to cost, to deserve'. Other variants are *vëje* and *vjej*. Borrowed from Lat *valēre* 'to be worth, to cost' (MEYER *Wb.* 469). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1047; JOKL *LKUBA* 65; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 281.

**vloj** aor. *vlova* 'to get engaged'. See *mbloj*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 230, 234.

**vlug** m 'prime (of life), peak'. Continues PAIb *\*awa-luga*, a prefixal derivative of IE *\*leug-* 'to bend': Gk λυγίζω id., ON *lykna* 'to bend knees', Lith *lūgnas* 'flexible' and the like. The original meaning is, therefore, 'turning point'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (to *vrulloj*); FRISK II 141; FRAENKEL 388-389; POKORNY I 685-686; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

**vlladikë** m 'archbishop'. From a South Slavic continuant of *\*voldyka* 'lord': Bulg *vladika*, SCr *vladika* (MEYER *Wb.* 476).

**vllah** m, pl. *vllah* 'Arumunian'. Borrowed from Slav *\*volxъ* 'Valachian, speaker of Romance', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vlah*, SCr *vlah* (MEYER *Wb.* 476). ◇ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 285.

**vllanjë** f, pl. *vllanja* 'garden-bed, plot'. In Geg, there exist such variants as *vullâ* and *vllâ*. Borrowed from Rom \**villâne*, to Lat fem. *villana* 'related to farming'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 274 (from Rom \**malleānus*, to Lat *malleolus*); PEDERSEN *KZ XXXIII* 540; ÇABEJ *St.* II 307-308 (to *valë*, *avull*).

**vobektë** adj. 'poor'. A more conservative form is *vobeg*. Singularized plural of \**vobog* borrowed, with assimilation of vowels, from Slav \**ubogъ* id., cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *ubog*, SCr *ubog* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 36; MEYER *Wb.* 476). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 7; SELIŠČEV *Slav. nase-lenie* 193, 326; SVANE 267.

**voc** m, pl. *voca* 'boy, youth'. Derived from *vogël*, *vogërr*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 199-200.

**vogë** f 'steam'. Continues PALb \**wāgā* related to Gk ὑπόγος 'wet', ON *vōkr* id. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 477 (from Ital *voga* 'rowing; stroke'); FRISK II 955-956; POKORNY I 1118.

**vogël** adj. 'small', pl. *vegjël*. Within Albanian, another cognate is *vogërr* 'undersized, dwarfed, small'. Both forms continue PALb \**wāgla*, \**wāgra* related to Lat *vagor* 'to roam around', OIr *fán* 'slope' < \**uāg-no-*. The semantic development is from \**uāg-* 'to be crooked' to 'small'. ◇ CAMARDA I 91 (to Gk ὀλίγος 'little', with a metathesis); MEYER *Wb.* 477 (to Slav \**svěžbъ* 'fresh'), *Alb. St.* III 58; BUGGE *BB XVIII* 173 (to Norw *våk* 'child'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 115 (< \**ue-* 'not' + *galən-* 'big', cf. Slav \**golemъ* id.); JOKL *LKUBA* 23; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 286; WALDE-HOFMANN II 726-727; POKORNY I 1120; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 237; HULD 131-132.

**vokull** f 'circle'. Borrowed from Slav \**okolъ* 'circle, circumference', cf. *okoll*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 477 (from Ital *bocca* 'mouth').

**volitem** refl. 'to fit'. Borrowed from Slav \**voliti* 'to like, to prefer', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *vol'a*, SCr *voliti*. ◇ SVANE 250.

**volltë** f, pl. *vollta* 'will'. Another variant is *volë*. Borrowed from Slav \**vol'a* id., cf. South Slavic reflexes: Bulg *vol'a*, SCr *volja* (MEYER *Wb.* 477). ◇ SVANE 224, 250.

**voně** adj. 'late'. From PALb \**wānti*, a participle in \*-*nti* related to Skt *vāyati* 'to vanish, to become exhausted', Lith *vójus(i)* 'ailing', Latv *vājš* 'meager, weak'. ◊ TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 287; LA PIANA *St. Varia* 46-47 (reconstructs Tosk \**vaně* and derives \**vaně* ~ *voně* from \**okno-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 381 (to Lat *vānus* 'empty'); FRAENKEL 559; MAYRHOFER III 189-190; POKORNY I 1112; ÇABEJ *St.* II 300-301 (to *vete*).

**vorbě** f, pl. *vorba* 'clay pot'. An early borrowing in PALb \**wāribā* from Slav \**varьba* 'cooking' (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 153, 172). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 97 (to Slav \**variti* 'to cook', Lith *virti* id.), *Die Sprache* IX 150-151, *Slavia* XIII 301 (against SELIŠČEV); CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 120 (suffix *-bë*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 301-303 (from IE \**yer-* 'to turn'), III 214; URBUTIS *Kalhotyra* IX 263; MURATI *Probleme* 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 423-424.

(G) **voshtër** f, pl. *voshtra* 'Ligustrum vulgare'. Borrowed from late Lat *oleaster* (JOKL *LKUBA* 209-211), cf. with a different stress, *ullashër* s.v. *ullastër*. ◊ MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 24; ÇABEJ *St.* II 303; HAARMANN 138.

**vově** f, pl. *vova* 'bogey, scarecrow'. An onomatopoeia, probably of Slavic origin, cf. Russ *vova* id. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 477 (to Slovene *bavbav* and the like).

**vožit** aor. *vozita* 'to sail, to steer a course, to travel'. Borrowed from Slav \**voziti* 'to carry (in a vehicle)' and also 'to row, to paddle', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *voz'a*, SCr *voziti* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 477). ◊ JOKL *LKUBA* 161; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 167, 183; SVANE 244.

**vrah** m, pl. *vrahe* 'pile of sheaves'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *vrax* 'sheaf' (WEIGAND 101). ◊ BARIĆ *ARSt* 117. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (from Turk *orak* 'harvest, crops'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 117; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 160, 305; ÇABEJ *St.* II 303-304.

**vrajě** f, pl. *vraja* 'wound'. Derived from *vras*.

**vrap** aor. *vrapa* 'to run, to haste'. From PALb \**awa-rapa*, derivative with prefix \**awa-*, in etymological connection with *rjep* 'to strip off

(skin or bark), to tear off' (OREL *Linguistica* 436-438). For the semantic development, cf. Russ *drat'* 'to run away' < 'to tear', Gk ἔδραῖν '(I) ran away' ~ δέρω 'to strip off' and the like. ◊ CAMARDA I 91 (to Gk ῥέπω 'to turn the scale, to sink', Lat *rapiō* 'to seize and carry off'); MEYER *Wb.* 478 (to IE \**uerp-* ~ \**urep-*; but IE \**ur-* yielded Alb *rr-*), Alb. *St.* III 31, 38, 72; TOMASCHEK *MGGW* XXIII 550 (to several Illyrian toponyms derived from *urb-lurp-*); JOKL *LKUBA* 187; BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 91; SCHRIJNEN *KZ* XLII 108 (to Lith *virpėti*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 288; MANN *Language* XVII 18; GINDIN *Form.* SN 62; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234; HAMP *MJ* XXIII 285; OREL *Linguistica* 436-438 (alternative etymology: to Lat *rēpere* 'to creep', OPrus *ripaiti* 'to follow', Latv *rāpt* 'to creep'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 424.

**vras** aor. *vrava* 'to kill'. From PALb \**awa-rautja*, a prefix derivative based on IE \**reu-* 'to tear, to destroy': Skt *rutá-* 'broken', Lat *ruō* 'to fall down, to rush down' and the like (OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 37). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 464 (to *varrĕ* and Skt *vraṇa-* 'wound'); JOKL *LKUBA* 194 (follows MEYER); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 289; WALDE-HOFMANN II 453-454; MAYRHOFER III 63; POKORNY I 868; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

**vrazhdě** adj. 'hard, rough, unfriendly'. Borrowed from Bulg *vražda* or CS *vražda* 'enmity' and transformed into an adjective (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 186, 196). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (related to *vrĕřĕt* ~ *vraneř*); JOKL *LKUBA* 155 (develops MEYER's etymology), *Slavia* XIII 610 (against SELIŠČEV); VASMER *Alb. Wortforsch.* I 65 (from OCS *vražb* 'inimical'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 304 (derived from *vras*).

**vrej** aor. *vrejta* 'to observe'. Univerbation of *vĕ re* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 243, 362). ◊ CAMARDA I 145 (to Gk ὁράω 'to see'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 277-278, 304 (follows MEYER).

**vrer** ~ **vĕner** m 'gall, bile'. Borrowed from Lat *venĕnum* 'potion, poison' (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 70; MEYER *Wb.* 470). ◊ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1044; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 20; HAARMANN 156; LANDI *Lat.* 82.

**vrĕndě** f 'drizzle'. A prefixal derivative of *rend* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 304-305). ◊ JOKL *Studien* 97 (to ON *úr* 'drizzle', Av *vār-* 'rain'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 91; SPITZER *MRIW* I 327; DEMIRAJ *AE* 424 (to Gk βρέχω 'to rain, to moisten').

**vrěrět ~ vranět** adj. 'cloudy'. Together with *vrěr ~ vran* 'to darken, to become cloudy', based on *\*vrěr ~ vran* 'cloudy', a prefixal derivative of *re* 'cloud' (JOKL *Slavia* XIII 610, *ArRom* XXIV 40). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (borrowed from a South Slavic reflex of Slav *\*vornъ* 'black'); SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197 (same as MEYER); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 128-129 (follows MEYER); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 117-118, *Hymje* 78 (from IE *\*gr̥ano-* related to Slav *\*vorna* 'crow'); SKOK *AArbSt.* II 331 n. 31 (supports BARIĆ); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 288; ÇABEJ *St.* II 305-306 (agrees with JOKL *Slavia* XIII 610); JANSON *Unt.* 33-34; MURATI *Probleme* 135.

**vrigull** m, pl. *vriguj* 'flap, lobe'. Borrowed from Lat *verriculum* 'seine'.

**vrĭkĕ** f 'tamarisk'. Borrowed from Ital dial. *vrĭca* id. < Gk *μυρίκη* id. (ÇABEJ *St.* II 306). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 467 (derived from *verr*); JOKL *Festschr. Kretschmer* 86-87, *Festschr. Rozwadowski* I 236 (follows MEYER).

**vringĕlloj** aor. *vringĕllova* 'to whizz, to hum'. A prefixal form based on Rom *\*ringulăre* 'to growl, to grumble'. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

**vrokth** m 'dandruff'. A prefixal derivative of *rrok*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234.

**vrug** m 'rust, mildew, blight'. Continues PAlb *\*awa-ruga*, a prefixal form related to Av *raoyna-* 'butter', ON *rjúmi* 'cream'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (to *vrulloj*); BARTHOLOMAE 1488; POKORNY I 873.

**vrugĕt** adj. 'dark'. Derived from *vrug*.

**vrujoj** aor. *vrujova* 'to well up, to spring'. Derived from *vrull* 'flight, run'. The latter is borrowed from Slav *\*vьrlъ* 'strong, energetic', cf. Bulg *vьrl*, SCr *vrli* 'good'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 478 (from SCr *vrulja* 'source'); CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* IV 209-210; SVANE 171.

**vrragĕ** f, pl. *vrragĕ* 'trace, wheel-trace'. Borrowed from Slav *\*ovragъ* 'ravine', cf. Bulg *ovrag*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 306-307 (derivative of *varrĕ*).

**vuj ~ vuj** aor. *vova, vojta, vuajta* 'to suffer'. Borrowed from Lat *vivere* 'to live' and also 'to survive', with a semantic development suggesting an intermediate stage of 'surviving', 'living through'. Thus, *vuan*

*nga një sëmundë* \*‘he lives through an illness’ > ‘he suffers of an illness’.  
 ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 479 (from Slav \**bolěti* ‘to be ill’); BARIĆ *ARSt* 73 (to  
 Lith *voĩs* ‘wound’); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

**vullnet** m ‘will’. Another form is *vullëndet*. Borrowed from Lat  
*voluntātem* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 72; MEYER *Wb.* 479). ◇ MEYER-  
 LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup> I 1043, 1048; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 26;  
 HAARMANN 158; LANDI *Lat.* 33, 88, 117.

**vurg** m, pl. *vurgje* ‘marsh, swamp’. From PALb \**wurga* related to Gk  
 ὀργᾶω ‘to be soaked’, ὀργάς ‘marsh, meadow’. ◇ FRISK II 411;  
 POKORNY I 1169 (reconstructs \**uerġ-*).

**vurkollak** m, pl. *vurkolleq* ‘vampire’. Another form is *vurvollak*. Bor-  
 rowed from Slav \**vykoldakъ* ‘werewolf, vampire’, cf. in South  
 Slavic: Bulg *vľkolak*, SCr *vukodlak* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37;  
 MEYER *Wb.* 479). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 69-70; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 185;  
 SVANE 217.

**vurratë** f, pl. *vurrata* ‘scar, mark, brand’. Borrowed from Lat fem.  
*vulnerāta*, part. of *vulnerō* ‘to wound’. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 308 (derived  
 from *varrë*).

(G) **vũth** m ‘small valley’. Derived from *vũ*, Geg participle of *vë* (ÇABEJ  
*St.* II 308). ◇ CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 71 (reconstructs \**ũnd-*).

## X

**xa** adv. ‘here you are’. A form of the verb *zë* with an initial *x-* < *z-*  
 (ÇABEJ *St.* II 308).

**xbunjë** f ‘fluff from spinning’. Derived from *xbut*, *zbut* ‘to make soft’,  
 cf. *butë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 79 (to SCr *bunjak* ‘rubbish’).

**xëgit** aor. *xëgita* ‘to irritate’. A metathesis of *guxit* id., *gëzit* id. based  
 on *gaz*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 309 (to *cys* and *nxit*).

**xixë** f, pl. *xixa* ‘spark’. A descriptive formation. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 79 (to  
 Ital *cica*); HAMP *ABS* XVII 129-130.

**xunkth** m, pl. *xunktha* 'reed'. Diminutive of *cung* with a secondary sonorization of the anlaut (ÇABEJ *St.* II 309).

**xvar** adv. 'trailing, dragging'. A phonetic variant of *zvar*.

**xverk** m 'occiput'. A phonetic variant of *zverk*.

## Y

**yej** aor. *yejta* 'to stay awake'. Derived from *yll*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200, 215.

**yjēzē** f 'ankle, knuckle'. Derivative of \**yl* (BARIC *AArbSt.* I 158-159) attested in *bërryl* and *ylber*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 460 (to *yll*); JOKL *Idg. Jh.* X 67 (identical with *nyjēzē*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 312 (follows JOKL).

**ylber** m, pl. *ylberë*, *ylbera* 'rainbow'. From PALb \**ul(e)nā bhōra* 'rainbow' < \*'curve', a mirror reflection of PALb \**bhōrei ul(e)nā* > *bërryl* 'elbow' (OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII/1 67). For similar nomination of the rainbow cf. Slav \**dōga* 'arc, curve' > 'rainbow'. It is possible to conjecture NGk ὠλένη 'elbow' > \*'rainbow' contaminated with ζωνάρι Παναγίας 'Our lady's belt' and ζωνάρι κυρῶς 'Ελένης 'Lady Helen's belt' (BELECKIJ *Principy* 66-67; OREL *loc. cit.*). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 460-461, *IF* VI 114 f.; KRISTOFORIDHI 433 (from *yll ber*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 312-313 (identifies the first component with *yll* 'star' following KRISTOFORIDHI).

**yll** m, pl. *yje* 'star'. A parallel form is *hyll*. Goes back to PALb \**skīw-ila*, a derivative of \**skijā* > *hije* 'shadow' (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 438-439). For the phonetic development of -*īwi-* > -*y-* cf. *grykë*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 460 (to IE \**sulno-* or \**sūli-* 'sun'), *Alb. St.* III 43; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXIII 544, XXXVI 277-278 (accepts MEYER's comparison with \**sūli*); JOKL *Balkangerm.* 114-115; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 273; PISANI *REIE* IV 9; PORZIG *Gliederung* 181; HAMP *Laryngeals* 132-133 (*yll* as a proof of *s*-mobile in the word for 'sun'); HULD 132, *KZ* XC 178-182 (to OE *ysle*, ON *usli* 'spark, ember'); LIUKKONEN *SSF* X·58 (to Slav \**aviti* 'to appear'); RASMUSSEN *Morph.* 264; BEEKES *CIEL* 264 (follows HULD and reconstructs \**Huslo-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 206.



**ysht** aor. *yshta* 'to cast spells, to bewitch'. From PALb \**awi-sta* related to IE \**auei-* 'bird' and \**stā-* 'to stand', originally 'to foretell according to birds, to augur', cf. Lat *augurāre, auspicāre*. ◇ POKORNY I 86; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 195.

## Z

**zabel** m, pl. *zabele, zabela* 'little wood'. Borrowed from Slav \**zabělъ* id. attested in South Slavic (SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 159). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 479 (to SCr *zabijeliti* 'to make white').

**zabua ~ zabue** m, pl. *zabonj* 'linch-pin'. Borrowed from Slav \**zabojъ*, cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *zaboj*, SCr *zaboj*. ◇ SVANE 34.

**zakon** m, pl. *zakone* 'custom, habit'. Borrowed from Slav \**zakonъ* 'law', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *zakon*, SCr *zakon* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; CAMARDA II 161; MEYER *Wb.* 480). ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 53-54; SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 177; SVANE 205.

**zall** m, pl. *zaje* 'river sand, river bank'. Borrowed as PALb \**aigjala* from Gk αἰγιαλός 'river bank' (CAMARDA I 93). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 480 (from Lat *sabulum* 'sand'); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 118, *AArbSt.* I 100 (to OHG *kes* 'firm ground'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 70 (follows CAMARDA); ÇABEJ *St.* II 314-315 (to IE \**jēlo-* 'unripe, raw'); HAARMANN 147.

**zapëri** f, pl. *zapëri* 'crease, fold'. Derived from *zaparit* 'to crumple' borrowed from Slav \**zapariti*. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 481 (from SCr *sabor* 'crease, fold'); SVANE 244.

**zavrat** m, pl. *zavrate* 'garden-bed'. Borrowed from South Slavic, cf. Bulg *zavrat* 'curve, turn', SCr *zavrat* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 316).

**zbatoj** aor. *zbatova* 'to put into force, to carry out'. Borrowed from Rom \**exbattuere* 'to shake, to toss': Ital *sbattere*, Rum *zbat* and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 103). ◇ PUŞCARIU *EWB* 180; ÇABEJ *St.* II 316-317 (against MEYER).

**zbavit** aor. *zbavita* 'to scatter'. Borrowed from Slav \**jbzaviti* 'to get

rid of', cf. South Slavic continuants: Bulg *izbav'a*, SCr *izbaviti* (MEYER *Wb.* 481).

**zbej** aor. *zbejta* 'to make pale'. Derived from PAIb \**banja* (historically identical with *běj*) and related to Skt *bhāti* 'to shine', OIr *bán* 'white' and the like. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 482 (to Slav \**bělъ* 'white'); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 292; MAYRHOFER II 493-494; VENDRYES [B] 13; POKORNY I 104-105.

**zbërkoj** aor. *zbërkova* 'to tear, to rip'. Derived from *bark*, cf. Fr *éventrer* 'to disembowel, to tear open' (ÇABEJ *St.* II 317).

**zborak** m, pl. *zborakë, zboreq* 'martin'. Derived from *zborë*, variant of *borë*, cf. Fr *nivereau* id. and Russ *z'ablik* id. with a similar semantic motivation (KRISTOFORIDHI 368). ◊ STIER *KZ* XI 88 (to Goth *sparwa* 'sparrow'); MEYER *Wb.* 482 (to SCr *čvorak* 'starling'); PUŠCARIU *EWB* 1933 (to Rum *zbor* 'flight'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 317 (follows KRISTOFORIDHI).

**zbres** aor. *zbrita* 'to descend'. Derived from *pres*. ◊ HAMP *Festschr. Knobloch* 145-146 (from IE \**bhergh-* 'to increase, to grow').

**zbruj** aor. *zbrujta* 'to soften'. Related to *mbruj* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 317).

(G) **zdërgjâhem** refl. 'to spread oneself out, to sprawl'. Derived from *dergjem*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 317-318 (prefixal formation based on *gjerë*).

**zdralë** f, pl. *zdrala* 'dirt'. Derived from *zdraj*, see *zdramë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 318).

**zdramë** f 'wound on horse's withers'. Derived from *zdraj* 'to swell, to make swell' (WEIGAND 104), a prefixal formation based on PAIb \**d(e)ranja*. This verb is to be compared with Skt *dṛṇāti* 'to burst', Gk *δέρω* 'to skin, to flay' and the like (ÇABEJ *St.* II 318). ◊ MAYRHOFER II 59; FRISK I 368-370; POKORNY I 206-208.

**zemër** f, pl. *zemra* 'heart; middle'. A difficult word without any reliable explanation. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 483 (compares with Geg *zê* 'soul' and connects *zemër* with *zë* 'to seize'); WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 202 (to ON *gaman* 'joy'); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 128 (from IE \**ghen-*, cf.

Gk εὐθηνέω 'to blossom' and its cognates); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 293, *Stratificazione* 99-100 (agrees with JOKL); ÇABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 212 f. (follows MEYER); HAAS 166 (to Phryg κίμπερος· νοῦς, Hes.); HULD 132-133; LIUKKONEN *SSF* X 59 (to Lith *juosmuõ* 'belt').

**zeshk** aor. *zeshka* 'to make brown'. Derived from *zi* (MEYER *Wb.* 484).  
 ◇ JOKL *LKUBA* 216, 222; CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 115.

**zet** num. 'twenty'. From PALb *\*w(i)džati* etymologically identical with IE *\*uǵkmti* id.: Skt *vimśati-*, Gk εἴκοσι, Lat *vīginti* (BOPP 512; CAMARDA I 170; MEYER *Wb.* 483). ◇ XYLANDER 306; MEYER *Alb. St.* II 24, III 17, 23; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 338, *Kelt. Gr.* I 186; JOKL *IF* XXXVI 101, *LKUBA* 103, *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 91; BARIÇ *Hymje* 35, n. 2; LA PIANA *Studi* I 22, 40; PISANI *Saggi* 133; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 232; FRISK I 453-454; WALDE-HOFMANN II 788-789; MAYRHOFER III 199-200; POKORNY I 1177; HULD 133-134; HAMP *KZ* LXXVII 252, n. 1 (*z-* as a reflex of *\*uǵk-*), *Numerals* 900, 919, *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 95-96; ÇABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 207 f. (from *\*jεug-t-* related to *\*jugom* 'yoke'), *St.* II 318-319; SZEMERÉNYI *Numerals* 165; HULD 133-134; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 41 (on the development of *\*wdž-* > *z-*), *ZfBalk* XXIII 144, *IF* XCIII 103; DEMIRAJ *AE* 425.

**zĕ ~ zâ** aor. *zura ~ zuna* 'to seize, to grasp, to touch'. From PALb *\*džeina*, a derivative in *\*-no-* based on IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>ejə-* 'to overpower': Skt *jyá* 'force, power', *jáyati* 'to win, to conquer', Gk βίη 'power'. ◇ GIL FERDING *Otn.* 22 (to Skt *hā-* 'to reach'); MEYER *Wb.* 483 (from Slav *\*jъz-imatei* 'to take out'); SCHMIDT *KZ* LVII 13; WIEDEMANN *BB* XXVII 202 (reconstructs *\*g<sup>h</sup>enō*); JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 128 (from IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>en-*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 292; MANN *Language* XXVI 383 (follows JOKL); PISANI *Saggi* 101, 128; FRISK I 235; MAYRHOFER I 419, 448; POKORNY I 469-470; ÇABEJ *BUSHt* XIV/3 44-45 (to Skt *yámati* 'to hold'); CAMAJ *Alb. Wortb.* 62; HAMP *ŽA* XXXI 92, *IF* XC 70-71; DEMIRAJ *AE* 426-427.

**zĕ ~ zâ** m, pl. *zĕra ~ zana* 'voice'. From PALb *\*džana* etymologically related to Arm *jain* 'voice', Slav *\*zvонъ* 'ringing, sound', IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>uēn-* (MEYER *Wb.* 483, *Alb. St.* III 17, 39; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 306). ◇ CAMARDA I 85 (to Gk γῆρυς 'voice, speech'); BUGGE *BB* XVIII 172; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVIII 403 (compares *zĕ* with Gk φωνή 'sound'); JOKL *Studien* 7 (on the development of palatals before *\*-u-*), *IF*

XXXVI 99, 112, 116, *Mélanges Pedersen* 133-134, *Sprache* IX 124; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 294; PISANI *Saggi* 128; POKORNY I 490-491; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 109; CIMOCHOWSKI *St. IE* 45; HULD 134; JANSON *Unt.* 34-36; KORTLANDT *Arm-IE* 40; OREL *IF* XCIII 108; DEMIRAJ *AE* 425-426.

**zēmēr ~ zamēr** f, pl. *zēmēra ~ zamēra* 'late afternoon meal, late afternoon, tea time'. A difficult word. Maybe, a borrowing from Gk *διήμερον* 'period of twenty-four hours', \*'afternoon'? ◊ CAMARDA I 107 (identifies *zēmēr* with *zemēr* as 'the center of the day'); ÇABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 214-215 (compares *zēmēr* with Gk *ἡμῶρ* 'day', *Arm awr* id. which, however, do not explain the anlaut *z-*), *St.* II 319; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 41-42 (connection with *zē*).

**zērē ~ zanē** f, pl. *zēra ~ zana* 'goddess of forests, fairy, beautiful maiden'. Borrowed from Lat *Diana* (JOKL *Studien* 97-98). ◊ BARIĆ *AArbSt.* II 400; WEIGAND *BA* I 254; PAVLOVIĆ *ZfBalk* I 73-74; MIHÄESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 15; HAARMANN 122; ÇABEJ *St.* II 315-316, V 144-152; JANSON *Unt.* 62; LANDI *Lat.* 75, 94, 104.

**zgafelle** f, pl. *zgafelle* 'hole, cave, gallery, tunnel'. Derived from *zga-fulloy* 'to dig a pit'. The latter is a prefixal formation based on Rom \**cappuläre* 'to cut, to chop'. ◊ BUGGE *BB* XVIII 186-187 (from Rom \**dis-co-affibuläre*); TREIMER *KZ* LXV 93-94 (to Lith *žiupsnis* 'handful'); ÇABEJ *St.* II 319-320 (to *gërfej*).

**zgarbē** f, pl. *zgarba* 'hollow (in a tree)'. Derived from *garbē*. ◊ ÇABEJ *St.* II 320-321 (to *kalb*).

**zgavēr** f, pl. *zgavra* 'hole'. Another variant is *zguer*. A prefixal form based on PALb \**gawirā* related to IE \**geu-r-*, \**gou-r-* 'bent, crooked'. ◊ POKORNY I 397.

**zgerdhē** f, pl. *zgerdha* 'bronchial tube'. Derived from dial. *zgardh* 'to open', further related to *gardh* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 321). Note *zgërdhelē* 'hole', *zgërdhihem* 'to bare one's teeth' and *zgërdhagët* 'empty' going back to the same source (ÇABEJ *St.* II 321-322). ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 306 (to *ngordh*).

**zgorkē** f, pl. *zgorka* 'deep place (in the river)'. Derived from *zguer*, see *zgavēr*.

**zgrip** m, pl. *zgripe* ‘side, edge, rim’. Based on PAIb \**gripa* related to OHG *krappfo* ‘hook’, ON *krappr* ‘narrow’. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 205 (to *shkrep*); JOKL *Studien* 35, *LKUBA* 116; POKORNY I 388; CAMAJ *Alb. Worth.* 44 (reconstructs \**grp-*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 322-323 (follows MEYER).

**zgrof** m, pl. *zgrofe* ‘stomach’. With a secondary *-f-* < *-p-*, a prefixal derivative of *gropë* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 323). ◇ JOKL *AArbSt.* I 44 (from Lat *scrobis* ‘ditch, dike’).

**zgurdulloj** aor. *zgurdullova* ‘to open wide (of eyes)’. A phonetic variant of *zgardhulloj* ‘to open’ derived from *zgardh* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 323-324).

**zgurdhë** f ‘rectum’. Derived from *zguer*, cf. *zgavër* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 324). ◇ JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 141-143 (to *zorrë*); TAGLIAVINI *Stratificazione* 100; CIMOCHOWSKI *BUSht* XIII/2 45; HAMP *LB* XXIV/3 49; HULD 137; BEEKES *Lar.* 104 (untenable \**g<sup>h</sup>e-g<sup>h</sup>reH-do-*); DEMIRAJ *AE* 427.

**zgjebë** f ‘itch, scab’. Borrowed from Lat *scabiēs* id. (MIKLOSICH *Rom. Elemente* 58). ◇ MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1048; SCHUCHARDT *KZ* XX 253; HAARMANN 148.

**zgjedhë** f, pl. *zgjedha* ‘ox yoke’. From PAIb \**diš-gadā* formed with a prefix \**diš-* and related to *gjedh* ‘cattle’ (OREL *LB* XXIX/4 69-70). ◇ CAMARDA I 88 (to IE \**jugom* ‘yoke’); MEYER *Wb.* 484 (from NGk ζεῦγλα, ζεῦλα); JOKL *Studien* 98-100 (derives *zgjedhë* from \**zd-ledhe*, further compared with *lidh*); BARIĆ *ARSt.* I 119 (follows CAMARDA and adds Arm *luc* ‘yoke’); ÇABEJ *St.* II 324 (unconvincing parallels in Germanic: OFries *gadia* ‘to tie, to unite’, Germ *Gatte* ‘spouse’); OREL *LB* XXIX/4 69-70 (accepts \**diš-* as a cognate of Gk δῖσ- ‘double’).

**zgjerbe** f, pl. *zgjerbe* ‘moth’. Connected with *gjerb*. ◇ ÇABEJ *St.* II 321 (singularized plural of *zgarbë*).

**zgjic** m ‘little bay’. Derived from *gji* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 324).

**zgjoj** aor. *zgjova* ‘to wake, to rouse’. Borrowed from Rom \**exvigilāre* id. (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* <sup>2</sup>I 1054). ◇ BARIĆ *ARSt.* 120 (prefix *z-* + cognate of Skt *svāpa-* ‘dream, sleep’); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 258.

**zgjua ~ zgjue** m, pl. *zgjoi, zgjoje* 'beehive'. Based on \**gjuā ~ gjue* borrowed from Lat *jānuā* 'door, entrance'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 484 (to Slav \**ulъjъ* id.); WEIGAND 105 (from Rom \**excavōne*); JOKL *IF* XXXVI 109, *LKUBA* 286 (from Rom \**excovus*); ÇABEJ *St.* II 325 (from \**glon-*).

**zgjyrë** f 'rust'. Borrowed from Lat *scōria* 'dross, slag' (MEYER-LÜBKE *Gr. Grundriß* 2 I 1053). ◇ HAARMANN 149.

**zi** adj., fem. *zezë* 'black'. From PALb \**džedi* (fem. *zezë* < \**džedjā*), etymologically connected with MHG *quat* 'dirt', OE *cwéad* 'bad', Lith *gėda* 'shame', Slav \**gadъkъ* 'disgusting', \**gadъ* 'reptile, worm' < IE \**gʰed-* (JOKL *Studien* 100-102, *LKUBA* 27). ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 484, *Alb. St.* IV 43 (to Lith *žilas* 'grey-haired', Latv *zils* 'blue'); PEDERSEN *Kelt. Gr.* I 33; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 293; HOLTHAUSEN *AEW* 64; GEORGIEV *Issledovanija* 120 (to Thracian proper names Ζειζας, Ζισις); POKORNY I 484; FRAENKEL 142; ÇABEJ *St.* II 325-326 (to Lith *júodas* 'black' but the change \**j-* > Alb *z-* is unconvincing); MANN *Hist. Gr.* 110 (follows ÇABEJ); HULD 134-135 (to Slav \**židъkъ* 'liquid'); TRUBAČEV *ÈSSJa* VI 81-82; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 37; DEMIRAJ *AE* 427-428.

**zid** m 'wall'. Borrowed from Slav \**zidъ* id., cf. South Slavic forms: Bulg *zid*, SCr *zid* (MIKLOSICH *Slav. Elemente* 37; MEYER *Wb.* 484). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 148, 173.

**ziej** aor. *zjeva* 'to boil, to cook'. From PALb \**džernja* based on a less frequent form *zie* id. < \**džera*. For the loss of the final \*-r and the development of corresponding derivatives in \*-nja cf. *bie* 'to carry' < \**bera* ~ (m)*baj* 'to hold' < \**en-barnja* (OREL *Linguistica* XXIV 439-440). The Indo-European parallels go back to \**gʰher-*: Gk θέρομαι 'to become hot, to warm, to burn', OIr *fogair* '(he) warms' and the like. See *zjarm, zjarr*. ◇ CAMARDA I 44, 89 (to Gk ζέω 'to boil' but Gk ζ- < IE \**j-* is never reflected as Alb *z-*!); MEYER *Wb.* 485 (borrowed from NGk ζέω 'to boil'); JOKL *IF* XLIX 294, *Slavia* XIII 316; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 294; MANN *Language* XXVIII 38; FRISK I 612; MAYER I 162, II 52 (accepts the comparison with IE \**jes-* in connection with Illyr *Aquas Jasas*); FRISK I 665-666; POKORNY I 493-495; ÇABEJ *St.* II 326-327; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 41 (follows MEYER).

**zjarm** m, pl. *zjarne* 'fire'. From PALb \**džerma* etymologically identical with Gk θερμός 'warm', Arm *žerm* id. < \**gʰhermo-* (CAMARDA I

71; MEYER *Wb.* 485).  $\diamond$  FRISK II 664-665; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 320-321, *Kelt. Gr.* I 108; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 293-294; JOKL *Reallex. Vorgesch.* I 89; PISANI *Saggi* 102, 121; POKORNY I 493-495; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201; HULD 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 428-429.

**zjarr** m, pl. *zjarre* 'fire'. From PALb \**džera*, a new *o*-stem transformed from IE \**g<sup>h</sup>heres-*, nom. sg. \**g<sup>h</sup>heros*, cf. Skt *hāras-* 'flame, heat', Gk *θέρος* 'summer', Arm *jer* id. (OREL *ZfBalk* XXV/2 145). Further connected with *zjarm* (CAMARDA I 71; MEYER *Wb.* 485, *Alb. St.* III 18).  $\diamond$  FRISK II 665-666; MAYRHOFER III 579; POKORNY I 493-495; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 320; TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 293-294; LA PIANA *Studi* I 40-41 (reconstructs \**g<sup>h</sup>her-muro-*); MANN *Language* XXVI 383; PORZIG *Gliederung* 163; PISANI *Saggi* 102, 130; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 201, 234; HAMP *Anc. IE* 115 (treats *zjarr* as a singluraized plural of *zjarm*); HULD 135; DEMIRAJ *AE* 428-429.

**zmojle** f 'fallow (land)'. Borrowed from Rom \**exmulgia*, a derivative of Lat *ē(x)mulgēre* 'to milk out, to drain out', cf. Rum *zmulge* (JOKL *BA* IV 196-198, *Slavia* XIII 287).  $\diamond$  PUŞCARIU *EWR* 182; MIHĂESCU *RESEE* IV/1-2 31; HAARMANN 124; ÇABEJ *St.* II 327.

**zog** m, p. *zogj* 'bird'. An Oriental *Wanderwort*, presumably, of Iranian origin, cf. Arm *jag* 'chick', NPers *zâq* 'cub' (MEYER *Alb. St.* III 18; HULD 135-136).  $\diamond$  STIER *KZ* XI 216 (to Gk *ζῷον* 'animal'); CAMARDA I 104 (to Gk *ζῶω* 'to live', thus implying a derivative of IE \**g<sup>h</sup>ǵē-*); MEYER *Wb.* 486 (to Skt *jahu-* 'young animal'); JOKL *Sprache* IX 143; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 338 (reconstructs \**g<sup>h</sup>hāghos*); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 294-295, *Stratificazione* 143; MANN *Language* XXVIII 36, *Hist. Gr.* 35; PISANI *Saggi* 120; POKORNY I 409; JUCQUOIS *Le Muséon* LXXVIII 445 (adduces Sogd *z'γ* 'kind of bird'); ÇABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 217-218 (to Lith *jėgà* 'strength', Gk *ἦβη* 'youth, youthful strength'), *St.* II 327-328; OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 42, *ZfBalk* XXIII 143; HAMP *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 97-105 (reconstructs \**μike-g<sup>o</sup>-*, to \**μei-* 'bird'); DEMIRAJ *AE* 429-430.

**zorrě** f, pl. *zorrě* 'gut'. From PALb \**džarnā*, a long grade etymologically identical with Lith *žarnà* id. (MEYER *Wb.* 486, *Alb. St.* III 18) continuing IE \**g<sup>h</sup>erā-* 'to swallow'.  $\diamond$  CAMARDA I 88 (to Gk *ζώνη* 'belt, girdle'), 120 (to Gk *χορδή* 'gut'); SOLMSEN *KZ* XXXIV 2-3; PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 358; BARIĆ *ARSr.* I 74; JOKL *Mélanges Pedersen* 139-

142 (to IE \*g<sup>h</sup>erə-); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 295, *Stratificazione* 100; ERNOUT-MEILLET 290; MANN *Language* XXVIII 34 (to Lat *hīra* 'gut'); LA PIANA *Studi* I 22; PISANI *Saggi* 125; CIMOCHOWSKI *LP* II 232; FRAENKEL 1291; POKORNY I 434-435; ÖLBERG *IBK* XIV 109; HAMP *LB* XXIV/3 49; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 234; HULD 136-137; OREL *ZfBalk* XXIII 145; DEMIRAJ *AE* 430-431.

**zot** m, pl. *zotërinj*, *zotër*, *zota* 'lord, master, god'. From PALb \*w(i)tš-pati- etymologically identical with Skt *viś-pati-* 'lord of the house' (HAMP *Festschr. Shevoroshkin* 95-96). The feminine form *zonjë* continues \*w(i)tš-patnjā. ◊ GIL'FERDING *Otn.* 22 (*zonjë* to Skt *jāni-* 'woman'); MEYER *Wb.* 486-487 (to Skt *jāyate* 'to be born'; *zonjë* compared with IE \*g<sup>h</sup>enā 'woman'); PEDERSEN *KZ* XXXVI 324 (derives *zonjë* from \*g<sup>h</sup>enjā; interprets *zot* and *zonjë* as compounds including \*-potis and \*potnjā, with the first component reconstructed as \*g<sup>h</sup>iā 'life'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 121-124 (from IE \*djēu-t-); TAGLIAVINI *Dalmazia* 295 (compares *zot* with Skt *jāspati-* 'house master'); LA PIANA *St. Varia* 33 (from \*g<sup>h</sup>iā-tā, to \*g<sup>h</sup>ei- 'to live'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 32; SZEMERÉNYI *Syncope* 375 (against TAGLIAVINI); SOLTA *Sprache* V 198-199; MAYRHOFFER III 224-225; ÇABEJ *ZfPhonetik* IX 222 f. (to Gk ἅγιος 'saint'); BUDIMIR *AArbSt* IV/1 157-160, *Gja* XI/2 (1972[1974]) 85-86; PISANI *Sprache* VII 99-103 (< IE \*g<sup>h</sup>ēs-poti-/potnī); OREL *FLH* VIII/1-2 42 (on the phonetic development); KLINGENSCHMITT *Lldg.* 104 (from \*desjās + poti- similar to Arm *tēr* 'lord, master' < \*desjās + anēr); DEMIRAJ *AE* 431-432.

**zulë** f 'shout, glory'. The derivative *zulmë* 'glory' is more widespread. From PALb \*dzulā, a zero-grade derivative of IE \*g<sup>h</sup>hau(ə)- 'to call': Skt *hāvate*, Av *zavaiti*, Slav \*zъvati. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 487 (to *zurnë* < Turk *zurna* 'kind of flute'); MANN *Language* XXVIII 38 (to Gk ἵουλος 'down, the first growth of the whiskers and beard; corn-sheaf' - comparison based on the misunderstanding of the Greek word); ÇABEJ *St.* II 328-329 ("word of dubious origin").

**zushë** f 'heat, noon heat'. Borrowed, with an irregular z-, from Slav \*suša 'drought', cf. in South Slavic: Bulg *suša*, SCr *suša*. ◊ HULD *KZ* XCVIII (from \*djēu + eus(i)ēH 'heat of the daytime sky').

**zverk** m 'occiput'. Derived from an unattested \*vark > \*verk based on *vjerr*. ◊ MEYER *Wb.* 488 (to Lith *gerklė* 'throat'); TAGLIAVINI *Dal-*



*mazia* 296, *Stratificazione* 100; CIMOCHOWSKI *ABS* III 42 (from *z-* + \**uorkos*, further connected with *W cywarch* 'rope' < Celt \**kom-vorko-*); ÇABEJ *St.* VII 200; MOUTSOS *ALAK* 338-344 (borrowed from Gk σβέρκος 'nape of the neck'); HULD *KZ CVII/1* 165-171 (from Goth \**swairhs*).

**zvjerdh** aor. *zvordha* 'to wean'. A prefixal form based on PAIb \**verdza* related to Lith *veržiù*, *vežiti* 'to lace, to tie', Latv *vērzt* 'to turn', Slav \**verzti* 'to bind' and the like (MEYER *Wb.* 488, *Alb. St.* III 18, 38, 72). ◇ PEDERSEN *KZ XXXVI* 335 (from IE \**uert-*); FRAENKEL 1230-1231; POKORNY I 1168-1169; DEMIRAJ *AE* 432.

**zymtë** adj. 'dark'. Originally \**zym*, this is a derivative of *zi* (ÇABEJ *St.* II 329).

## Zh

**zharg** m 'snake skin'. Identical with *shark* (ÇABEJ II 330-331).

**zhdërvjellët** adj. 'adroit, deft, developed'. An expressive infigated form of the Italianism *zhvilloyj* 'to develop'. ◇ MEYER *Wb.* 488 (from SCr *žrijeb* 'lot'); JOKL *Slavia XIII* 318 (to IE \**uel-* 'to turn'); ÇABEJ II 331 (follows JOKL).

**zhëg** m 'heat'. Borrowed from Slav \**žegъ* id., cf. SCr *žega* 'sun-heat' (MEYER *Wb.* 488). ◇ SELIŠČEV *Slav. naselenie* 197.

**zhumbinë** f, pl. *zhumbina* 'gum'. Borrowed from Slav \**zobina* id. derived from \**zobъ* 'tooth' (SCHWYZER *KZ LVII* 259-260).

**zhur** m 'gravel'. Another variant is *shur*. Borrowed from Lat *saburra* 'sand ballast' (MEYER *Wb.* 420). ◇ HAARMANN 147; ÇABEJ *St.* VII 251.

(G) **zhys** aor. *zhyta* 'to dive'. From PAIb \**diš-ūd-tja* derived from IE \**ued-* ~ \**ud-* 'water', see *mbys* (HAMP *Laryngeals* 139). ◇ CAMARDA I 89 (reconstructs a prefix *sh-* followed by the root related to Gk δύω 'to immerse'); BARIĆ *ARSt* 124 (to Gk βάπτω 'to dip'); SCHMIDT *KZ L* 246-247 (from IE \**ūd̥iō*); POKORNY I 78-80; ÇABEJ II 332; HULD 90-91.



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This volume is a new compendium of Albanian etymology tracing thousands of modern Albanian words back to their origins. It contains detailed information on the Indo-European vocabulary preserved in Albanian as well as on numerous loanwords coming from ancient Greek, Latin, early Romance and Slavic.

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The book also includes a short sketch of Albanian historical phonetics and a vast bibliography. Every entry is extensively documented and contains earlier etymological explanations and interpretations.

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